

St Antony's International Review





# Annual Report 2018



St Antony's International Review

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#### Our Aims and Scope



The St Antony's International Review (STAIR) is a peer-reviewed, academic journal established by graduate members of St Antony's College in 2005, and run by graduate students of the University of Oxford. It is published bi-annually and features articles on international affairs. The central aim of STAIR is to reflect the cross-disciplinary dialogue on global issues of contemporary relevance that is a unique feature of life at

St Antony's. In recreating the College ethos of open, accessible, and engaged debate, STAIR seeks to develop a forum in which emerging scholars can publish their work alongside established academics and policymakers.

We should all be grateful for the St Antony's students who took the initiative to launch this lively and challenging new journal of international affairs. It takes on the important issues and examines them in the round, from a truly global perspective.

> Professor Margaret MacMillan, Honorary Fellow of St Antony's College

This journal draws on the strengths of St Antony's College in international relations and area studies to provide a lively forum for debate on the major global issues in today's world. It brings together younger and more established experts to present to the reader in an accessible manner the fruit of cutting-edge scholarship.

 Avi Shlaim, Emeritus Professor of International Relations, Fellow of St Antony's College

An important and timely initiative stemming from an Oxford College that excels at the study of international relations.

 Rosemary Foot, Professor of International Relations, John Swire Senior Research Fellow at St Antony's College

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#### Review of the Year 2017-2018

#### (a) Executive Summary by the Managing Editor

Dear friends of the St Antony's International Review,

Since its founding in 2005, STAIR has grown into a well-respected global affairs journal with over twenty institutional subscribers world-wide. In 2017-2018, with a team of more than twenty graduate students in various editorial and executive roles, we have continued our efforts to uphold STAIR's tradition by consolidating its achievements from previous years and producing high-quality issues on topics of contemporary relevance in international affairs from both established academics and emerging scholars in a variety of disciplines. This annual report presents an outline of our work over the past year, our finances, and our current and upcoming projects. This introduction briefly summarizes the scope of these activities.

Our first issue of 2018 on 'International Relations in a Post-Factual World' extensively engaged with the challenge that the many manifestations of 'post-truth' pose to international relations. Following several events of the preceding year, including the Brexit vote, the Colombian Referendum, and many of the foreign policy decisions of U.S. President Donald Trump, STAIR's 13:2 issue particularly aimed to address the role of experts and scholarly knowledge in the conduct and study of international affairs. In addition to eight academic articles, the issue also featured an interview with Dame Minouche Shafik, the current Director of the LSE, who has held leadership positions at the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Bank of England. The launch event, hosted at Trinity College in February 2018, invited Will Moy from Full Fact, the UK's independent fact-checking organization, to speak about the phenomenon of 'fake news' and how the challenges of post-truth politics can be mitigated in a world in which the meaning of truth and knowledge itself is being transformed.

Our second issue of 2018, launched under the theme *'Redrawing the Boundaries of International Law'*, further investigated the changing dynamics of international politics, this time focusing on the fractures and inequalities of the international legal regime. The issue discussed contemporary challenges to international law from state and non-state actors, as well as questions pertaining to sovereignty and supranationalism in the 21st century. The dual feature, with Ruma Mandal, the Head of Chatham House's International Law Programme, and Professor Philippe Sands, QC, provided insights on the changes and challenges in this field. The issue was launched in May 2018 with a lecture delivered by Professor Philippe Sands, QC, at Nuffield College. At the moment, the newly elected STAIR editorial committee is working on the compilation of two upcoming issues which will be published in February and May 2019, respectively. Our 14:2 issue, under the theme 'Individuals in Conflict: Agency, Rights, and the Changing Character of War' promises indepth academic and policy-oriented discussion on the dynamics of political violence, human rights, and sexual and gender-based violence in various conflict theatres. The issue will feature an interdisciplinary selection of pieces from both emerging and established scholars, and will present several feature articles as well as interviews with academics and practitioners. The 15:1 issue, in contrast, will address the highly pertinent topic of cybersecurity: Authority, Responsibility, and Power in Cyberspace'. We are in the process of receiving abstract submissions for this issue, with the promise of a multitude of interesting contributions from a range of disciplines.

With a newly elected editorial board and executive committee of twentyfour graduate students from various departments and colleges STAIR has been highly active in preparing these issues and upcoming projects, pushing beyond our conventional scope of activities. Apart from continuing to work towards the timely publication of both issues, in contrast to previous years, we are structuring our efforts along several collectively defined priorities, including increasing the journal's visibility in Oxford and beyond, streamlining organizational and editorial practices, and enhancing interdisciplinarity through attracting a greater number of submissions from different academic backgrounds. We are also enhancing our efforts to attract new institutional subscribers to further strengthen the financial solvency of the journal, which has been substantially improved in 2017-2018.

Our finances have remained in line with previous years. Our main costs have remained relatively stable, while the overall situation highlights the need for STAIR to increase its revenue and diversify its income base. The current board plans to continue prioritizing the improvement of STAIR's finances by diversifying its revenue bases and pursuing funding from the institutions with whom we are affiliated.

In short, as Oxford's peer-reviewed journal of international affairs, STAIR has continued to deliver high quality interdisciplinary analysis of international affairs, while providing graduate students with not only a forum to publish their work alongside established academics, but also the chance to experience the editorial process first hand by contributing to a fully-fledged academic journal. We have never missed an edition, which continues to testify to the efforts of students who are engaged with STAIR and advisory board members who have been supporting it. I would like to express my gratitude to the previous Managing Editor, Leah Matchett, for her support in my transition into the role as I took over leadership of the journal in Trinity Term 2018. Leah's efforts have in many ways served as a basis for our priorities this year, and her vision and leadership have been absolutely indispensable.

As STAIR transitions into this new year, please find below a detailed report of our past activities, current projects, and future objectives.

Linda Slapakova

Managing Editor, 2018-2019

Oxford, November 2018

#### (b) Publications and Events of the Year 2017-18

STAIR published two editions this year: volume 13:2 in February 2018, and volume 14:1 in May 2018. Below is a description of these issues and of their related events.

#### Vol. 13, no.2: "International Relations in a Post-Factual World"

Theme Section Editors:	Ivo Bantel (MPhil International Relations, St Antony's College), Katherine Tyson (MPhil International Relations, St Antony's College), Anna Klose (MPhil International Relations, St Mansfield College)			
General Section Editors:	Linda Slapakova (MPhil International Relations, St Antony's College), Mayesha Quasem (MPhil Comparative Government, St Antony's College), and Yutao Huang (DPhil International Relations, St Antony's College)			
Book Review Editors:	Millie Radovic (MSc Russian and Eastern European Studies, St Antony's College)			

As a publication dedicated to the dissemination of knowledge amongst academics and beyond, we face a challenging moment in history. As the world's problems have become more complex– climate change accelerates, economic cycles amplify, and questions of global inequality remain unaddressed–it seems that the opinions and advice of experts would be more sought after than ever. To the contrary, we find the courtyard of the ivory tower deserted. This issue seeks to address new questions that have been raised about the role of experts at a time when both decision makers and the public seem to have begun basing their opinions on emotions rather than facts.

In 2016, the Oxford English Dictionary named "post-truth" the word of the year. The same year, Michael Gove declared the British people "have had enough of experts."<sup>1</sup> On the other side of the Atlantic, journalists in the United States grappled with new problems presented by a presidential race operating under the stress of "fake news" and increasingly tribal and populist rhetoric. Around the world, post-truth politics have presented themselves as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Henry Mance, "Britain Has Had Enough of Experts, Says Gove," The Financial Times, June 3, 2016, accessed December 10, 2017, https://www.ft.com/ content/3be49734-29cb-11e6-83e4-abc22d5d108c.

anti-democratic, anti-progressive trends.<sup>2</sup> These events have garnered significant analysis individually, and as part of the broader emergence, of what is called the "post-factual" or post-truth world. At STAIR, we firmly believe that these events have significant implications for academia, and as such we have dedicated this edition to a reflective study of the role of experts in International Relations.

