1. Overview

The Centre for International Studies (CIS) was established in 1992 to promote and advance research in International Relations in Oxford. As a focal point for projects and activities in IR, CIS sponsors externally funded research projects, convenes conferences and seminars and hosts visiting scholars. The work of CIS involves close association with four major research programmes (The Global Economic Governance Programme, The Oxford Princeton Global Leaders Fellowship Programme, the Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict and South East European Studies at Oxford), a range of smaller research projects and the individual research of faculty and post-doctoral fellows. There are particular strengths in:

- Global order, governance and international institutions
- Global economic governance
- The changing character of war and security
- International normative theory and global justice
- The international relations of major regions of the world

The Centre is closely tied to the graduate programme in International Relations in the Department of Politics and International Relations (DPIR). Oxford is one of the largest centres in Europe for graduate work and advanced research in International Relations. It has a renowned two-year taught masters course, a large doctoral programme and a large and flourishing community of post-doctoral fellows.

One of the distinctive features of International Relations in Oxford is the international character of its faculty, its student body and its range of research partnerships. The Centre’s research programmes and projects are closely tied into international collaborative networks and active partnerships exist with, *inter alia*, Princeton University, NYU School of Law, Sciences-Po, Fundação Getulio Vargas in Rio de Janeiro and Fudan University in Shanghai. The Centre also seeks to maintain close links with related centres in Oxford, for example in Area Studies, Law, Development Studies, Environmental Change and Refugee Studies.

2. CIS People in 2011-12

*Director:*
Professor Kalypso Nicolaïdis

*Management Committee:*
Mr Dapo Akande (The Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict)
Dr Alex Betts (Queen Elizabeth House)
Professor Richard Caplan (DPIR)
Professor Valpy Fitzgerald (Queen Elizabeth House)
Professor Joe Foweraker (School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies)
Dr Ian Goldin (The James Martin 21st Century School)
Dr Nandini Gooptu (Queen Elizabeth House)
Professor Andrew Hurrell (DPIR)
Dr Edward Keene (DPIR)
Professor Laurent Mermet (Smith School)
Dr Steve Morgan (Environmental Change Institute)
Professor Ian Neary (School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies)
Professor Stephen Whitefield (Head of Department, DPIR)

Research Fellows, Associates and Visitors:

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Ishtiaq Ahmad</td>
<td>Dr Philipp Amour</td>
<td>Dr Nazli Avdan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Sarmila Bose</td>
<td>Dr Jane Boulden</td>
<td>Dr Alia Brahimi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr Sam Daws</td>
<td>Dr Carolyn Deere</td>
<td>Dr Nora Fisher-Onar</td>
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<td>Dr Evelyn Goh</td>
<td>Ms Frances Harrison</td>
<td>Dr Kirsty Hughes</td>
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<td>Dr Mehmet Karli</td>
<td>Professor Robert Keohane</td>
<td>Mr Philip Knodel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professor Gil Loescher</td>
<td>Dr Rama Mani</td>
<td>Mr White Mason</td>
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<td>Dr Amrita Narlikar</td>
<td>Dr Chukwumerije Okereke</td>
<td>Dr Kerem Öktem</td>
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<td>Dr Sarah Percy</td>
<td>Dr Jochen Prantl</td>
<td>Dr Avi Raz</td>
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<td>Professor Sir Adam Roberts</td>
<td>Dr Monica Serrano</td>
<td>Professor Henry Shue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Devi Sridhar</td>
<td>Mr Max Watson</td>
<td>Dr Huang Zhaoyu</td>
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Oxford Faculty associated with CIS:

Professor Simon Caney
Professor Anne Deighton
Dr Louise Fawcett
Professor Rosemary Foot
Professor Timothy Garton Ash
Professor Guy Goodwin-Gill
Professor Yuen Foong Khong
Professor Vaughan Lowe
Professor Neil MacFarlane
Professor Walter Mattli
Dr Hartmut Mayer
Dr Karma Nabulsi
Professor Joseph Nye
Professor Hew Strachan
Professor Jennifer Welsh
Professor Ngaire Woods

Coordinators, Centre for International Studies:
Ms Nicola Froggatt
Ms Sarah Travis
3. Financial Report

Financial Summary for 1 August 2011 to 31st of July 2012
CIS CT5013

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<table>
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<tr>
<td>2011-2012 Budget</td>
<td>16,000</td>
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<td>Total reserves available for use in 2013-14</td>
<td>18,853</td>
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Budget for 2012-13 9,000

4. Research

CIS Associated Research Programmes

➤ The Global Economic Governance Programme (GEG)

The Global Economic Governance Programme (GEG) fosters research and debate into how global markets and institutions can better serve the needs of people in developing countries. The Programme is directed by Ngaire Woods and had been made possible through the generous support of Old Members of University College. Its research projects have been principally funded by the Ford Foundation (New York), the International Development Research Centre (Ottawa) and the John D./ and Catherine T/ MacArthur Foundation (Chicago).

GEG Research In Action

GEG started a new globalization and finance project this year, in conjunction with the Blavatnik School of Government, and supported by the Ford Foundation. The project hosted three senior visiting scholars and held three high-level workshops. The ‘Challenges of Cross-border Resolution’ workshop reflected on the national and international banking regulation needed in light of the financial crisis; the ‘Financing Globalization: Lessons from History’ workshop probed the kinds of finance that made previous periods of successful globalization work; while the ‘Multilateral Liberalization through Bilateral Treaties?’ workshop evaluated bilateral investment treaties and the ability of states to respond to financial emergencies.

