

The New Protectorates: International Administration and the Dilemmas of Governance

Writers' Conference

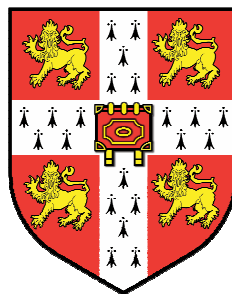
6-8 June 2007

Location: Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities (CRASSH), Cambridge (UK)

**Co-Organized by the Centre for International Studies, Cambridge University
and the**

Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi), Berlin

Sponsored by the Fritz-Thyssen-Foundation and CRASSH



Programme and Schedule

The New Protectorates: International Administration and the Dilemmas of Governance

Centre for Research in the Arts Social Sciences and Humanities
University of Cambridge, 6-8 June 2007

6 June

Arrival of participants

16.30 Discussion panel open to the public (CRASSH, 17 Mill Lane)

Building order in a post-imperial age: lessons from and perceptions of international protectorates since the end of the Cold War

Chair: James Mayall (University of Cambridge)

Stefan Halper (University of Cambridge)

Aswini Ray (Burdwan University)

Shogo Suzuki (University of Cambridge)

Dominik Zaum (University of Reading)

19.30 Pre-dinner drinks (Old Combination Room, Christ's College)

20:00 Welcome dinner with participants (Old Combination Room, Christ's College)

7 June

8.00 Breakfast (in colleges)

9.30 Introduction

James Mayall (University of Cambridge) and Thorsten Benner (Global Public Policy Institute)

9.45 Historical Context

Chair: Brendan Simms (University of Cambridge)

Old Empires and the New Protectorates: A Conceptual Critique (Will Bain, University of Wales, Aberystwyth)

The British Empire and International Order: Model or Trap? (James Mayall, University of Cambridge)

US Leadership and the Challenge of International Order (Stefan Halper, University of Cambridge)

11.10 Coffee Break

11.30 Governing Post-Cold War Protectorates I

Chair: Krishnan Srinivasan (Indian Foreign Ministry, retd)

Achievements and Limitations of UN trusteeships (Richard Caplan, Oxford University)

The UN's Peacebuilding Bureaucracy: Changing Self-Images of Governance (Thorsten Benner, GPPi)

The Domestic Legal Framework (William Burke-White, University of Pennsylvania Law School)

13.00 Lunch

14.30 Governing Post Cold War Protectorates II

Chair: Devon Curtis (University of Cambridge)

The Political Economy of Protectorates (Mats Berdal, Kings College London, and David Keen, LSE)

Civil-Military Relations (John Drewienkiewicz)

Legitimacy and the New Protectorates (Dominik Zaum, University of Reading)

16.00 End of Conference

19.00 Pre-dinner drinks (Cloister Court, Sidney Sussex College)

19.45 Conference Dinner (Mong Building, Sidney Sussex College)

8 June

8.00 Breakfast (in colleges)

9.30 The Geopolitics of the New Protectorates and “Out-of-Area” Perceptions

Chair: Christopher Hill (University of Cambridge)

India and the Challenge of the New Protectorates (Aswini Ray)

Paternal Authority, Civilised State: China's evolving attitude towards International Trusteeships (Shogo Suzuki, University of Cambridge)

The European Pull in the Balkans (Spyros Economides, LSE)

11.10 Coffee Break

11. 30 Liberal Peacebuilding and the Production of Global Order

Chair: Masayuki Tadokoro (Keio University)

Africa and trusteeship in the modern global order (Christopher Clapham, University of Cambridge)

Peace Operations and Modern Protectorates: The Logic of Successful Failure (Wolfgang Seibel, Konstanz University)

Government and Governance in the New Protectorates (Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, University of Cambridge/GPPi)

13.00 Lunch

Free Afternoon

20.00 Conference Dinner (Riverside Restaurant, University Centre)

Participants' biographies

William Bain is a Lecturer in International Relations Theory at the Department of International Politics at Aberystwyth. He joined the department in 2004, after having taught international relations theory, international ethics, and eighteenth century political thought at the University of Glasgow. William Bain specialises in international relations theory and normative approaches to world affairs. He published *Between Anarchy and Society: Trusteeship and the Obligations of Power* (Oxford University Press, 2003) as well as a number of articles and book chapters on these subjects. William Bain holds a BA from the University of South Carolina and an MA and PhD from the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada.