A truly post-factual world– one where the facts about an issue cease to correlate with people's beliefs about it– challenges both the accuracy and legitimacy of experts. On the one hand, this is a challenge to rationalist models of International Relations. Although always necessarily an idealized reality, the relatively new prospect of decision makers ignorant or unconcerned with the potential costs and benefits of their actions places significant stress on models relying on rational choice. On the other hand, those academics who value praxis in their research may find that their ideas are derided for their association with experts.

No matter your epistemological stance, scholars in International Relations are either invested in finding the truth or in producing a truth. If this endeavour is discounted, and the conclusions we publish are disregarded, what then is the role of academics? Despite the wide breadth of topics and methodology falling under the banner of International Relations scholarship, the production of conclusions drawn from supporting material lies at the heart of any social science. As social scientists, the only response to new complications in a system is further study and analysis. Therefore, we have dedicated the February 2018 Issue to a reflexive study of these trends, hoping to gain a further understanding of the causes and challenges they present.

The initial difficulty with any discussion of post-truth, or post-factual politics, is the lack of a precise definition. The aforementioned Oxford English dictionary defines post-truth as "relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief." Post-truth politics, therefore, are those politics where appeals to emotion and belief become more important than objective facts of a policy or debate. As Frankfurt has observed, this form of speech is less about lying and more about "bullshit."<sup>3</sup> The actors involved in this form of speech may believe that they are telling the truth, or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Peter Stokes, "Please Don't Explain: Hanson 2.0 and the War on Experts," The Conversation, July 7, 2016, accessed December 15, 2017, https:// theconversation.com/please-dont-explain-hanson-2-0-andthe-war-onexperts-62106; Katharina Viner, "Long Read: How Technology Disrupted the Truth," The Guardian, July 12, 2016, accessed December 15, 2017, https://www. theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/12/how-technologydisrupted-the-truth; William Davies, "The Age of Post-Truth Politics," The New York Times, August 24, 2016, accessed December 14, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/24/opinion/campaign-stops/the-age-of-post-truth-politics.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Harry Frankfurt, On Bullshit (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

they may not but that is of little concern to them. Rather, their focus is on persuading the audience. From this perspective, post-factualism in politics is more accurately described as the erosion of the obligation to reinforce claims made in the course of political debates. Recently, this behaviour is particularly prevalent on the far-right. Instead of being stalled by the factchecking of media teams, populist political campaigners around the world last year appealed to xenophobia, Islamophobia, and other emotionally charged issues. This is the most striking in debates where candidates operate from factual bases so distant that they can barely be considered the same reality.

Coined by Steve Tesich in 1992<sup>4</sup>, in its current meaning the term postfactualism is not new, and neither is the phenomenon. Early scholarship disagrees on whether this issue is the product of broader social trends, or driven by deliberate and politically motivated actors. However, the emergence of post-truth as the Oxford 2016 word of the year owes itself to the heated campaigns of Brexit and the 2016 presidential elections in the USA. The rise of false news stories, the expansion of social media, and the decline of print journalism have all been cited as drivers of post-factualism. D'Ancona gives an overview of the related issues, highlighting how emotional narrative accounts are trusted and shared more widely than other forms of information in the realm of governance and the financial sector.<sup>5</sup> Concomitantly, ethical problems present themselves in experts' power to potentially manipulate the discourse on issue areas too complex to be fully understood by the wider public. The 2008 Financial Crisis, economists' failure to predict it, and the resulting public disenfranchisement has often been cited as one of the early causes of disillusionment with experts.<sup>6</sup> This, coupled with the global revival of the Thatcherian idea that "there is no alternative" to the global free market<sup>7</sup>, led to the loss of trust in financial experts seen to be incompetent or even complicit in the face of economic difficulties.<sup>8</sup> As this trust continued to decline, fake news was "making

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Steve Tesich, "The Watergate Syndrome. A Government of Lies," The Nation, January 6, 1992, quoted in Richard Kreitner, "Post-Truth and Its Consequences: What a 25-Year-Old Essay Tells Us About the Current Moment, The Nation, November 30, 2016, accessed December 12, 2017, https://www.thenation.com/ article/post-truth-and-its-consequences-what-a-25-year-old-essay-tells-usabout-the-current-moment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Matthew D'Ancona, Post Truth: The New War on Truth and How to Fight Back (London: Ebury, 2017)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ben Thirkell-White, "Dealing with the Banks: Populism and the Public Interest in the Global Financial Crisis," International Affairs 85.4, 2009, 689-711.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Astrid Séville, "From 'One Right Way' to 'One Ruinous Way'? Discursive Shifts in 'There Is No Alternative,'" European Political Science Review, 9.3, 2017, 449-470; Arthur Borriello, "'There Is No Alternative': How Italian and Spanish Leaders' Discourse Obscured the Political Nature of Austerity," Discourse & Society 28.3 (2017), 241-261; Erik Swyngedouw and Japhy Wilson, "There Is No Alternative," in The Post-Political and Its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticization, Spectres of Radical Politics, ed. Erik Swyngedouw (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 299-311; For a historical analysis: Roger Middleton, "There Is No Alternative', Or Was There? Benchmarking the Thatcher Years," SSRN, March 29, 2017, accessed December 15, 2017,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Matthew D'Ancona, Post Truth.

recipients feel they [were] now authorities on the subject, by virtue of the false news that they [had] received about it."<sup>9</sup>

The New York Times, in particular, has taken a broad view on this, attributing the apparent crisis of truth to a transition "from a society of facts to a society of data."<sup>10</sup> A similar Politico piece noted that in the 2016 election "Americans [were] increasingly choosing to live in a cloud of like-minded spin."<sup>11</sup> From this perspective, post-truth politics is a reflection of our sins as citizens, more than a dupe by a political elite. In the same piece, the author reflects that "politics was NEVER more choose-your-own-adventure than in 2016, when entire news ecosystems for partisans existed wholly outside the reach of those who at least aim for truth" (emphasis in original). The combination of these two trends resulted in the beginning signs of a new norm: that it is legitimate to counter unwanted but substantiated claims with unsubstantiated ones. Facts, in short, no longer seemed to matter.

In contrast, other authors have focused on the actors involved in the rise of post-factualism. To these authors, post-truth politics is not the result of a profusion of smartphones, or poor news consumers, but a deliberate obfuscation of the facts for political convenience. James Fallows, at The Atlantic, has pointed to the growing role that partisan identity has begun to play, as politics have forfeited rational debate in favor of tribalism.<sup>12</sup> Part of this shift has been the sourcing of facts to fit policy, rather than shaping policy to fit facts. Ari Havt takes an even more pointed view, emphasizing the actors that drive misinformation campaigns. In Lies, Incorporated: The World of Post-Truth Politics, Havt skewers a range of actors from lobbyists to disreputable think tanks which, he charges, have been active agents in the development of a posttruth world. Other authors, including Steve Richards and Jonathan Freeland, have focused on the politicians like Donald Trump and Boris Johnson who have benefitted from, and exacerbated, this trend<sup>13</sup> as well as the established politicians who have left the way open.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Paul Levinson, Fake News in Real Context (New York: Connected Editions, 2017), 10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> William Davies, "The Age of Post-Truth Politics," The New York Times, August 24, 2016, accessed December 20, 2017, https://www.nytimes. com/2016/08/24/opinion/campaign-stops/the-age-of-posttruth-politics.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Susan Glasser, "Covering Politics in a 'Post-Truth' America," Politico, December 13, 2016, accessed December 16, 2017, https://www.politico.com/ magazine/story/2016/12/journalism-post-truth-trump-2016-election-politicssusan-glasser-21452

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> James Fallows, "The Broken Check and Balance," The Atlantic, October 31, 2017, accessed December 18, 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/ archive/2017/10/republicans-in-congress-youve-gotanother-chance/544466.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Jonathan Freeland, "Post-Truth Politicians such as Donald Trump and Boris Johnson Are No Joke," The Guardian, May 13, 2016, accessed December 17, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/13/borisjohnson-donald-trump-post-truth-politician

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Steve Richards, Rise of the Outsiders: How Mainstream Politics Lost its Way (London: Atlantic Books, 2017)

Popularized in the last several years, the phrase post-truth or post-factual politics has been stretched to include a wide range of phenomena. These range from structural changes in the way the population consumes news in the age of social media, to the rise and spread of fake news, or false news stories, on these platforms. Also often placed under this umbrella, there has been a visible political shift with the rise of populist political candidates across the world who value pathos over logos. These figures have been abetted by the rise of "alternative facts," which reflect a growing lack of accountability to a common factual reality. Further, these trends are mutually reinforcing.