GEG’s global trade governance project produced two books that gather views on how the governance of global trade can better respond to developing country needs: Dr Carolyn Deere Birkbeck released a new book called ‘Making Global Trade Governance Work for Development’ (Cambridge University Press, 2012), while Emily Jones authored a guide for developing country
negotiators (Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming). In addition, Dr Deere Birkbeck and Jones authored policy papers for the Commonwealth Secretariat and ICTSD on the future of the World Trade Organisation, and presented their analysis at the eighth WTO Ministerial in Geneva.

The global knowledge governance project led by Dr Deere Birkbeck conducted an independent external review of development assistance provided by the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO). Dr Nilima Gulrajani joined the global aid governance project, and is researching the organizational determinants of aid effectiveness and best practices in donor governance; and three GEG attended and provided reflections on the Busan High-Level Aid Effectiveness Conference in Korea.

The global health governance project, led by Dr Devi Sridhar, published research on the shift in power toward emerging economies in global health. Nature, the Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA), and Foreign Affairs published the research, which was also presented in the Lancet/LSHTM Global Health Lab series, in a keynote lecture in Berlin and at a workshop in Munich.

- **The Global Leaders Fellowship Programme (GLF)**

The Oxford-Princeton Global Leaders Fellowship seeks to create and nurture a global network of scholar-practitioners across the developing world. It selects up to 6 developing country scholars each year to conduct two years of post-doctoral research on global economic governance, the first at Oxford (at GEG) and the second year at Princeton (at the Woodrow Wilson School).

During 2011-12, GEG welcomed the fourth cohort of Global Leaders Fellows: Anar Ahmadov (Azerbaijjan), researching the links between political institutions and economic diversification; Luara Ferracioli (Brazil) researching the philosophical challenges to contemporary refugee policy; and Jiyong Jin (China) researching the politics of tobacco control in China.

The Global Leaders Fellows presented their research in Oxford on 4th May at DPIR in an event examining the ‘Three Challenges of Globalization: Migration, Health and Natural Resources’. They examined the political factors that shape developing countries migration, health and natural resource policies. The annual GLF Colloquium was held in Princeton, with all the current, past, and in-coming GLFs in attendance. The discussion benefitted immensely from thought-provoking comments from leading scholars of international political economy and political theory, including Professor Jennifer Widner, Professor Charles Beitz, Professor Evan Lieberman, and Professor Kristopher Ramsay.

- **The Oxford Institute for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict (ELAC)**

ELAC is a leading global centre for the interdisciplinary study of the ethics, law, and politics of armed conflict. Funded by the Oxford Martin School, its central aim is to strengthen law, norms and institutions to restrain, regulate and prevent armed conflict. The Institute is directed by Professor Jennifer Welsh (DPIR), Dr David Rodin (Philosophy) and Mr Dapo Akande (Law). Research addresses all aspects of conflict, including the recourse to war, the conduct of war, and
post-conflict reconstruction, governance and reconciliation. 2011-12 saw the successful completion of the 2-year research project ‘The Responsibility to Prevent – Developing Ad hoc and Systemic Strategies’, supporting the understanding of the prevention of mass atrocities and funded by the Australian R2P fund. ELAC is pleased to have secured funding from the Australian Civil-Military Centre for a follow-on project entitled ‘The Prevention Toolbox – Systematizing Policy Tools for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities’. ELAC also commenced the new project ‘Military Human Enhancement: Design for Responsibility and Combat Systems’ examining the ethical and legal implications of new military technology, in collaboration with the Delft University of Technology. Other developments in 2010-11 included the new Humanitarian Ethics project led by Dr Hugo Slim, which will produce the first major practical text on humanitarian agency ethics in wars and disasters. The new Nuclear Research Working Group will examine the global governance of nuclear weapons, and host a new inter-disciplinary discussion group. The institute’s other activities include a weekly seminar series (in Association with The Changing Character of War Programme), an annual 2-day workshop on the ethics of war, and a range of lectures, roundtables and networking events. ELAC also hosts Visiting Fellows and supports the Oxford Humanitarian Group.

ELAC is an autonomous programme hosted by the Department for Politics and International Relations with close links with CIS and many of those working within CIS.

Details of ELAC and its research, news, publications and events in 2011-12 can be found at: www.elac.ox.ac.uk

➢ South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX)

SEESOX was created in 2002 and originally associated with St Antony’s college. Its association with DPIR and CIS in 2011-2012 marks a new phase in its development with the hope that this will allow for new synergies with other programmes. SEESOX is directed by Othon Anastasakis and its faculty chair is Kalypso Nicolaidis.

In Michaelmas Term, with various academic partners, SEESOX ran and participated in the following conferences and workshops: ‘New directions for Turkish-Greek engagement in the Balkans and the Middle East’ at Bahcesehir University, Istanbul in September; ‘Reinforcing EU conditionality in the Western Balkans’ in Oxford in October, co-sponsored with the Wilson Centre, Washington, and CIS, Oxford; ‘Political reform in Greece in comparative perspective’ with The American College of Thessaloniki (ACT) in November in Thessaloniki; and in December, with the Bank of Albania and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), ‘South East Europe: Investing in the future’ convened by Max Watson and Othon Anastasakis. Visiting speakers during the Michaelmas Term included EC Commissioner for Enlargement, Stefan Fule; Professor of History, Norman Davies; and the Turkish Ambassador in London.