Thorsten Benner is Associate Director of the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin. Prior to co-founding GPPi in 2003, he worked with the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin; the UN Development Program, New York; McKinsey & Company, Berlin and the Global Public Policy Project, Washington D. C. His commentary has appeared in *DIE ZEIT*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, among others. His publications include *Critical Choices. The United Nations, Networks, and the Future of Global Governance* (Ottawa 2000). He directs the two-year research project on *Learning to Build Peace? The United Nations, Peacebuilding and Organizational Learning* funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF) as well as GPPi's project on *Crisis and Change: The UN Secretariat and the Quest for Accountability*. Since 2004 he has been a co-director of the Hertie School of Governance executive education program on global public policy. Thorsten Benner studied Political Science, History, and Sociology at the University of Siegen, the University of York (UK) and the University of California at Berkeley. He was a McCloy Scholar at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, where he received a Master of Public Administration (MPA).

Mats Berdal is Professor of Security and Development in the Department of War Studies at King's College London. From 1999 to 2003 he was Director of Studies at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London. He is currently completing *The UN and the Search for International Order*, a book that covers the immediate post-Cold War period and focuses in particular on the UN's involvement in the mitigation, containment and resolution of civil wars. He is also working on an Adelphi Paper for the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) examining the relationship between security and development in international relations. Other publications include "The UN, Peacebuilding and the Genocide in Rwanda", *Global Governance*, vol. 11 no. 1, 2005, and *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (edited with David Malone, Lynne Rienner, 2000). Mats Berdal holds a DPhil from Oxford University.

William Burke-White is Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania Law School. From 2002-2005 he was Lecturer and Senior Special Assistant to Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School, where he assisted with the launch of the Princeton Project on National Security. His research interests are at the intersection of international law and international politics. He is one of the leading scholars in the fields of international criminal law and

international investment law. Burke-White has written widely on the structure of international legal regimes, the effectiveness of international courts and tribunals, investor-state arbitration, international criminal law and US foreign policy. His scholarship addresses the operation of international tribunals, post conflict justice systems, the International Criminal Court, human rights, sovereign bankruptcy, amnesty legislation and the “international constitutional moment” after September 11. He was the 2001 recipient of the Deak Prize for the outstanding article published in a student-edited international law journal. He regularly serves as an expert for foreign governments in international investment disputes and has advised the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo on the creation of international criminal accountability mechanisms for the massive crimes committed there in the 1990s. Previously he has worked with the Government of Cambodia and the U.N. Transitional Administration in East Timor on the establishment of international criminal tribunals. Burke-White has also served as Special Rapporteur and Advisor to the Legal and Constitutional Commission of the Government of Rwanda for the drafting of a new Rwandan constitution, as visiting scholar at the International Criminal Court, as legal assistant at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and in the international law group at Clifford Chance, L.L.P. in London. Burke-White, a frequent commentator in the media on issues of international law and international relations, has been published in *The Financial Times*, *The International Herald Tribune*, and *Washington Times*, and *Foreign Policy*, and is a regular guest on various public radio stations.

Christopher Clapham is an associate of the Centre of African Studies at Cambridge University, and editor of *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. He was previously Professor of Politics and International Relations at Lancaster University, and President of the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom. His main area of interest is in the international relations of Africa. His books include *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) and *African Guerrillas* (ed., 1998). He has a specialist interest in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, on which he has written two books, *Haile-Selassie's Government* (1969), and *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia* (1988, revised 1990), as well as a large number of articles. He is a member of the Africa policy advisory group for the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and has briefed UK and other ministers and officials on issues related to Africa. He has carried out a number of consultancies on behalf of the UK Department for International Development and other agencies.

Devon Curtis is a College Lecturer in Politics at the University of Cambridge, and a Fellow of New Hall. Her main research interests and publications deal with power-sharing and governance arrangements following conflict, the “transformation” of rebel movements to political parties, and security and development. Her field research has concentrated on the Great Lakes region of Africa. Previously, Curtis was a Post-doctoral Research Fellow at the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University, and a Pre-doctoral Fellow at Stanford University’s Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC). She has also worked for the Canadian Government, the United Nations Staff College, and the Overseas Development Institute. Curtis received her Ph.D. in International Relations from the London School of Economics.