These different phenomena associated with post-factual politics share at their core changing, even democratizing authority relations, bearing incredible potential but also great risks. As gatekeepers to news media, politics, and expertise are removed citizens must take an ever greater responsibility. Without an increased personal commitment to accountability and healthy skepticism, we may be relegated to post-truth, tribalism, and affect.

From a more academic perspective, the rise of post-truth politics raises questions on the meaning of truth and expertise. While it is easy to discount alternative facts, recent political developments present a challenge to academics to re-examine the meaning of truth and the role of expertise. More specifically, this raises two sets of questions: firstly, what do we accept as legitimate claims to truth on which to base policy-making and the public debate? Secondly, is there any intrinsic value in specialised knowledge for the purpose of advising society (i.e. experts) if no such value is attributed by the potential recipients of such advice? The former has long been the focus of an ontological debate within International Relations and the social sciences more generally. In contrast, the latter-questioning the claim of academics to be the ultimate authority determining the legitimacy of claims about the world-is addressed by a much narrower literature. The ontological nature of truth, while interesting, is slightly beyond the scope of this journal. However, compelling insights on this fundamental question can be found in philosophical literature.<sup>15</sup>

Long before newspapers began publishing articles about the age of posttruth, research on the sociology of knowledge has questioned the moral and factual basis of expertise. Central to this inquiry is the difficulty of generating a definition of expertise. Where previously there was a firm and acknowledged horizontal divide separating experts and the general public, more recent scholarship has questioned the simplicity of this, arguing that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Trenton Merricks, Truth and Ontology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

knowledge is by nature a social activity.<sup>16</sup> This view calls into question the value of "expertise" as an independent criterion, since it obstructs the democratization of knowledge.<sup>17</sup>

This repudiation of truth and expertise feeds into the longstanding debate about democratic governance and technocracy.<sup>18</sup> As early as the 1960s, scholarly attention turned to the tension between expertise as a basis for policy development, and the danger of ideological hegemony by an expert elite.<sup>19</sup> To this day, there remains a significant mistrust of an "expert class," as evidenced by Gove's aforementioned remarks.<sup>20</sup> Despite being based in part on the dismissal of traditional expert roles, post-truth tendencies have in many cases reified the divides they sought to abolish. The construction of a mutually exclusive and oppositional dichotomy- "the people" against "the experts" and "democracy" against "technocracy"-is a recurring pattern employed by populists, whether in the realm of (denying) climate change,<sup>21</sup> spreading racism and anti-immigrant sentiments, or rallying against the European Union.<sup>22</sup> Although experts themselves have been critical about the possible tyranny of knowledge, recent work in this vein is more optimistic. Stephen Turner concludes that the scientific commitment to self criticism (as evidenced by the peer review process) rather than domineering proclamations, means it is ultimately compatible with liberal democracy.<sup>23</sup>

However, this leaves us with the problem of definition. A view of knowledge and expertise as purely constructed overlooks the real power that certain groups of people have to influence policy. Mueser and Nagel, as well as Bogner, use this division as the basis for a new definition of experts to include those "actively involved in shaping public affairs."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Harry Collins and Robert Evans, "The Third Wave of Science Studies: Studies of Expertise and Experience," Social Studies of Science 32.2 (2002), 235-296

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Sabine Maasen and Peter Weingart, "What's New in Scientific Advice to Politics?," in Democratization of Expertise? (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 1-19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Giulia Pastorella, "Technocratic Governments in Europe: Getting the Critique Right," Political Studies 64, no. 4 (2016): 948-965.; Daniele Caramani, "Will vs. Reason: The Populist and Technocratic Forms of Political Representation and Their Critique to Party Government," American Political Science Review 111, no. 1 (2017): 54-67. ; Claudio M. Radaelli, Technocracy in the European Union (London: Routledge, 2017).

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Alexander Bogner, "Introduction: Expert Interviews–An Introduction to a New Methodological Debate,"
 in: Interviewing experts, eds. Alexander Bogner et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), 1-13, 5
 <sup>20</sup> Henry Mance, 'Britain Has Had Enough of Experts.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Riley E. Dunlap and Aaron M. McCright, "Organized Climate Change Denial," in The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society, eds. John S. Dryzek et. al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 144-160

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ruth Wodak, Brigitte Mral, and Majid KhosraviNik (eds.), Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse (London: A&C Black, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Stephen Turner, "What is the Problem with Experts?" Social Studies of Science 31, no. 1 (2001): 123-149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Michael Meuser and Ulrike Nagel, "The Expert Interview and Changes in Knowledge Production," in Interviewing Experts, eds. Alexander Bogner et. al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 17-42; Bogner, "Introduction: Expert Interviews," 1-13.

This definition of expertise is not without controversy, as it excludes actors with significant substantive knowledge, but little political relevance. However, if we take just the subset of actors considered to be policy experts, this definition serves as a useful departure point for this journal edition. On interviewing experts, Bogner concludes that "an ability to put specific knowledge to use for political gain is a constitutive characteristic of this type of "post-traditional" expert."<sup>25</sup> A growth in post-truth politics has immediate ramifications for this understanding of expertise.

If we define expertise by the ability to shape public affairs, and yet experts are finding their opinions ignored on issues as diverse as Brexit, the FARC Referendum, and the Trans-Pacific Partnership, we must ask: what is the future of expertise? How does the democratization of knowledge relate to its dissolution? In a way, we ask the same question as the old adage about a tree in a forest: without an audience or impact: what is the role of an expert? This edition does not answer all of these questions, but attempts to illuminate a small space in an increasingly relevant debate about how current political trends challenge not only International Relations, but the scholars who practice it.

We discussed these questions with Dame Minouche Shafik, the current Director of LSE, who has held leadership positions at the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Bank of England. In her feature interview with STAIR, Dame Shafik spoke about the role of experts in a world increasingly structured by a lack of trust towards them. She highlights the crucial importance of clear boundaries between impartial experts as policy advisors and elected politicians as the final decision makers. It is the blurring of these boundaries that has been, in her view, a crucial reason for the declining trust in experts and the rise of post-truth politics. Looking towards the future, Dame Shafik underlines that experts have to remain "the voice of rigour and reason in the cacophony," reminding us that experts depend on their integrity and reputation. This makes it crucial to maintain academic standards, insist on transparency in research, and be conscious of the limits of academic findings. In addition to these short-term solutions, she called for a debate on the underlying roots of posttruth politics: social inequality, disappointment with political developments, and the future of the labour market with increasing automation.

While these developments have had considerable political repercussions in the political landscape and the international order, they have also already begun to find their way into academic discourse. With this edition, we endeavor to give this topic a broader platform for discussion for the first time by exploring a range of disciplinary perspectives. We do not only reflect on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Bogner, "Introduction: Expert Interviews," 4.

specific instances and implications of post-factual politics and aspects thereof, but also examine the broader context and the role of expertise.

## In This Issue

An underlying theme of our special issue is the disruption of the current international order by post-truth politics. Three of this issue's articles take a theoretical approach, highlighting the subversive nature of post-truth politics, while also complicating the exclusivity of the truth/post-truth dichotomy. Rather than a simple shift from a world of truth to a post-factual world, these articles remind us that the picture is considerably messier. Jaroslava Barbieri's paper, "'Trust Me. I'm Not an Expert!' The ABC of Post-Truth: Avoiding Risks, Biases, Clicks," seeks to clarify the debate on post-truth politics with a typology of the current post-truth literature into micro-, meso-, and macro-level. Barbieri focuses on the creation of cognitive biases on the micro-level, social media changes on the meso-level, and global risks resulting from liberal policies on the macro-level. The author criticises how the three aforementioned issue areas are usually analysed in isolation. In contrast, systematising the existing literature shows the interrelatedness of the challenges posed by post-truth, pointing towards the need for a more holistic approach to policy solutions.