During Hilary Term SEESOX organised its annual seminar series on South East Europe covering topics on Greece, Cyprus, former Yugoslavia and Turkey from an interdisciplinary perspective, convened by Othon Anastasakis. Trinity Term had an eight-part seminar series on ‘Authority, censorship and subversion in Turkey in the AKP years’, co-convened by Kerem Oktem and
Laurent Mignon; a workshop organised by our Alpha Bank fellow Dr Fikret Causevic and Max Watson on ‘The impact of the euro-crisis and investment opportunities in Bosnia and Herzegovina’, held in conjunction with the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the participation of many Governors and former Governors of the region. The Term was rounded off with a high-level seminar, together with the Bank of Albania, on ‘South East Europe: Pre-requisites for reform’ in Tirana in June. The highlight of the Term, and of the academic year, was the SEESOX Anniversary event, celebrating ten years of SEESOX, held on 28 May. This looked back over the last decade, and forward to the next, with a variety of discussions and panels, and a keynote address by Paddy Ashdown.

CIS Research Projects

- **China, the United States and Global Order** (Professor Rosemary Foot)

Since its publication in March 2011 *China, the United States, and Global Order*, by Professor Rosemary Foot in conjunction with Dr Andrew Walter from the London School of Economics, has been the subject for discussion at a number of events. In September 2011 a special panel session on the book, chaired by Tim Dunne (University of Queensland), took place at the International Studies Association Regional Conference in Brisbane, Australia. Then in July 2012 the book was the subject of an extensive roundtable review by the *Diplomatic and International History Discussion Network* (H-Diplo) and the *International Security Studies Forum* (ISSF). The book was also awarded ‘Favorite Read of 2011’ by US magazine *Foreign Policy*.

- **Civil Resistance and Power Politics: Domestic and International Dimensions** (Professor Sir Adam Roberts, Professor Timothy Garton Ash and others)

The Centre for International Studies, together with the European Studies Centre at St Antony’s College, has continued the Oxford University research project on ‘Civil Resistance and Power Politics: Domestic and International Dimensions’. The project is currently scheduled to continue until 31 August 2013. In the course of the year the project’s Organizing Committee was joined by an eighth member, Dr Michael Willis, King Mohammed VI Fellow in Moroccan and Mediterranean Studies at St Antony’s College.

In October 2011 Dr Erica Chenoweth gave a lecture at the Department on her new book, co-authored with Maria Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, which went on in August 2012 to win The Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award, given annually by the American Political Science Association for the best book on government, politics, or international affairs published in the US during the previous year.

Most of the project’s activities in 2011–12 have been connected with the Arab Spring, which has drawn attention to tragic connections between civil resistance and war. On 11 October the Project co-organized a panel discussion on ‘The Egyptian Revolution of 2011: Civil Resistance and Power Politics’, held at the British Academy’s building in London: the speakers included Dr Omar Ashour and Professor Charles Tripp. On 9 November Dr Michael Willis gave a talk at the Department on ‘Politics after Civil Resistance: Report on the Tunisian Elections’. And on 9 February 2012 the project jointly organized a meeting at St Antony’s College on ‘Václav Havel: Playwright, Dissident, Velvet Revolutionary and President’. The speakers were Professor
Timothy Garton Ash, Professor Adam Roberts and H.E. Michael Zantovsky, Ambassador Czech Republic.

The project’s main publication, *Civil Resistance and Power Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2009; paperback 2011) is continuing to have healthy sales and to attract attention. Work is ongoing on further updating and improving the Wikipedia article on Civil Resistance, which has been averaging about 3,500 hits per month. Also the project is preparing a collection of studies of civil resistance in the Arab Spring.

Further details about this research project, including past and ongoing activities, may be found on the project’s main website: [http://cis.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/Projects/civ_res.asp](http://cis.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/Projects/civ_res.asp)

- **Emerging Powers and Global Order** (Professor Andrew Hurrell)

  The programme of work on emerging powers and global order continued through the academic year 2011-2012. One part of this involved collaboration with a Frankfurt-based research programme on The Post-Transatlantic Age: A Twenty-first Century Concert of Powers? The first conference was held on 16th and 17th September 2011 and involved a detailed re-evaluation of the 19th Concert System and its possible lessons for the 21st Century. During the year the Oxford component involved papers by Andrew Hurrell and Adam Humphreys (Lecturer in Politics at Brasenose College) on Concerts of Power in History and Theory; and on Great Power Concerts and Global Order: Where does Britain fit it? Dr Nicola Horsburgh worked as a post-doctoral fellow on the project from March to September 2012, co-authoring short papers on concerts and balance of power; on the role of considerations of justice; and on Chinese understandings of global order and governance. Both Nicola Horsburgh and Adam Humphreys participated in the second annual conference, again held in Frankfurt, in September 2012 and Nicola Horsburgh will continue her involvement during her tenure as a British Academy Post-Doctoral Fellow. Another element of this programme involved the Oxford-Sciences-Po Annual Doctoral Seminar which took place on 13th May 2012 with eight papers on subjects related to emerging powers and power transitions. This was organized by Andrew Hurrell from Oxford and Professors Karoline Postel-Vinay and Zaki Laidi from Sciences-Po. In addition, Andrew Hurrell gave papers or lectures on various aspects of emerging powers in Warsaw in October 2011, in Geneva in November 2011, in Sheffield in April 2012, in Princeton in May 2012 and at a conference of the Cambridge Centre for Rising Powers in February 2012. The overall programme of work involves (a) the study of emerging powers in historical perspective; (b) the normative impact of emerging powers and the implications for the study of global justice; (c) the implications of power shifts and of emerging powers for the study of International Relations and for IR theory; and (d) the detailed analysis of particular emerging powers with particular reference to Brazil, India and China.