Major General **John Drewienkiewicz** CB CMG was commissioned into the Royal Engineers in 1966 and studied engineering at Sidney Sussex College Cambridge. He served in Germany, Denmark, Canada, the Gulf and the UK, becoming the Chief Engineer of the British Army in 1994. Selected to be the Chief of Staff of the NATO SFOR Headquarters, he formed and trained this new unit in mid 1996. He deployed to Sarajevo in Oct 1996, remaining there until Aug 1997. He then served as Military Advisor to the High Representative Jan to Aug 1998. In Oct 1998 he moved to Vienna at 6 hours notice to plan the unarmed OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission, subsequently moving to Pristina as the KVM's Chief of Operations. He remained through the violent winter of 98/99, until the KVM was ordered to leave on 20 Mar 1999. He returned to Pristina with KFOR in mid Jun. Since retiring from the Army in early 2001 he has remained connected with the Balkans. In 2002 he spent 8 months with the OSCE in Sarajevo assisting with the downsizing of the entity armed forces. In late 2003 he returned to Sarajevo to assume the triple hatted post of Military Advisor to the High Representative, Vice Chair of the Defence Reform Commission, and Director of the OSCE's Department of Security Cooperation. The Defence Reform Commission having completed its work of developing the unified Armed Forces of BiH, he returned to the UK in Dec 2005.

Spyros Economides is a Senior Lecturer in International Relations and European Politics at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He came to LSE in 1993 from the Centre for Defence Studies at King's College London where he had been a research associate since 1991. He was a Research Associate at the IISS 2001-2 and at the same time acted as specialist adviser to the House of Lords EU committee on their inquiry on EU Aid to the Balkans. He specializes in the Balkans, the study of civil wars and European security issues as well as US foreign policy. Economides has published widely in academic journals, most recently "The Europeanization of Greek Foreign Policy" (*West European Politics*, 2005), "Balkan Security: Which Security? Whose Security?" (*Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 2003) and "The International Criminal Court: Reforming the Politics of International Justice" (*Government and Opposition*, 2003). He is the co-editor (with Mats Berdal) of *Strategic Thinking: An Introduction and Farewell. Essays by Philip Windsor* (Lynne Rienner, 2002) and the co-editor (with M. Berdal) of the *UN Interventionism 1991-2004* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). Spyros Economides holds a B.Soc.Sc. from the University of Birmingham as well as an M.Sc. and Ph.D. in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Stefan Halper is a Senior Fellow at the Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge and a Senior Research Fellow at Magdalene College, Cambridge. He directs the Atlantic Studies Programme at the Centre of International Studies and lectures on Anglo-American relations, US national security policy and contemporary international security issues. His most recent books are *America Alone: The Neo-Conservatives and the Global Order* (with Jonathan Clarke, Cambridge University Press, 2004) and *The Silence of the Rational Center: Why American Foreign Policy is Failing* (with Jonathan Clarke, Basic Books, 2007). Stefan Halper holds doctorates from both Oxford and Cambridge. He has served four American presidents in the White House and Department of State and is an expert on U.S. foreign policy, national security policy, the United Nations, and Anglo-American relations.

Christopher Hill M.A. DPhil (Oxon) is Director of the Centre of International Studies and Sir Patrick Sheehy Professor of International Relations. He joined the Centre in October 2004 from the LSE, where he was the Montague Burton Professor of International Relations from 1991 to 2004. During his career he has held visiting positions at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington DC, the Department of Government at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, the European University Institute, Florence, the Università di Catania, the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, the University of California at San Diego and the Università di Siena. He has written many scholarly articles and book chapters, as well as being author, joint author or editor of nine books including *Cabinet Decisions on Foreign Policy*, *Two Worlds of International Relations: Academics, Practitioners and the Trade in Ideas*, and *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. His most recent book is *International Relations and the European Union* (co-edited with Michael Smith, 2005). At the LSE, Professor Hill was successively Chair of the Department of International Relations and Vice Chairman of the Academic Board 1999-2002; He was also Vice-Chair and then Chair of the British International Studies Association, 1996- 2000. He is coordinator of FORNET, a foreign policy research network involving 25 European partners, under the auspices of the European Commission's Framework Programme V.