In "Post-Truth Politics and the Fracture of Neo-liberalism's 'Double-truth' Doctrine: Governmentality and Resistance in the US and the UK," Clara Voyvodic Casabó critically examines the relationship between truth and neoliberalism, taking recent UK and US politics with the Brexit vote and the rise of Trump as examples. Borrowing from Michel Foucault and Philip Mirowski, Casabó brings in the ideas of 'double-truth' and 'governmentality' to show the complex relationship between truth and governance in both countries. Neo-liberalism as an organising form of power and governance should not be seen as a doctrine of objectivity and truth, but as one of Mirowski's "doubletruths." The liberal elite has created one alternative truth narrative for public consumption alongside the private truth narrative of the liberal architects themselves which, as Casabó states, allows "governance without criticism." Recent events thus do not mark a shift from truth to post-truth politics, but instead, the rise of post-truth politics disrupts the double-truth doctrine, opening up new spaces for contestation of the neo-liberal governance logic.

The piece "Anti-System Society and Post-Truth: The Impact of Trump and Demagogue Movements on International Relations" by Aurora Ganz highlights the subversive nature of post-truth politics to international order, focusing on the Trump administration as a case study. The concepts of "antisystem parties" and "anti-system" are applied to International Relations from within an English School (ES) perspective. Ganz suggests that an antisystem society is emerging where the institution of post-truth is irreconcilable with the institution of diplomacy. The article seeks to show that post-truth affects the ES core concept of "international society," and we as academics are faced with the question of, and how, post-truth politics require a revision of International Relations theory. While, as the author herself admits, the paper "raises more questions than solutions," it serves as a reminder for the need of theoretical introspection within a rapidly changing world.

All three articles are careful not to give a definite account of what post-truth politics mean for the future, and as such does not seek to provide templates for policy solutions. They also do not overstate the case of a new post-truth political culture completely replacing the old status quo. However, what they do suggest is the need for greater theoretical engagement of the topic in mainstay International Relations scholarship.

The remaining articles of this special issue take a more narrow focus, and illustrate the importance of non-state actors and new technologies to posttruth politics. With "A Typology of Cybersecurity Governance Models," Jaqueline Eggenschwiler seeks to clarify cybersecurity governance by examining it through multiple models of governance: hierarchical, multistakeholderbased, and market-based. As a result, any policy prescriptions need to factor in that no single model of cyber governance fits all security issues, but that policy makers need to select the most appropriate type of governance, depending on problem type, to ensure effective regulation. Eggenschwiler therefore concludes that "the development of an overarching regime for cybersecurity does not appear useful."

Katharina Pfeil's article, "Expertise in a Post-Factual World: The Ideational Power of Think-Tanks," provides an in-depth case study of the Paris Climate Agreement. It contributes to the question of relevance of think-tanks in a post-factual world, analysing Trump's announced withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement. Through a discursive analytical framework of ideational power combined with an institutionalist approach, Pfeil studies what the growing scepticism of expertise means for think tanks. The article concludes on the somewhat sombre note that Trump's framing of the debate weakens the ideational power of think tanks.

The last paper of our special issue, focusing on non-state actors, is Michelle Reddy's analysis "Do Fences Make Better Neighbours?" It investigates the rise of legislative restrictions on foreign funding to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with a statistical analysis of 65 countries. Since NGOs have often been crucial in democratization and development policy through the diffusion of environmental, educational, and/or human rights norms, they are important vehicles for transnational advocacy. Reddy finds that when adopting foreign funding restrictions, leaders of hybrid authoritarian

regimes are affected by policies in neighbouring countries—there are neighbourhood effects—explained by historical and economic ties. This quantitative analysis differs in methodological approach from other articles in the theme section, and demonstrates how governments have attempted to restrict NGO and expert involvement in some areas.

These developments have rattled the political landscape and enriched academic debate. Furthermore, they point towards a need for a reevaluation of academia's foundations and selfunderstanding. From these articles and feature interview, we can draw three recommendations for International Relations and academia as a whole. First, the academy needs enduring rigour; second, it needs better and more transparent communication, a humble attitude, and a clear communication of the lack of absolute certainty of knowledge; and third, it must work to combat institutional blind spots. As scholars, we must be aware of how knowledge from academic inquiry is context-specific and rooted in those circumstances. We should also be reflective of our role as experts in this post-truth climate.

## Vol. 14, no. 1: "Sovereignty and Supranationalism: Redrawing the Boundaries of International Law in Global Politics"

	Theme Section Editors: Tuuli-Anna Huikuri (DPhil International Relations, Nuffield College), Yuan Yi Zhu (DPhil International Relations, Nuffield College)				
General Section Editors:	Linda Slapakova (MPhil International Relations, St Antony's College), Mayesha Quasem (MPhil Comparative Government, St Antony's College), and Yutao Huang (DPhil International Relations, St Antony's College)				
Book Review Editors:	Millie Radovic (MSc Russian and Eastern				

*European Studies, St Antony's College*)

If the "liberal moment" following the end of the Cold War represented a high watermark for the legalisation of international relations, the present decade has seen a backlash against these developments, which seems in retrospect entirely foreseeable. Once seemingly irreversible doctrinal innovations are now coming under sustained challenge; trends which seemed to fulfil historical inevitabilities now look precarious. Whether it is President Trump declaring "an end to the era of multilateral trade agreements," China dismissing the verdict of the South China Sea arbitration tribunal as "nothing

but a scrap of paper," or Russia annexing territory in a manner that would have seemed anachronistic for much of the last century, international law seems yet again to have reached one of its periodic crises.

Old concerns, which have always hovered in the background, are back with a vengeance. The thorny issue of legal fragmentation – or legal pluralism, depending on one's attitude – that always eluded a satisfactory solution is now made more pressing by rising powers' assertions of preferences that are often at odds with the existing legal settlement. Current international legal arrangements are perceived, perhaps rightfully, as the result of a selfinterested Western consensus. The understanding and practice of national sovereignty today in, say, Beijing, has little in common with its equivalent practices in European capitals. Even the famed "invisible college" of international lawyers is now perhaps better thought of as a "divisible college" of many different national or regional communities. These scholarly communities overlap to some extent, but also differ in their understanding of international law.<sup>26</sup> All this might not have mattered so much in an era of legal hegemons; however, with the move towards a multipolar and pluralistic international order, it is worth thinking about such matters more seriously than before.

ut such matters more seriously than before. Yet as crises go, the current one feels subdued; there is little sense of a general panic from within the discipline. In the words of James Crawford, although there will be some erosion of the legal order at its margins, its "foundational layers," which have sedimented through long usage, will endure.<sup>27</sup> These core norms are wellinternalized by the vast majority of states, and there is little prospect of many states completely extirpating themselves from those norms. As the old aphorism goes, nature abhors a vacuum. Though there are signs that the United States, which has been the central, albeit imperfect, upholder of the international rules-based system in the post-War period, is beginning to disengage from the house which it built, other actors are ready to step into the breach. For instance, the United States' withdrawal from the Paris Agreement was immediately followed by the remaining signatories reaffirming their commitment. Similarly, although China rejected the result of the South China Sea arbitration, it is striking that it took great pains to justify that rejection on legal grounds.<sup>28</sup> The backlash against the investment treaty regime likewise does not necessarily represent a backlash against rules of investment per se, but the push-back also reflects the concerns of wider

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Anthea Roberts, Is International Law International (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> James Crawford, "The Current Political Discourse Concerning International Law" Modern Law Review 81, no. 1 (2018):21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> China. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Position Paper of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Matter of Jurisdiction in the South China Sea Arbitration Initiated by the Republic of the Philippines" (7 December 2014) accessed 1 March 2018.

society to better enable protection of the environment, labour rights, and public health.<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, there is a sense of déjà vu to the current situation. International law has gone through many previous cycles of development followed by extensive backsliding in the past. It is instructive to look at the history of the relationship between the disciplines of international law and international relations (IR) as an illustration of those cycles. In the early twentieth century, there existed a strong relationship between the two disciplines: idealism, the then-dominant IR paradigm, was concerned with the building of a new, rulesbased international system which could stamp out inter-state conflicts, a belief shared by international lawyers. Following World War II, IR became disenchanted with international law, which many saw as a repudiation of idealism and the triumph of the realist paradigm. Realism's advocates considered international law to be, at best, epiphenomenal to power: symbolic of the shift was the arch-realist Hans Morgenthau, who was a trained international lawyer and scholar himself, and yet had come to see World War II as a repudiation of his chosen discipline by the course of history.<sup>30</sup> In the following decades, international law was thus progressively written out of international relations, as IR scholars – especially the structural realists – saw little reason to engage with a discipline they considered to be irrelevant, with an exception to the English School.