  Publications by Andrew Hurrell falling under this programme included:


▸ **Disaggregating the Globalized Regulatory State: The Cases of Global Regulation in Food and Transport** (Professor Walter Mattli)

Professor Mattli completed a new book titled Choice of Institutions: Governing Global Commerce (Cambridge University Press, Spring 2013) – co-authored with Duncan Snidal and Joseph Jupille. The book asks: Under what conditions will a state (or, more generally, any actor) use available institutions, select among alternative institutional forums, change existing institutional rules, or create brand-new institutions? We address these questions by elaborating a novel theory (USCC). A central theme that emerges from our theory and evidence is the striking stability or staying power of the institutional status quo – the existing institutions at the time a new cooperation challenge arises. Many of the arguments that standard institutional IR theory suggests will drive moves away from the status quo (in the direction of institutional change or creation) overlook powerful countervailing forces. Our approach thus offers a long overdue corrective to prevailing views about change in IR. In spirit, it shares much with recent historical institutionalist work; in its analytics, it builds on bounded rationality to provide a novel and distinct way of thinking about institutional choice. Our theory generates distinct observable implications and, as we show in the empirical chapters, sheds light on a very wide range of institutional choices in global trade – from the 19th century to the present. These include long-forgotten cases, such as the creation in 1876 of the first truly international system of commercial dispute resolution – the Mixed Courts of Egypt, to the creation of the GATT, and significant instances of selection, change, and creation in post-World War II global trade governance.
Exit Strategies and the Consolidation of Peace (Professor Richard Caplan)

For the past several years Professor Caplan has been directing a research group of 15 scholars and practitioners who have been engaged in the study of endgame strategies and experiences with the aim of shedding light on the key challenges and issues associated with the termination of international operations of a state-building nature, notably: colonial administrations, complex peace operations, international territorial administrations and transformative military occupations. The project concluded this year with the publication of the findings in a volume edited by Professor Caplan and published by Oxford University Press in September 2012 under the title Exit Strategies and State Building. (http://www.oup.com/us/catalog/general/subject/Politics/InternationalStudies/HumanRights/?view=usa&ci=9780199760121).

An article based on Professor Caplan’s contributions to the volume appeared in Survival (June-July 2012).

Several events are scheduled for the coming year in relation to the project, including: a public panel discussion in London on 1 November organised by the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) with Lord Hannay of Chiswick (former UK ambassador to the UN), Dr Mary Martin and Professor Caplan; a joint book launch in Washington with the Stimson Center and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); a seminar at the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO) in the US State Department; and possibly a seminar at the International Peace Institute (IPI) in New York. In the course of the year Professor Caplan was invited to lecture on the topic of ‘exit strategies and state building’ at the LSE, the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex and the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

Global Trade Ethics (Professor Kalypso Nicolaidis, Dr Carolyn Deere and Emily Jones)

Launched in 2009, this project aims to articulate alternative visions of global political ethics relevant to trade issues. The project critically examines the ethical dimensions of global trade by bringing together two scholarly worlds, namely trade specialists on the one hand and political philosophers and normative theorists on the other. In doing so, new insights have been sought to the perennial debates on WTO reform and more generally the sustainability of the global trading system.

During 2011-2012, the project convened a seminar series on Global Trade Ethics in the Department for Politics and International Relations, where speakers explored various ethical dimensions of global trade. Speakers and topics included:

- Robert Howse, Lloyd C. Nelson Professor of International Law, New York University School of Law and Kalypso Nicolaidis, Professor of International Relations, University of Oxford on ‘Back to Basics after Doha: Charting the Way Ahead through Global Trade Ethics’

- Matthew Eagleton-Pierce, Lecturer in International Relations, University of Exeter on ‘All the Trader’s Men: Knowledge Producers in the Trade Field’
Liz David-Barrett and Ken Okamura, Centre for Corporate Reputation, SAID Business School, University of Oxford on ‘Too High a Standard? The Unintended Consequences of Anti-Bribery Laws’

Luara Ferracioli, Global Leaders Fellow, Global Economic Governance Programme, University of Oxford on ‘Immigration, Self-determination and the Duty to Exclude: Dealing Fairly with the Brain Drain’

Emily Jones, DPhil Candidate, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford on ‘Doing Good’ Through Trade? Europe’s Trade Relations with Developing Countries’

The research team authored three working papers: Robert Howse and Kalypso Nicolaidis ‘Back to Basics after Doha: Charting the Way Ahead through Global Trade Ethics’; Emily Jones and Clara Weinhardt ‘Echoes of Colonialism in Trade Negotiations Between the European Union and African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries’; and Emily Jones ‘Doing Good’ Through Trade? Europe’s Trade Relations with Developing Countries’.

Finally, the project has been supported by an EU sponsored research project ‘Politics, Economics, and Global Governance: The European Dimensions’ (http://pegged.cepr.org) in cooperation with the Economics department.

- **International Politics: The Rules of the Game (Professor Yuen Foong Khong)**

Yuen Foong Khong is working on a book project on ‘International Politics: The Rules of the Game’. The project’s point of departure is that political elites and strategic thinkers are increasingly invoking the “rules of the game” vocabulary in their dealings with one another and in their writings. However, there is no consensus on what those rules are or what they mean. Professor Khong’s project attempts to assemble a defensible list of the fundamental rules of the game. With the rules made explicit and understandable, he argues, analysts will be better able to distinguish between status quo and revisionist powers in an age of power transition. During the academic year, he also completed a paper on ‘Foreign Policy Analysis and the International Relations of Asia’ (for the Oxford Handbook on the IR of Asia) in which he tries to make a case for the relevance of FPA in explaining international outcomes in Asia.