Julian Junk is a PhD candidate and a research assistant at the University of Konstanz within the Department of Politics and Management and the Collaborative Research Centre (SFB) "Norm and Symbol". His research interests include planning of international peace operations, international organizations, public administration, and issues of international intervention. He holds an M.A. in Politics and Management from the University of Konstanz and also studied at the University of Lund (Sweden) and IEP Aix-en-Provence (France).

David Keen is Reader in Complex Emergencies at the Development Studies Institute of the London School of Economics and Political Science. He got his doctorate from Oxford University. His study of the political economy of famine was published by Princeton University Press as *The Benefits of Famine* (1994). He is also the author of *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars* (Oxford University Press, 1998) and *The Best of Enemies: Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). He formerly worked as a researcher, consultant and journalist.

Daniel Large studied Mandarin at Qingdao Ocean University (1998-1999) before obtaining his MSc in International Politics in 2000 from the School of Oriental and African Studies, where he is completing his doctorate. With Ricardo Soares de Oliveira and Christopher Alden, he co-convened a conference on China-Africa relations at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge in July 2006, and is editing the resulting book (Hurst, forthcoming). He has undertaken consultancy work for a number of organisations including UNDP, UNICEF, Transparency International, the ODI, Christian Aid and DFID. He directs the Rift Valley Institute's Sudan Archive (www.sudanarchive.net). His recent research has focused on China's relations with Sudan, where he has conducted extensive fieldwork.

James Mayall is Former Director of the Centre of International Studies at the University of Cambridge and fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. In 1997, he was the first Sir Patrick Sheehy Professor of International Relations in the

University of Cambridge, a position he held until 2004. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 2001. After a period as a National Service Officer in West Africa and six years in the British Civil Service, including a period in the British High Commission in New Delhi, James Mayall taught International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science between 1966 and 1998. From 1991-94 he was Convenor of the Department of International Relations. Over the past decade his research and writing has concentrated on the resurgence of ethnic, national, and religious conflicts since the end of the Cold War and the international reaction to them. His recent publications include *World Politics: Progress and its Limits* (Polity Press, 2000), *The New Interventionism 1991-1994: United Nations Experience in Cambodia, former Yugoslavia and Somalia* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) and *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Stephan Mergenthaler is a Research Associate with the Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin where he focuses on UN peace operations as well as the EU-China relationship. He is also a PhD Candidate in International Politics at the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, Humboldt University Berlin. Stephan holds an M.Sc. (Practice of International Affairs) from the London School of Economics and a Master in International Affairs from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po). In 2003-2004 he spent a year at the Elliot School of International Affairs at George Washington University in Washington D. C., and he is a graduate of Sciences Po's Franco-German undergraduate program. His experience includes work with the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research in Washington D. C., the South Asia Human Rights Documentation Center in New Delhi, the German and French Ministries for Foreign Affairs in Berlin and Paris, and the German Mission to the UN in New York.

Mitja Müller is a summer intern with the Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin. He is an undergraduate student at the University of St Andrews, Scotland, pursuing a Joint Honors degree in International Relations and Modern History. He will spend the academic year 2007/2008 at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), focusing on US and South Asian politics, foreign policy, and history. Mitja holds a scholarship from the German National Academic Foundation. His previous work experience includes an internship at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the German Parliament.

Aswini Kanta Ray is currently a Visiting Professor at Burdwan University, West Bengal. He was Professor of International Relations and Comparative Politics at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, a post from which he retired in 2003. Previously, he taught at the universities of Calcutta and Delhi. He has also been associated with the universities of Tokyo, Mexico, Colima, Southampton, the London School of Economics, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and the Sorbonne. His books include *Domestic Compulsions and Foreign Policy* (New Delhi, 1975), *The Global System: A Historical View from the Periphery* (Tokyo, 1996), *Democratic Rights in a Post-Colonial Democracy* (CNRS, Paris, 1997) and *Western Realism and International Relations: A Non Western-View* (New Delhi, 2004). He holds an MA from Calcutta University and a PhD from the University of Heidelberg.