Meanwhile, international law did not simply fade away. When its currency was at its lowest in IR, the bulk of today's international legal structure was being constructed: the century's great multilateral treaties from the UN Charter onward were drafted and signed even if international law seemed irrelevant at the time States still needed to make treaties in order to resolve disputes through peaceful means. As a result, the need for international law did not, and could not, disappear. However, international legal scholars were not content with simply being technicians who greased the wheels of the international machinery. Instead, many sought to demonstrate the continuing relevance of international law, notably by attempting to show that it could indeed constrain state behaviour. The past may not be a foolproof predictor of the future, but the fact that the current challenges are far from being unprecedented should give comfort to those anxious about international law's future at a time of power transition.

The disciplines of international law and international relations have long been intertwined, and a range of scholars have attempted to breach the gap between the two, calling for further interdisciplinary cooperation. Even

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Clint Peinhardt and Rachel L. Wellhausen, "Withdrawing from Investment Treaties but Protecting Investment" Global Policy 7, no. 4 (2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Anne Orford, Martin Clark and Florian Hoffmann (eds), The Oxford Handbook of the Theory of International Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016) 341.

though some legal scholars began to adopt methods derived from the social sciences following the new interest in institutions beginning in the 1970s, there was relatively little exchange between the two disciplines. They "worked independently, published in different journals... and cited each other's work only to a very limited degree."<sup>31</sup> The rapprochement between the two fields began in earnest in the early 1990s, when Kenneth Abbott and Anne-Marie Slaughter began to argue that recent shifts in IR theory, especially the rise of institutionalism, provided an opportunity for greater convergence between the disciplines, and for legal scholars to employ IR methodologies in their work, sometimes called the "dual agenda."<sup>32</sup> Since then, there has been a marked rise in the quantity of interdisciplinary work published, which has narrowed this gap.

International law continues to present curious puzzles for scholars of various different approaches of scholarship. Questions of the legal language presented in various treaties and conventions, as well as the practice of enforcement of international law and justice in international politics, continue to attract the attention of practitioners and researchers. However, international law is particularly susceptible to disciplinary blinders, with legal positivists, rational institutionalists, normative theorists, and scholars of international order often influencing separate spheres. Dialogue between different paradigms is essential to address the role of international law in a globalizing world. The theme section seeks to bring together some of the disparate narratives to demonstrate the connections between the challenges faced by international law in the current system. The feature interviews and articles of the section represent some of these differing approaches.

The feature interview with Ruma Mandal, the Head of International Law Programme at Chatham House, addresses the contemporary challenges of the Syrian refugee crisis, and how international law cannot exist in a vacuum, that does not take into account the political climate in Europe. Drawing on her legal policy experience on public law issues both as a legal adviser in the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office and with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Ms Mandal also reflects on the inclusiveness of international law, as well as the relationship between legal academics and practitioners.

The second interview invites Philippe Sands QC to reflect on contemporary challenges of international law through his expansive academic and professional experience as the Professor of Laws and Director of the Centre on International Courts and Tribunals at University College London, and as a lawyer at Matrix Chambers in London. Professor Sands gives his views on big

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Kenneth W. Abbott, "Modern International Relations Theory: A Prospectus for International Lawyers" Yale Journal of International Law 14, no. 355 (1989) 337.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Abbott, 'Modern International Relations Theory'; Anne-Marie Slaughter, 'International Law and International Relations Theory: A Dual Agenda' American Journal of International Law 87, no. 2 (1993).

questions about the relevance of the 1945 settlement in the contemporary world, the implications of changing power dynamics for international law, as well as the role of grand theorising within the discipline.

The articles of the issue likewise bring together key dilemmas faced by international legal scholarship: what difficulties emerge from the changing nature of issues, technologies, and actors addressed by international law? Who should be responsible for rewriting and reinforcing the treaties governing the international realm? The first article "The Naval Minefield of Customary International Humanitarian Law" by Chris O'Leary addresses the issue of naval mines and customary international humanitarian law. While other spheres of fighting and weapons have been targets of various international conventions and treaties regulating their use, the Hague Convention (VII) of 1907 relative to the Laying of Automatic Submarine Contact Mines remains the only legal document governing naval mines. The outdated, 110-year-old document continues to be cited as the method for regulating modern technologies of naval warfare, creating potential military tactical traps as well as a legal minefield.

While treaty languages form the core body of international legal research, the implementation and enforcement of international laws is largely a matter of politics. After all, the authority allocated to international courts and tribunals is reliant on cooperation from political actors for practical support. Tom Buitelaar in his article "Blue Helmets and Black Robes: The Cooperation Between Peacekeepers and International Criminal Tribunals" examines the vital support upon which international courts rely in their operations and attempts to implement their mandate to end impunity. While concerns over states' spatial support for international criminal tribunals has been a topic of extensive discussion, the assistance provided by UN peacekeepers in investigations and arrests has been largely overlooked. The theoretical framework introduced in the article emphasizes that peace operations will assist tribunals when they are willing and capable of doing so, and outlines which factors make such operations more likely. The example case of the arrest of Slavko Dokmanovic illustrates the plausibility of the theory in the UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Sirmium (UNTAES).

Beyond the drafting and implementation of legal mandates, international law unavoidably involves an aspect of normative and ethical considerations. "Ranking Agents of Justice: When Should the Corporation Act?" by Athol Williams presents a theoretical argument as to which actors have the responsibility to act to enforce social justice, and in what order should such actors be expected to interfere. The focus is especially on multinational corporations, whose involvement in international issues ranging from labour and human rights to environmental protection has attracted the attention of various political theorists and activist groups alike. The article outlines a novel framework combining role-based and participation-based accounts to identify responsibility-bearers in advancing international justice.

In addressing several of the key dilemmas faced by international legal scholarship, this issue attempt to highlight some of the essential and ongoing debates that continues to characterise both the theory and practice of international relations and international law.

### (c) External Relations

**St Antony's College, Oxford**: St Antony's College remains STAIR's home. We hold our weekly meetings in the Dahrendorf Room and have our main pigeonhole at the college. Every term, the Managing Editor and Liaison Officer meet with the Warden of St Antony's to talk about STAIR's work and progress as well as any issues that might arise. STAIR furthermore occasionally receives funding from both the Antonian Fund and the St Antony's Graduate Common Room. St Antony's students also consistently represent the majority of the editorial committee. STAIR also participates in various college academic activities including the Research-in-Progress Colloquia each term.

Department of Politics and International Relations, Oxford (DPIR) and the Centre for International Studies (CIS): Several years ago, STAIR developed a new association with the DPIR through DPIR's Centre for International Studies (CIS), which has continued this year. We are therefore co-affiliated with St Antony's College and the DPIR. Every year, we participate at DPIR induction meetings for incoming graduate students where we recruit many of our members, and the Managing Editor sits on the board of CIS, participating in periodical meetings and the Centre's decision-making. Our launch events have previously also taken place in the DPIR. The DPIR has assured financial as well as organizational support, and has provided us with our new institutional email: stair-journal@politics.ox.ac.uk

**University of Oxford**: STAIR continues its official affiliation with the University of Oxford. Once again, going into the 2018-19 year the members of STAIR's Executive Board come from a wide range of Oxford colleges. Both of our 2018 launch events have also been hosted at different Oxford colleges, namely Trinity College in February 2018 and Nuffield College in May 2018.

Webpage, LinkedIn, Twitter, Facebook, Newsletter: STAIR has and maintains an effective web presence and we have launched a new website in October 2016 (www.stairjournal.com) which we update frequently. In addition to the website, STAIR news such as recruitment, calls for papers,

events, or elections are advertised broadly on our active Facebook page (www.facebook.com/stairjournal/), LinkedIn page, Twitter account (@stairjournal), and via a newsletter. These efforts have helped us to reach a wide audience in Oxford and beyond. We currently have over 1000 followers on our Facebook page and about 120 subscribers to our newsletter.