- **Oxford International History Research Network (OIHRN) (Co-ordinator: Professor Anne Deighton)**

In 2011-2012 the central part of the work of the international history network was a seminar co-funded, and run jointly between DPIR (Professor Anne Deighton) and Modern History (Professor Jane Caplan and Professor Patricia Clavin). It looked at issues around the theme of integration and disintegration in the mid Twentieth century and early Twenty-First century, which is topical both as an historical debate, and indeed, in contemporary politics. We asked scholars, both younger, and more senior, to consider our theme within the context of their own archival work. The speakers were Glenda Sluga (University of Sydney): ‘Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism’; Marilyn Young (New York University): ‘America’s Necessary Wars of Choice’; Mark Gilbert (Johns Hopkins University, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced

- **Rethinking Europe in a Non-European World (RENEW)** (Professor Kalypso Nicolaïdis, Professor Berny Sebe, Professor Nora Fisher Onar)

Rethinking Europe in a Non-European World (RENEW) is an umbrella research programme coordinated by CIS and the European Studies Centre at St Antony’s. It encompasses a variety of research activities at Oxford University and at several partner institutions inside and outside of Europe. In the Oxford tradition, the aim is to encourage the development within a shared perspective of a variety of autonomous individual projects belonging to different theoretical and disciplinary approaches.

The shared perspective is that of ‘decentering’ the study of Europe in the World by giving pride of place to the demand side—concretely the viewpoints, perceptions, norms, values, interests, priorities and theoretical assumptions of non-Europeans. Most previous conceptual and empirical work on Europe’s role in the global political and economic order suffers from a heavy dose of Euro-centrism, if not Euro-narcissism among academics, civil servants and policy-makers alike. RENEW is premised on the belief that Europe’s influence in global politics can best be understood—and enhanced—if scholarly discourses and policy-relevant debates start from the recognition that Europe in the 21st century is embedded in a ‘Non-European World’, in recognition of both the echoes of Europe’s colonial past (as well as other more recent historical trajectories) and the peripheral place the EU is increasingly likely to have in an emerging world order that might be characterized by increased multi-polarity and varied degrees of regional leadership, either by hegemons and regional powers competing for primacy. ‘Non-European’ is not to be understood as juxtaposing Europe with the ‘rest of the world’; it simply assumes a world in which many centres engage in a mutually constitutive discourse to which Europe contributes as an important but not as the primary agent.

RENEW organised its annual workshop in May 2012 at the European Studies Centre in collaboration with Nora Onar Fisher, former Oxford doctoral student at Oxford and now professor at Bahcesehir University and Tobias Lenz, former Oxford doctoral student and now Post-Doctoral Fellow VU Amsterdam. Work on the edited volume Echoes of Imperialisms-The present of Europe’s Colonial Past (Nicolaidis and Sebe, eds) continued throughout the year nearing completion.
Launched in 2009, this British Academy-sponsored programme builds capacity for teaching contemporary Palestinian political history, by focusing on the three decade long revolutionary period that began with the establishment of the PLO in 1964, and ended with the signing of the Oslo agreements in 1993. The program is directed by Karma Nabulsi, and draws on the participation of doctoral students, Junior Research Fellows and senior Oxford faculty. It pioneers extensive collaboration between Oxford and universities in the Arab world, including scholars working at An-Najah (Nablus), Gaza, and Birzeit universities in Palestine; and Beirut Arab University and the Lebanese University in Lebanon. It also draws on the research strengths of scholars from a previous British Academy-sponsored network of philosophers and historians (‘Republicans without Republics’), as well as on cooperation with similar international research initiatives including the South Africa Democracy Education Trust (SADET).

Phase II of the programme was initiated with the workshop ‘Oral History: Building Capacity for Gathering Sources’, at Oxford in November 2010. Since then, in collaboration with a wide network of scholars, over 400 video interviews have been completed with historical actors and participants from both grassroots and various levels of leadership of the Palestinian revolution; 250 posters and more than 500 video and audio files on the various aspects of Palestinian revolutionary politics and democratic movements in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s have also been collected. An official affiliation between the programme and the British Academy’s Kenyon Institute in East Jerusalem was established and where young scholars of the programme are associated. Phase II concluded with a workshop held in An-Najah University in Nablus, Occupied Palestine.

The final phase of the programme, developing the website and the curriculum that will be taught in Arab, European, and North American universities began in November 2011. An advanced curriculum has been designed in light of the latest pedagogical methods, featuring extensive reading lists, questions, and online material, much of it original and archival, in both Arabic and English. The teaching programme website designed for presenting and disseminating these materials to students, academics, and the general public, will be launched at the close of Michaelmas 2012.

Mr Sam Daws established a new three-year project in September 2010 that undertakes policy-orientated research on the structures, effectiveness and utility of the UN System. During 2011-12 Mr Daws continued writing two books commissioned by Oxford University Press; one on The Reform of the UN Security Council, and a companion volume (co-authored with Loraine Sievers) on The Procedure of the UN Security Council. Valuable assistance for the latter was provided by Kadira Pethiyagoda. In September 2012 Mr Daws commenced work on a four book ‘Major Work’ compendia on the United Nations for Sage, co-edited with Natalie Samarasinghe.

During the year Mr Daws was invited to serve on secondment to the British government, first as Senior Principal Research Analyst, Multilateral Policy Directorate in the FCO, and since July 2012 as Deputy Director (United Nations, Prime Minister’s Post-2015 team) in the Cabinet Office. During the year he completed a major review of the lessons of UN high-level panels and
presented at a number of academic fora. These included conferences on Rising Powers (Cambridge University), Operationalizing the Responsibility to Protect (ELAC, Oxford), Institutional Supports for the International Rule of Law (UN University, Brisbane, Australia), and a retreat on UN Security Council reform (hosted by the President of the UN General Assembly in New York). He chaired a panel on the politics of multilateralism at the BISA 2012 Annual Conference in Edinburgh, and the final session (on human rights) of the ACUNS 25th Annual Conference in New York. He gave talks on UN reform in both the UK and the USA, and co-organised a Wilton Park conference on ‘Delivering a Well-managed and Effective UN’. He also completed his final year on the Board of Directors of the Academic Council on the UN System. The project has continued to provide advice to graduate and undergraduate students working on UN topics.