Philipp Rotmann is a Research Associate with the Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin as well as a student in the two-year graduate program in international relations offered jointly by Humboldt University Berlin, the Free University Berlin and the University of Potsdam (M.A. expected August 2007). He holds a B.A. from the University of Erfurt (Germany), where he studied economics, political science and law. In 2004/05, he spent an academic year at the University of Essex (UK). His work experience includes an internship with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He co-authored, with Thorsten Benner and Andrea Binder, *Learning to Build Peace? United Nations Peacebuilding and Organizational Learning: Developing a Research Framework* (2007) and with Thorsten Benner, *Learning to Learn? UN Peacebuilding and the Challenges of Building a Learning Organization* (forthcoming 2008, Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding).

Wolfgang Seibel is Professor of Political and Administrative Science at the Department for Politics and Management, University of Konstanz, Germany, and board member of the Center of Excellence 'Cultural Foundations of Integration'. Since 2005, he is also an Adjunct Professor of Administrative Science at the Hertie School of Governance, Berlin. He has been a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies (Wissenschaftskolleg) in Berlin, a guest scholar at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University, and a visiting professor at the University of California at Berkeley. Publications include *Networks of Nazi Persecution. Business, Bureaucracy and the Organisation of the Holocaust* (2005, editor together with G.D. Feldman), *Verwaltete Illusionen. Die Privatisierung der DDR-Wirtschaft durch die Treuhandanstalt und ihre Nachfolger 1990-2000* (2005) and *Successful Failure. An Alternative View on Organizational Coping* (1996). He currently directs the research projects on *Administrative Science Meets Peacekeeping* (supported by the German Foundation for Peace Research) and on "*Casualties of the New World Order?*": *The Political Construction of Success and Failure of International Interim Administrations* (supported by the DFG).

Brendan Simms is an historian, writer and Newton-Sheehy teaching fellow at the University of Cambridge in the Centre of International Studies. He is also a fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. He currently lectures and leads seminars on international history since 1945. Dr. Simms' main research projects deal with the history of foreign policy in countries such as Britain and Germany. A contributor to the *London Review of Books*, he is the author of *Unfinest Hour: Britain and the Destruction of Bosnia* (Penguin, 2001) and *The Impact of Napoleon: Prussian High Politics, Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Executive, 1797-1806* (Cambridge University Press, 2002). He is co-president of the Henry Jackson Society, which advocates the view that supporting and promoting liberal democracy should be an integral part of Western foreign policy.

Ricardo Soares de Oliveira is the Austin Robinson Research Fellow at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, an Associate of the Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge, and a Fellow with the Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin. He will be University Lecturer in Comparative Politics (African Politics) at the Department of Politics and International Relations, Oxford University, and Fellow of St Peter's College, Oxford, from September 2007. During the academic year 2006-07 he is a visiting scholar at the Centre d'études et recherches internationales (Sciences-Po) in Paris. Earlier, he was a Joseph C. Fox Fellow at the Centre of International and

Area Studies at Yale University. He has worked in the field of governance and the energy sector for the World Bank, the European Commission, Catholic Relief Services, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the French Ministry of Defence, among others. His research interests include African politics (particularly West and Central Africa), comparative politics and international political economy, especially in the fields of natural resource extraction, organized crime, state decay and post-conflict reconstruction. Most recently, Soares de Oliveira has focused on the issue of oil and governance in the Gulf of Guinea, where he has conducted extensive fieldwork. He is the author of *Oil and Politics in the Gulf of Guinea* (Hurst Publishers and Columbia University Press, 2007), a co-editor of the forthcoming *China Returns to Africa: A Superpower and a Continent Embrace* (with Daniel Large and Christopher Alden, Hurst Publishers) and a contributing author to *Bottom of the Barrel: Africa's Oil Boom and the Poor* (Catholic Relief Services, 2003). He holds a BA in politics from the University of York, an MPhil in International Relations and a PhD, both from the University of Cambridge.