**IngentaConnect, Ridgeway Press:** STAIR continues its relationship with IngentaConnect, which hosts all STAIR issues online, providing access for both individuals and institutions. We have also maintained strong links with Ridgeway Press for the publication of the print version of STAIR.

**JSTOR**: In 2016 STAIR was approached by JSTOR for the inclusion of our archive into the Journal indexing service. We negotiated and signed a cooperation agreement which preserves our most recent issues for our subscribers, while allowing JSTOR access to our archive. Listing will go live online from January 2018. More details on this cooperation agreement will be provided in a later section.

#### (d) Subscriptions

STAIR continues to be available both in print and online. As of November 2018, we have twenty two institutional subscribers (print and online), and we are in the process of adding two new subscribers. We are proud that our journal is reaching many of the world's most prestigious institutions. Last year the journal launched outreach campaigns in China to reach more Universities in East Asia, an effort which will be continued this year. Similar to last year, we are continuing efforts to attract new institutional subscribers with the help of STAIR alumni and the advisory board to fill several gaps in our subscriber database. Below is a full list of our current subscribers:

STAIR Institutional Subscriptions as of 14 November 2018			
Online Subscribers			
Cambridge University	UK		
European University Institute	Italy		
London School of Economics	UK		
National Chengchi University	Taiwan		
Peace Palace, The Hague	Netherlands		
Princeton University	USA		
Ryerson University	Canada		
Stockholm University	Sweden		
United Nations Library, Geneva	Switzerland		
United Nations University in Tokyo	Japan		
University of New South Wales	Australia		
University of Oxford	UK		
Bodleian Library	UK		
University of Ottawa (until 31/12/2016)	Canada		
University of Utrecht	Netherlands		

University of Zurich	Switzerland
Print Subscribers	
Cambridge University	UK
Cornell University	US
Dartmouth College	USA
Nuffield College	UK
Peace Palace, The Hague	Netherlands
Ryerson University	Canada
St Antony's College	UK
United Nations University in Tokyo	Japan
University of Auckland	New Zealand
University of Gothenburg	Sweden
University of Toronto (Trinity College Library)	Canada
University of Utrecht	Netherlands
University of Zurich	Switzerland
National Chengchi University	Taiwan
University of Notre Dame	USA

## (e) Organization

STAIR held several elections during this year. In addition to the editors named above, and the new 2018-19 editors named further below, in the 2017-18 academic year the STAIR Editorial Board was staffed by the following students:

Managing Editor: Leah Matchett

Treasurer: Jeffrey Ding

Production Officer: Ann Sarnak

Chief Copy Editors: Alastair Hale, Ernest Plange Kwofie, Ian O'Grady, Anna Klose

Events Manager: Eden Lee

Sales and Marketing Manager: Nishad Sanzagiri

## Webmaster: Bill De La Rosa

**Editorial Committee:** Ivo Bantel, Leah Matchett, Katherine Tyson, Yuan Yi Zhu, Tuuli-Anna Huikuri, Linda Slapakova, Mayesha Quasem, Yutao Huang, Milie Radovic, Anna Klose, Jeffrey Ding, Ann Sarnak, Alastair Hale, Ernest Plange Kwofie, Ian O'Grady, Anna Klose, Eden Lee, Nishad Sanzagiri, Bill De La Rosa

Linda Slapakova was elected the new Managing Editor in Hilary Term 2018. A full list of the current Editorial Board and Advisory Board (as of November 2018) can be found in Annex A.

## Financial Statement

STAIR's financial situation over the past year has remained in line with the previous year. This both offers comfort that our main costs have remained relatively stable, but it also highlights the need for STAIR to increase its revenue and diversify its income base.

Although STAIR's savings and income were sufficient to cover major expenses in time for those expenses to be paid, the journal did, as last year, operate at a loss; this has made it difficult to expand activities and cover operational costs comfortably. Nevertheless, although STAIR's income (mainly subscriptions from institutions) and expenses (mainly printing and online publishing services) were not balanced for this past year, we are currently taking steps to correct this balance in the coming year, as detailed in the Income sub-section below. The current editorial board plans to continue prioritizing the improvement of STAIR's finances by diversifying its revenue bases and pursuing funding from the institutions with whom we are affiliated.

## (a) Expenses

Total expenses from 1 October 2017 to 15 October 2018 were £4,378.79. This is compared to the previous AGM period's expense of £4,809.31. Figure 1 below details out the expenses incurred during this period.

EXPENSE SUMMARY: 1 OCT 2017 TO 15 OCT 2018			
Name of Expense	<b>Brief Description</b>	<u>Amount</u> (GBP)	
Ingenta	Third party subscription platform	£ 2, 234.00	
Ridgeway Press	Printing for the two annual issues	£ 1,669.00	
Mailing	Postage and mailing of print copies	£ 163.44	
Event	Two launch events that were conducted	£ 124.26	
Website	Payment for updated website	£ 146.74	
Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous costs	£ 41.35	
TOTAL £ 4378.79			

Figure 1: Expenses in the Past Year 2017-2018

As Figure 1 shows, the majority of STAIR's expenses comes from subscription platform and printing costs. Column 1 shows that in the 2017-2018 period, we spent £2,234.00 on Ingenta, which is our third party subscription management platform. This is compared to the 2016-2017 period's expense

of £2,169.00. Although this is a one-time payment per year, it represents approximately 51% of current expenses.

The second row of Figure 1 shows the next major expense that the Journal incurs: Printing costs. This is a two-time payment per year, coinciding with the launch of our two issues. The combined printing costs for both issues totaled  $\pounds$ 1,669.00.

Tied to our printing costs are the costs for mailing out print subscriptions to print subscribers. Row 3 details out the mailing costs incurred in the 2017-2018 period, which totaled out to £163.44. This is a smaller payment compared to the two larger payments detailed above, coming out to roughly 3.73% of total expenses.

In the 2017-2018 period, STAIR also incurred an expense of £146.74, which was spent on fees associated with its new website, which is seen in the fifth expense row of Figure 1. Because the old website was not user-friendly and severely outdated, we decided to invest in a new website in order to market ourselves better and also make the interface more user-friendly. In addition, the Journal spent £124.26 on our two issue launch events (row 4 of Figure 1). Finally, row 6 of Figure 1 shows Miscellaneous expenses that the Journal incurred (£41.35) in 2017-2018.

All of these expenses amount to £4,378.79 for the 2017-2018 period. In the 2016-2017 period, STAIR spent £4,809.31. From here we can see that there was roughly a small but not insignificant decrease in expenses, a good sign that we have been resourceful with the funds we have, which will aid future projections of expenses in our financial forecasting.

## (b) Income

Total income from 1 October 2017 to 15 October 2018 was £3,530.50. The previous year's income was £4,711.60, due to STAIR receiving a one-time exceptional reimbursement from the Antonian Fund to pay for the printing of Issue 12.2 (a cost savings that has carried through to the present). Although our smaller income during this period requires the board to be more cautious with spending moving forward, we are confident in our ability to use the funds available to us resourcefully and wisely.

STAIR's primary sources of income are payments from institutional subscribers. The majority of these subscriptions are online, while others have either print-only subscriptions or combined online and print subscriptions. While the majority of STAIR's income comes from subscribers, we also sell print copies during issue launch events. We also fulfill requests for back issues from time to time. It is worth mentioning that the bulk of income came

into our account in December-January in this past period. Our subscription scheme is shown in Figure 2.

A valued source of income from STAIR is funding we receive from DPIR as part of an annual sponsorship agreement. This support is very much needed, and STAIR is grateful for the £500.00 payment made by the DPIR every year. An additional expected source of income will be from JSTOR, who will pay STAIR £1,500.00 in January 2019 in return for including the journal on its database. STAIR's inclusion in the JSTOR database is a tremendous accomplishment on the part of preceding editorial boards that will bring STAIR to a broader and more diverse audience.