- **Ending Mass Atrocities: Southern Cultural Perspectives** (Dr Rama Mani)

In the 2011-2012 period the main activity related to this project was the inaugural launch of the final publication. The publication, co-edited by Rama Mani together with distinguished Professor Thomas G. Weiss, Presidential Professor at City University of New York, was issued by Routledge in mid-September 2011. The book launch seminar convened by CIS provided the first public opportunity for the issues surrounding R2P raised in the book to be discussed and debated. The seminar took place on 14 October 2011 in the Social Sciences Building. The seminar was chaired by CIS Director Professor Kalypso Nicolaidis. The panel consisted of Professor Richard Caplan and Professor Jennifer Welsh, alongside book co-editor Dr. Rama Mani.

The book provides an unusual perspective on R2P in that it does not address the political, legal and military dimensions that have often been debated, particularly since the Libya intervention by NATO. This book focuses on the cultural, religious, ethical and aesthetic dimensions and provides southern analyses from the perspectives of scholars from countries that have experienced different kinds of mass atrocities. The presentation of the book and the diverse views on R2P raised by the speakers stimulated a lively debate. Members of the audience included scholars from Palestine and Pakistan, and individuals with significant experience in different conflict areas, and the comments and questions raised were highly pertinent to the actual implementation and impact of R2P on the ground and the potential contribution of cultural dimensions of R2P to its future application.

Following this successful seminar, Dr. Mani has had book launches in:

- Geneva, October 17, 2011 with the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) chaired by Dr. Khaled Koser, Dean of GCSP, with Dr. Cornelio Sommaruga and Ambassador Mohammed Sahnoun, co-founders of the concept of R2P, as fellow panellists;

- New York December 5, 2011, at the Church Centre opposite the United Nations, co-sponsored by the Academic Council on the United Nations System and the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (GCR2P), chaired by Simon Adams, Executive Director of GCR2P and addressed by Professor Thomas Weiss, co-editor, Abiodun Williams, Vice President of US Institute of Peace and Dr. Mani.
-Melbourne, February 15, 2012, at the University of Melbourne, chaired by Professor Jennifer Balint, and addressed by Hon. Dr. Gareth Evans, co-founder of the concept of R2P and Co-Chair of the International Commission on International Intervention and State Sovereignty with Ambassador Sahnoun, as fellow panellist alongside Dr. Mani.

All three co-founders of the concept of R2P, Dr. Evans, Amb. Sahnoun and Dr. Sommaruga, acknowledged in their own words at these book launches the indispensable importance and relevance today of cultural perspectives and southern voices in the discussion, decisions and implementation of R2P – as both Libya and Syria suggest to us.

With these book launches, this project has formally come to a close. CIS is heartily thanked for its support throughout the duration of this project, from inception to launch of the publication. A particular thank you is extended to former CIS Director Professor Richard Caplan for this support as well as to current CIS Director Kalypso Nicolaidis.

- The Paradoxical Role of Religion and Spirituality in Conflict, Peacebuilding and Governance (Dr Rama Mani)

This research project began in January 2012. The main highlights of the project this year included: an international inter-disciplinary conference co-convened and hosted by CIS; an article by project leader Dr. Rama Mani published in the acclaimed peer reviewed journal Global Governance; and participation in a panel discussion on religion convened by ELAC. These are briefly discussed below.

The main outcomes of this project in this year were: first, a greater interest in and discussion of issues of religion, politics and IR in the Department and across faculties; second, new research in this area in collaboration with scholars from other institutions and disciplines; and third, the establishment of new institutional relationships that may be of longer term interest and mutual benefit to CIS and its new partners. These outcomes are briefly discussed below.

In terms of project highlight the most important was the two-day international interdisciplinary conference on ‘Religion, Spirituality and Global Governance’ held on 4-5 May hosted by CIS at the Department of Politics and IR at Oxford. The conference was jointly convened by CIS, the Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS) and the Center for Sustainable Peace and International Development (SDIP) at the Korbel School of International Affairs of the University of Denver. The conference drew distinguished European, North American, Asian and African scholars from the disciplines of Politics and IR, Sociology, Psychology, Anthropology, Education and Theology. The programme addressed the role and influence of religion on politics, society, conflict and peace, gender, education, regional and global governance. CIS’ Professor Richard Caplan addressed the opening session of the Conference while CIS Director Professor Kalypso Nikolaidis chaired the closing session. Two graduate students from DPIR, Christine Hobden and Tahrat Emma Shahid, along with a graduate student from the Department of English, Cristina Conti, assisted at the conference and served as rapporteurs. CIS’ Professor Sir Adam Roberts chaired the special public event marking the 25th Anniversary of ACUNS. This event featured a distinguished panel of speakers on the subject, ‘Quo Vadis Global Governance’, with Dr. Pilar Alvarez Laso, UNESCO Assistant Secretary-General, Dr. Scilla Elworthy, Founder of the Oxford Research Group and PeaceDirect and three-times nominated for the Nobel Peace
Prize, and Professor Christer Jönsson, Chair of ACUNS and Professor Emeritus at the University of Lund. The conference was attended by students and faculty from DPIR and different departments of Oxford as well as external guests, who participated actively in discussions. A co-edited publication is planned drawing on the conference presentations.