Krishnan Srinivasan is a former Indian Foreign Secretary and Deputy Secretary-General of the Commonwealth. Before these appointments he had served as India's Ambassador/High Commissioner to six countries, including Bangladesh. He has been a visiting fellow of the Centre of International Studies, Cambridge, and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in the University of London. His most recent book is *The Rise, Decline and Future of the British Commonwealth* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Shogo Suzuki is a Mellon Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow at the CIS (in conjunction with the Faculty of Oriental Studies). He joined the Centre in 2005, after completing a Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations at the Australian National University. He has also been a visiting scholar at Peking University, China, and the Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Tokyo. Shogo's research areas are international relations theory with reference to East Asia, Sino-Japanese relations, and the diplomatic history of East Asia. He teaches the 'China in the International System' course for CIS, and also undertakes teaching in Chinese language at the Faculty of Oriental Studies. Shogo has also taught Security Studies at the Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand. Shogo has published in the *European Journal of International Relations* and *Asian Perspective*, and more recently has contributed a chapter to an edited volume, *Everyday International Political Economy* (edited by John M. Hobson and Leonard Seabrooke).

Masayuki Tadokoro is Professor of International Relations of Keio University. Born in Osaka, he did his postgraduate studies both at Kyoto University and London School of Economics. Before he took the current post in 2002, he was a professor at National Defense Academy. While his main field is international political economy, he has been working on a variety of fields including Japanese foreign policy and international organizations. His publications include *The Realities of the UN: A Budgetary Analysis* (Yuhikaku, 1996), *Foreign Correspondents in Tokyo*, co-authored with Masato Kimura (NHK Publishing Co., 1998). *The Dollar goes beyond "America", - financial globalization and monetary diplomacy* (Chuokoron Shinsha, 2001), *Evaluating International Organizations from a Japanese Perspective*, co-edited with Akihide Shiroyama, (Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha, 2004). His latest publication is an edited volume, *The Royal Navy and Pax Britannica* (Yuhikaku, 2006)

Dominik Zaum is a lecturer in International Relations at the University of Reading. Previously, he was a Junior Research Fellow in International Relations at Oxford University. He also worked at the Lessons Learned and Analysis Unit, EU Pillar, UN Interim Administration Mission to Kosovo (UNMIK), at the Office of the High Representative (OHR), Bosnia and Herzegovina and as a Retained Lecturer in International Relations at Oxford University. His academic work centres on issues of sovereignty in peacekeeping and state-building. He published articles on these issues in *International Peacekeeping*, *Millennium* und *International Affairs*. Dominik Zaum holds a BA (hons) in Philosophy, Politics and Economics as well as an M.Phil. and a Ph.D. in International Relations from Oxford University. His publications include *The Sovereignty Paradox: The Norms and Politics of International Statebuilding* (Oxford University Press, 2007) and *The United Nations Security Council and War* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming) co-edited with Vaughan Lowe, Sir Adam Roberts, and Jennifer Welsh.

Conference Rapporteurs: Stephan Mergenthaler and Philipp Rotmann, Research Associates, and Mitja Müller, Intern, Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin.

Project background

The International Protectorates project was launched in February 2006 at a conference held in the Rockefeller Centre in Bellagio, Italy and attended by a highly international and interdisciplinary group of scholars and practitioners. The purpose of that first event, which was generously funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, was to assess the state of debates on the subject of international protectorates with a view to producing an edited volume of original content. “International” or “new protectorates” is our term for a diversity of contemporary efforts to build states under international tutelage which are often discussed under the more specific headings of international administration, trusteeship, or even peace-building.

Among other things, the Bellagio conference showed the very high quality of recent work on the international protectorates, including detailed case-studies and a number of overall assessments. Rather than aiming at another such comprehensive study, the purpose of our second meeting on 6-8 June 2007 is to focus on what we have identified as an understudied dimension of international protectorates: the “theories of governance” that underpin international protectorates, conceived of as the inextricably linked questions of “how to govern and how to justify it”¹. This approach transcends the sharp distinction between the normative debates around ideas of a contemporary “civilizing mission”, on the one hand, and those pertaining to the operational practices of international protectorates (the two major and usually opposing approaches in the literature), on the other. Alternatively, our approach sees these as mutually constitutive and understandable only within the same analytical framework.

Goals of the conference

The 6-8 June 2007 meeting is co-sponsored by CRASSH and the Fritz Thyssen Foundation and co-organized with the Global Public Policy Institute. It is conceived as a writers’ conference for the upcoming edited volume. Participants will have the opportunity to present and discuss their draft chapters or presentations. We expect that a third meeting will be held in Berlin in the second half of 2008 on the occasion of the publication of the edited volume with the goal of disseminating its conclusions to an extended audience of both academics and practitioners.