Figure 2: CURRENT SUBSCRIPTION AND SALES PRICES (2018-2019)			
ONLINE	£ 200		
PRINT	£ 100		
COMBINED	£ 250		
SINGLE ISSUE	£ 12		

#### (c) Outlook

Like last year, while STAIR has continued to cover its major expenses and printed two successful issues in the past year, it operated at a loss. The net loss for the past year was not insignificant: £848.29.

To prevent the recurrence of such a net loss in the future, we have been busy projecting our costs and income for the year, and attempting to increase revenue. Figure 3 below details out projected major costs for the 2018-2019 year, which were estimated using figures from both the 2017-2018 period and the 2016-2017 period. As can be seen, Ingenta costs remain one of the heaviest financial burdens that the Journal has to bear, amounting from a low of £2,301.00 to a high £2,368.00 based on a 3% price inflation. The second major projected expense is our printing expense for vols. 14:2 and 15:1, which we project to be at a low of £1,400 to a high of £2,000. This cost is dependent on (a) the amount of print subscription and single issue sales and (b) reprinting costs and printing price increases. These two costs remain the bulk of the STAIR's overhead costs. Altogether, we project that STAIR should spend something between a low of £4,071.00 to a high of £5,008.00 in the 2018-2019 period.

PROJECTED EXPENSES: 16 OCT 2018 TO 1 OCT 2019				
Name of	Brief Description	Amount	Amount	
<b>Expense</b>		<u>(Low)</u>	<u>(High)</u>	
Ingenta	Third party subscription platform	£ 2,301.00	£ 2, 368.00	
Ridgeway Press	Printing of the two annual issues	£ 1, 400.00	£ 2,000.00	
Mailing	Postage and mailing of print copies	£ 200.00	£ 340.00	
Events	Two launch events	£ 150.00	£ 250.00	
Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous Costs	£ 20.00	£ 50.00	
	TOTAL	£ 4,071.00	£ 5,008.00	

In terms of revenue, STAIR expects to make £4,100.00 in the 2018-2019 year, from subscriptions alone. This calculation is drawn from the subscribers' list which is outlined above in this report. Currently, online subscription costs £200 per year, print subscriptions cost £100 per year, and combined print and online subscriptions cost £250 per year. Single issues are sold at £12 per issue, with additional costs for postage. While this will just about cover the low-end projection of our total costs for 2018-2019, it fails to do so for our high-end projection.

It is, therefore, important that we seek to increase our income this year. We have already begun making concerted efforts to secure additional funds to (a) ensure that STAIR remains successfully run and capable of printing two high-quality issues per year and (b) expand some of our events in order to foster more involvement with the University at large. To accomplish these goals, we have recently applied for £2,000 from the Antonian Fund at St Antony's, already secured a £500 payment of support for this year from the DPIR, and expect to receive £1,500 from JSTOR in January 2019. Launching a fall subscription drive, STAIR is also trying to expand our subscription income through both expanded marketing and advertisement, and we hope that our newly elected Sales, Subscription and Marketing officer in combination with our improved online presence will help with this. In the future, STAIR has also applied to the St. Antony's GCR to fund some small events, though the amount of funding that STAIR can expect to receive from the GCR is limited. We should note that income from these initiatives, while promising, is not guaranteed, and at the moment STAIR cannot yet count on the extra income from them in order to meet goals (a) and (b) above. Securing and increasing our revenue is one of the goals for the current STAIR editorial board.

As of 12 November 2018, STAIR had savings of £1,856.71 with no outstanding costs at the present time.

## **Current and Future Projects and Editions**

#### (a) Upcoming Editions, 2018-2019

The themes for the February 2019 and May 2019 issues were selected in Hillary 2018 and Michaelmas 2018 Terms, respectively. Below is an overview of these upcoming issues and their elected editorial boards.

Vol. 14, no.2: "Individuals in Conflict: Agency, Rights, and the Changing Character of War"

Theme Section Editors:	Giuseppe	Spataf	ora ( <i>N</i>	1Phil	Intern	ational
	Relations,	Kellogg	College	), Kat	herine	Mann
	(MPhil In	ternatior	nal Rela	tions,	St Aı	ntony's
	College), J	Julia Va	ssileva (	MPhil	Intern	ational
	Relations, Worcester College), Lucy Song (N				(MPhil	
	International Relations, Nuffield College)					

General Section Editors: Sophie Veriter (MPhil International Relations, St Antony's College), Carina Uchida (MSc Latin American Studies, St Antony's College), and Aleksei Opacic (MSc Sociology, St Antony's College)

Book Review Editors: Jan Tomek (DPhil Oriental Studies, St Antony's College)

As the nature of conflict evolves, new questions are being asked about how individual safety and the rights of civilians are affected. Who is responsible for protecting the human right to bodily integrity in a globalised world? How is the transformation of warfare in the technological, political and strategic realms affecting the individual rights of civilians and combatants? From implications of just war theory in civil conflicts like Syria to the gendered elements of ethnic cleansing such as the Rohingya crisis, the inherently public dimension of the human body as an element of socialisation and political life has become a central theme in international relations scholarship and practice. Given the increasing prominence of the human rights regime and its associated institutions, the tension between human security and state interests raises the question of responsibility and obligation within an increasingly complex international system. In order to bring light to these issues, STAIR's upcoming edition will include articles addressing the connection between inter-state and domestic violence along the India-Pakistan border, the boundaries of combatants' moral responsibility toward civilians in conflict through the perspective of Michael Walzer's 'morality of risk', and patterns in the reporting of sexual violence in conflict situations such as in the case of Myanmar. Through ethnographic analysis, Devika Ranjan contextualizes domestic violence in the village of Manguchak, located on the border between India and Pakistan, by demonstrating its origins in the structural and conflict-related violence occurring within the national and international domains. Violence at the international, national, and individual levels are intimately connected impacted by colonial history, nationalism, and patriarchal social norms. Silviya Lechner attempts to tackle the question: 'To what extent is it permissible to risk the lives of soldiers so as to minimise the harm to enemy civilians in a war that is fought justly?' She claims that under the application of the morality of risk, soldiers must take additional risks on themselves in order to save enemy civilians. She draws a strong distinction between the morality of war zones and the morality of human conduct. In her analysis of sexual violence reporting in Myanmar, Sara Davies argues for differentiated reporting requirements of humanitarians depending on the severity of crimes, their access to populations at risk, and the (in)stability of the conflict situation.

In addition to the outlined articles, this edition of STAIR will include feature articles and interviews from scholars and practitioners working on topics such as feminist foreign policy, refugee studies, and male-targeted sexual and gender-based violence. In so doing, STAIR intends to emphasize the magnitude and complexity involved in tackling the challenges faced, as well as capitalizing upon the agency harbored, by individuals in armed conflict.

## Vol. 15, no. 1: "Whose Security is Cybersecurity: Authority, Responsibility, and Power in Cyberspace"

Theme Section Editors: Taylor Grossman (MPhil International Relations, Green Templeton College), Gia Nguyen (MPhil International Relations, St Antony's College), Kirstie Bosman (MPhil International Relations, Mansfield College)

> General Section Editors: Sophie Veriter (MPhil International Relations, St Antony's College), Carina Uchida (MSc Latin American Studies, St Antony's College), and Aleksei Opacic (MSc Sociology, St Antony's College)

Book Review Editors: Jan Tomek (DPhil Oriental Studies, St Antony's College)

To what extent has the emergence of cyber technologies affected how we think, and should think, about international relations? Has there been fundamental change, or are we simply seeing a continuation of existing trends? The dynamics of cyberspace seemingly challenge traditional approaches to the study of world politics. They raise important questions regarding what the potential sources of threats are, who is responsible for addressing them, and who or what is most vulnerable. In short, whose security is cyber security? From influence campaigns to internet censorship, cyberspace has become a contested and volatile realm within, among, and beyond states. As we move further into the Digital Age, it becomes increasingly imperative to interrogate the way in which we think about security in cyberspace, and examine how notions of authority, responsibility, and power may be transforming with the global proliferation of new cyber capabilities. STAIR's May 2019 issue will explore this topic, and is looking for contributions related but not limited to the following subtopics:

- Responsibility, governance, and norms in cyberspace: the role of state and non-state actors in establishing and upholding regulations and norms of behavior in cyberspace; the primacy of the state and the nature of sovereignty in an increasingly cyber-dependent world; the character of norms and norm diffusion in cyberspace
- Cybersecurity and the changing nature of conflict: the definition and boundaries of war and conflict in cyberspace; who is vulnerable to cyber threats and who bears responsibility for providing cybersecurity; the influence of cyber technologies on the nature of conflict; the proliferation of cyber capabilities and their effects on tactics employed in conflict;
- Cyber capabilities development and asymmetries: assessing the extent to which advances in cyber capabilities are asymmetrical and the implications for global power dynamics; what cybersecurity means for the developing world; the role of cyber technology in IPE; how advances in AI affect cybersecurity

This issue of STAIR aims to encourage new contributions that push beyond the scope of the existing literature on cybersecurity through interdisciplinary dialogue about the nature of and relationships between authority, responsibility, and power in cyberspace. At this time STAIR is in the process of accepting abstract submissions and proposals for contributions.