The Journal of Global Governance published an article by Dr. Mani entitled: ‘Cure or Curse? The Role of Religion in Violent Conflict and Peaceful Governance’ in its April-June 2012 issue. The article’s basic arguments originated in a keynote speech given at an international conference on religion at the University of Denver and the Iliff School of Theology in April 2010. These were substantially expanded and deepened in the course of research during the past academic year at CIS, and resulted in the current argumentative piece which was published in the ‘Global Insights’ section of the journal.

On 17 May ELAC organized a panel discussion on the subject of Religion in War and Peace chaired by Professor Jennifer Welsh, with the distinguished Professor Tony Coady from the University of Melbourne and Dr. Mani as speakers. Dr. Mani presented the main arguments of her article in Global Governance as part of her presentation. The session was very well attended and led to an animated discussion on religion, peace and war, based on the different perspectives presented by speakers and provocative questions raised by the audience.

In terms of the outcomes of the project in 2011-2012, the concrete academic products are first the article in Global Governance cited above which is completed, second the proposed co-edited publication, and third, a proposed longer book length research monograph or publication expanding and deepening the arguments presented in the article. The latter two products will be taken further in the course of the new academic year 2012-2013, and should be ready for submission to publishers by December 2013. The second outcome of the project is in terms of new individual and institutional relationships built up in the course of the past year through the project and its activities. Of particular note are:

- ACUNS, a thriving academic-professional network community of scholars and practitioners around the world with an interest in United Nations and global governance issues, who wish to extend their community in Oxford and strengthen partnership with CIS through further collaborative activities. This could involve for example hosting the highly popular Summer Research Workshops which draw a mix of doctoral scholars and UN practitioners on specific issues each year, the annual conference, or occasional seminars on special topics like this one. The potential for collaboration with ACUNS is strong. Dr. Mani currently serves as Vice Chair of ACUNS while CIS Senior Research Associate Sam Daws has just stepped down from the Board of ACUNS but remains closely involved.

- UNESCO – ASG for Human and Social Sciences Pilar Alvarez Laso was deeply impressed with the conference organization and participants and formed a very favourable opinion of the host CIS. She remains open to the possibility of continuing and building stronger institutional partnerships with CIS and DPIR. Additional areas of interest to her might be ethics and media.

- SDIP, University of Denver. The Korbel School in general and SDIP in particular led by the eminent Professor Timothy Sisk was pleased with this institutional collaboration and is keen to expand relations between the two institutions.
It is hoped that with these activities and outreach, this project will be of continuing benefit to CIS and to DPIR students and faculty. In the coming year the focus will be on the co-edited publication and the book-length research monograph. Smaller seminars may be envisaged to highlight issues of religion and politics. If funding becomes available and a strong need is felt, a conference for authors to present their final papers may be convened.

- **Europe’s role in a changing world** (Dr Kirsty Hughes)

‘Europe’s role in a changing world’ looked at how the EU’s role in the world is changing at a time both of the emergence of a multipolar world order and in a period when the EU has faced the continuing challenge of the euro crisis. It looked at how the EU’s internal political and democratic processes have been impacted on by the euro crisis and how that then affected EU foreign policy, its role in the world, and its international agenda. A range of publications came out of this including a major policy paper for Friends of Europe entitled ‘European Politics and the Euro Crisis: Ten Failures’ which provoked considerable debate in Brussels and beyond, a longer article for Limes ‘EU Democracy in Crisis’ and a set of shorter features and articles for a range of outlets including the BBC website, HuffPostUK, Social Europe Journal and others. Shorter pieces included articles on the multipolar world (Huffpost), on an increasingly two-tier EU (BBC), and political analysis of Greece, France, the UK and Norway.

The project research ended earlier than planned as Kirsty Hughes took up a new role as CEO of Index on Censorship in April 2012.

- **Oxford Network of Peace Studies (OxPeace)** (Convenors/Co-ordinators: Dr EDH Carmichael & Dr AG Gosler)

In Michaelmas 2011 Oxpeace sponsored a symposium jointly with the Institute of Human Sciences entitled **Environmental Conflict & its Resolution**. This brought together speakers from diverse fields: Karen Witsenburg (Both ENDS and Max Plank Institute for Anthropology); Harry Verhoeven (Politics & IR, Oxford) and Andrew Loveridge, (Wildlife Conservation Research Unit, Zoology, Oxford) to discuss this rapidly developing field. The speakers noted the rise globally of environmental degradation, climate change and the loss of natural resources, including water and biodiversity, as causes of conflict, while there had been a general long-term decline in the number of conflicts resulting from political or ethnic causes. It is hoped that the success of this well-attended meeting will mark the start of further collaboration with the Institute of Human Sciences, whose interdisciplinary approach resonates with that of Oxpeace, as illustrated by this meeting. During the year Oxpeace sponsored a number of other events, including the screening at Merton College of the film ‘Fambul Tok’ (‘Family Talk’), which presents a significant community-based method for post-conflict reconciliation and peace-building developed in Sierra Leone. The meeting was well attended and generated much discussion.