The conference and edited volume will focus on what is specific and distinctive about the political rationality of international protectorates: their values, organizational structures, targets and fields of operation. In our usage, the new protectorates are a series of post-conflict territories where a medium- to long-term international presence, invariably under the leadership of Western powers, was established over the last decade and a half in order to accomplish physical reconstruction, the establishment of non-dysfunctional political institutions, and ultimately, the transformation of “maladjusted” pre-protectorate political cultures. The motivation for such ambitious moves is a complex mix of self-styled altruism and security-inspired concerns, especially since 11 September 2001. Territories that can be deemed “international protectorates” encompass those where international trusteeship has been officially declared, as in Kosovo (1999-), Bosnia-Herzegovina (1995-), Eastern Slavonia (1995-97), or East Timor (1999-2002), and some form of explicit executive authority is held

¹ Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

by international forces. Beyond such obvious instances, the category also includes states such as Afghanistan and Iraq where an international military and civilian presence is very large; a foreign pro-consul holds important (formal or informal) oversight responsibilities over the direction of policy; a number of governance tasks is performed with significant input by foreigners and often a peripheral role for local officials; and the survival of the state in its current form is inconceivable without the presence of outsiders. We are also interested in the experience of Africa failed states with extensive peacekeeping operations such as Liberia and Sierra Leone where conditions seem ripe for a protectorate but no external willingness to do so has materialized. The new protectorate is thus a political, not simply a legal reality, and it is its status as a political project in its own right that is of interest here.

The approach of this project presupposes understanding both the historical contingency and, indeed, uniqueness, of the project of international protectorates (rather than seeing it as derivative of, or even coterminous with, the imperial project) as well as its more commonly pointed-out ideological roots in Enlightenment ideas of improvement. While international protectorates tend to be presented as particular responses to individual political crises and instances of state collapse, the question of why they are politically possible at the present time is a pressing one. Hence the attention we want to pay to the specifically Western political imaginations that underpin such efforts and how they combine liberal commitments to social re-engineering with more conservative, security-inspired concerns. We also seek to understand how successfully these ideas and practises have been disseminated within the wider international community, and whether non-Western perceptions of them pose particular problems for establishing the legitimacy of international protectorates.

The editors make no assumption about the ideological coherence of the international protectorates and expect the volume to tease out the plurality of “intervening visions” that cohabit within it. At the same time, an understanding of the new protectorates as really existing political forms presupposes the study of not only its discursive fields (often inchoate in theory and debased or forgotten in practice) but also its everyday policies.

Amongst other questions, the conference and the planned edited volume will address the following:

- What is the role of international protectorates in current efforts to promote world order?
- What implicit/explicit theories of governance inform international protectorates, and where do they come from?
- What type of organization (if any) is the international protectorate?
- Do international protectorates emulate Western bureaucratic and socio-economic realities, or are they laboratories for new ideas with only limited currency in the West?
- Are the conservative (establishment and maintenance of political order) and the progressive (the building of liberal states) agendas of the new protectorates compatible?
- How do empowered, as opposed to “weak” or “failed”, non-Western states perceive the new protectorates?

- What are the prospects of the new protectorates, particular in view of their record thus far? Although connected with their practical viability, this question is primarily related with how international protectorates will fare as a political project in the medium-term.

Chapter contributions

The edited volume will be submitted for publication to Christopher Hurst Publishers (www.hurstpub.co.uk). Individual chapter submissions are expected by 31 January 2008. Chapters should be 6-7000 words-long, excluding footnotes, with a bibliography at the end. The system of quotation is Harvard-style.

The thrust of the chapters will be predominantly comparative and theme-based. When case-studies are explored in depth, this should not be an attempt at providing “potted histories”, let alone holistic understanding of individual experiences. In most chapters, the writer’s aim should be to weave evidence from a diversity of international protectorates (say, in constitution-making, or the running of economies) and seek to understand them within both a sector-specific framework and the broader questions posed. While the editors and most of the contributors believe that the international protectorates share a common political experience, it is expected that individual chapters deal with both similarity and difference. The aim of the volume is diagnosis and analysis; it is not primarily concerned with "solving" the problem of how to deal with failed states or finding the "right" formula for peace-building.