On 19 May 2012 Oxpeace ran its annual conference ‘Disciplines of Peace’ (see podcasts at: [http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/keywords/oxpeace](http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/keywords/oxpeace)). This included as Dinner Speaker Simon Hughes MP, Co-Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Conflict Issues (APPGCI) and member of international network of parliamentarians on peace and conflict. Conference speakers included Richard Caplan, Professor of International Relations, on defining ‘Peacemaking, Peacebuilding,
Peacekeeping'; Dan Smith OBE, Secretary General of International Alert, on the practical disciplines of peace. Henry Shue, Cheyney Ryan, Cjharlotte Bannister-Parker, on Human Rights, Law, Theology and Religion in Peacebuilding; Marcus Meyer, Richard Barltrop, and a speaker from conciliation Resources on the practical skills of peace making, peacebuilding and peacekeeping. The conference ended with a discussion facilitated by Dr Rhys Kelly and OxPeace speakers on developing the study of peace in the University. The conference was attended by more than 100 delegates from diverse backgrounds, fostering essential interdisciplinary dialogue. During the year also Oxpeace consolidated its relationship beneficially with the Oxford Peace Research Trust (OPRT) and following a constructive meeting with the Vice-Chancellor, has entered into discussion with departments on the positioning of posts in Peace Studies within the University.

Associated Programmes

➢ The Changing Character of War (CCW)

In 2003, as the result of a nation-wide competition, the University of Oxford was awarded a grant by the Leverhulme Trust to fund a five-year programme on the ‘Changing Character of War’ (CCW). The programme formally came into being in January 2004 and is in the seventh year of its existence. As its title indicates, the CCW Programme aims to investigate whether or not the character of war is changing, using the tools of history to identify what is really new and what merely seems to be new. Attention is given to the normative issues raised by new practices and forms of war, as well as to the need to relate theory to reality in the study of war. In addition to involving scholars from a range of disciplines, the CCW Programme actively seeks the participation of practitioners from governments, multinational organisations and the armed services. A John Fell Research Grant of £280,000 was awarded to CCW in June 2008 to underpin further work after the expiry of the original Leverhulme award. Located in the Centre for International Studies for its initial five years, the CCW Programme moved to the History Faculty in September 2009 but maintains close association with CIS and the Department of Politics and International Relations as well as with the Faculties of Philosophy and Law.

Details of the activities of CCW in the academic year 2011-12 can be found at:
http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/ccw/

5. Workshops, Seminars and Lectures

In addition to workshops, seminars and lectures associated with the research programmes and projects above, the Centre also organised (solely or jointly) the following activities in the course of the academic year 2011-12:

Workshops and Conferences

• ‘Rallying to the R2P cause? The international politics of Human Rights’, 12-13 April 2012
• 'The EU’s Institutions: the State of the Art’, 4 May 2012
Lectures

- 'The Deaths of Others: The Fate of Civilians in America's Wars', Professor John Tirman (Center for International Studies, MIT)
- 'Behind the Arab Awakening: Dynamics of Civil Resistance', Professor Mary King (Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford)
- ‘The Garrison State From an Institutional Perspective: Was Lasswell Right?’, David Sylvan (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva)
- A Debate: ‘The Future of Europe: Towards a Two-Speed EU?’, 22 February 2012
- 'What is to be Done?', 29 February 2012
- 'Decision making in 72 international organizations: Why so much supranationalism?' Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)
- 'The Future of International Statebuilding: Lessons from the last two decades', 26 April 2012
- 'On the ethics of a common European defence policy', Professor Cécile Fabre
- 'The Coming Revolution in Qualitative Methods: Active Citation and Political Science’, Professor Andrew Moravcsik (Princeton University)
- 'Citizenship and obligation in the EU', Dr Pavlos Eleftheriadis
- 'The Global Crisis of the Advanced Economies - Challenges for the Central Banks and for European Governance’, M. Jean-Claude Trichet (Gouverneur Honorifique Banque de France), Lord Patten of Barnes (Chancellor, University of Oxford)
- ‘EU-China Economic Relations over the Next Decade’, John Farnell

Seminar Series

- ‘Post-Conflict State Building: Practitioners’ Perspectives’, organised by Professor Richard Caplan
- ‘Historical Materialism and International Relations’, convened by Alex Anievas
- ‘Debating Europe in a Non-European World’, convened by Kalypso Nicolaidis Trinity Term 2012
- ‘Justice and Democracy Beyond the Nation-State: Lessons from and for Europe’, Trinity Term 2012
- ‘Civil Resistance in Burma’ and 'Re-branding Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka’, Zaw Nay Aung and Frances Harrison
- ‘Democratic Innovations, Economic Challenges and the Future of the European Project’, convened by Kalypso Nicolaidis and Stuart White, with Graham Smith (Southampton) & Albena Azmanova (Kent University)

6. Charles Wallace Trust Visiting Fellowships for Burma and Pakistan

With a generous gift from the Charles Wallace Pakistan Trust, CIS established the Charles Wallace Trust Visiting Fellowship for Pakistan in 2009. This has been furthered by the establishment of the Charles Wallace Burma Trust. The purpose of the fellowships is to advance the understanding of contemporary problems and issues facing Burma and Pakistan across a broad range of themes. The fellowships will bring one scholar or practitioner from each country to the Department for one Oxford term in each academic year. The Charles Wallace Trust visiting fellows for 2011-12 were Zaw Nay Aung (Burma Trust) and Sadaf Aziz (Pakistan Trust).
Details about the CWT fellowship schemes can be found at:
http://cis.politics.ox.ac.uk/research/Projects/CWT/Charles_Wallace_Trust_info.asp

7. Visitors

The Centre encourages and hosts visiting academics, both those based wholly in the Department of Politics and International Relations and those based in colleges. During the academic year 2011-12, CIS visitors were Dr Sonja Grimm from the University of Konstanz, and Dr Diego Muro from Institut Barcelona d’Estudis Internacionals (IBEI).

Kalypso Nicolaïdis, Director (2011-2014)
10 October 2012

Matthew Kennedy, Administrator (2012-)
10 October 2012