## (b) Upcoming Projects

In addition to publishing these issues, STAIR is seeking to expand the range and frequency of events we hold around Oxford, both on its own and in conjunction with other bodies in the DPIR and with other societies devoted to international affairs. We are currently in discussions with the Alastair Buchan Club to host up to one event each term drawing on faculty and students to have a wide-ranging discussion on contemporary issues in global politics.

## **ANNEXES**

### Annex A: Organisational Structure as of November 2018

Managing Editor: Linda Slapakova

Treasurer: Mayesha Quasem

Liaison Officer Ebenezer Azamati

Production Editor: Agnes Yu

Subscriptions, Sales, and Marketing Manager: Samuele Chinellato

Webmaster: Bill De La Rosa

Public Relations Officer: Hayley Pring

Events Officers: Emilie Curryova, Jamie Edwards

Chief Copy Editors: Daniel Waqar, Sonja Brinker, Hallie Swanson, Lincoln Pigman

Theme Section Editors, Issue 14:2: Katherine Mann, Lucy Song, Giuseppe Spatafora, Julia Vassileva

Theme Section Editors, Issue 15:1: Kirstie Bosman, Taylor Grossman, Huu Phu Gia Nguyen

General Section Editors: Aleksei Opacic, Carina Uchida, Sophie Veriter

Book Review Editor: Jan Tomek

## Advisory Board:

Professor Roy Allison Professor Alexander Betts Dr Christopher Bickerton Dr Patricia Daley Dr Matthew Eagleton-Pierce **Professor Rosemary Foot** Professor Timothy Garton Ash Professor Roger Goodman Dr Sudhir Hazareesingh Professor Andrew Hurrell Dr David Johnson Professor Margaret MacMillan Dr Hartmut Mayer Dr Karma Nabulsi Professor Kalypso Nicolaïdis Dr Noa Schonmann Professor Duncan Snidal Dr Steve Tsang Professor Kate Sullivan de Estrada

#### STANDARD CONSTITUTION OF A NON-SPORTS CLUB

#### From Michaelmas Term 2017

## NAME AND OBJECTS

 The Club is called the Oxford <<u>St. Antony's International Review</u>> (hereafter referred to as "the Club"). The Club's objects are the support, development, improvement and promotion of <<u>objectives in</u> <u>the bylaws appended hereto</u>> in the University of Oxford insofar as such objects are charitable; and the income and property of the Club shall be applied solely to those objects.

#### COMPLIANCE

- 2.
- (a) The Club shall be administered in accordance with the University's Regulations for the Activities and Conduct of Student Members.
- (b) The activities of the Club will at all times be conducted in accordance with the University's procedures, codes of practice and policies in force from time to time on equality, harassment, freedom of speech and safeguarding (which are available via the University Student Handbook on the University's webpages).
- (c) If there is a national governing body for the Club's activities with which the Club is eligible to register, the Club shall effect and maintain such registration: purchase any insurance cover which the national body makes available (unless the Insurance Section of University Administration and Services agrees to or prescribes other arrangements); and make every effort to comply with all safety procedures which the national body prescribes, or recommends as good practice.
- (d) The Club shall observe the Code of Conduct on Safety Matters which is set out in the Schedule to this Constitution, ensure compliance with the Code by the members of the Club, and follow an appropriate procedure for risk assessment. Both the Code of Conduct and the procedure for risk assessment must be acceptable to and approved by the Sports Safety Officer.
- (e) No member of the Club shall participate in any activity overseas organised by the Club, whether during term-time or vacation, unless the plans for such activity have been notified at least one calendar month in advance of the date of departure from the United Kingdom to the University Marshal and approved by the Proctors. Each member participating in such activities overseas shall observe any conditions imposed by the Proctors on the

recommendation of the University Marshal, e.g. relating to the deposit of contact addresses, fulfilment of health, safety and insurance requirements, and stipulation of coaches, trainers or Senior Members to accompany the trip.

- (f) The Club shall maintain a dedicated website and shall supply details of its web address to the Clubs Office for listing on the University's clubs and societies webpage. The Club may apply to the University's IT Services to use information technology ('IT') facilities in the name of the Club. Where relevant facilities are allocated by IT Services it is the responsibility of the Club:
  - (i) to designate a member of the Club entitled to a University e-mail account (as defined by IT Services rules) to act as its IT Officer, whose duties shall include liaising with IT Services about the use of facilities allocated and passing on to the successor in office all records relating to the use of the facilities allocated;
  - (ii) to designate one of its members (who may be, but need not necessarily be, the same as its IT Officer) or, exceptionally, a member of Congregation, to act as its principal Webmaster, whose duties shall include maintaining an awareness of the University guidelines on web and social media publishing, and co-ordinating and regulating access to the web facilities used by the Club;
  - to comply with regulations and guidelines relating to the use of IT facilities published from time to time by IT Services;
  - (iv) to ensure that everyone responsible under (i)-(iii) is competent to deal with the requirements, where necessary undertaking training under the guidance of IT Services.

#### <u>membership</u>

- 3. The members of the Club shall be those who are eligible and apply for membership of the Club, who are admitted to and maintained in membership by the Committee, and who have paid the relevant Club subscription.
- 4. Subject to paragraph 5, all student members of the University, and all persons whose names are on the University's Register of Visiting Students, shall be eligible to become members of the Club. A member shall continue to be eligible until given permission to supplicate for a degree, diploma or certificate, regardless of any continuing liability to pay fees to the University.

- 5. If the Club's objects relate directly to a protected characteristic as defined in section 4 of the Equality Act 2010, the Club may be entitled to restrict membership to members sharing that protected characteristic, provided that the Proctors shall first approve any such restriction.
- 6. The Committee may also, at its discretion, admit to membership:-
  - (a) students registered to read for diplomas and certificates in the University;
  - (b) student members of Permanent Private Halls who are not student members of the University;
  - (c) members of Ruskin College and Ripon College, Cuddesdon;
  - (d) members of Oxford Brookes University, provided that such members shall not constitute more than one-fifth of the total membership; and
  - (e) other persons not falling within paragraph 4 above or paragraphs 6(a) to (d) above, provided that such members shall not constitute more than one-fifth of the total membership.
- 7. The Committee, having specific regard to the Senior Member's advice in relation to the relevant matter, may remove a person from membership if removal of such person from membership is deemed to be in the best interests of the Club. If the person concerned is an Oxford University student (i.e. within paragraphs 6(a), (b) or (c) above), that person may appeal against such removal to the Proctors.

#### meetings of the members

- 8. There shall be an Annual General Meeting for all the members of the Club in Hilary Full Term, convened by the Secretary on not less than fourteen days' notice.
- 9. The Annual General Meeting will:
  - (a) receive the annual report of the Committee for the previous year and the annual accounts of the Club for the previous year, the report and accounts having been approved by the Committee;
  - (b) receive a report from the Committee on the Club's compliance with paragraph 2 above;
  - (c) elect Members of the Committee in accordance with paragraph 24 below: the Committee's nominations for the Officers and the Senior Member shall be contained in the notice of the Meeting: any alternative nominations must be seconded and have the consent of the nominee, and must be received in

writing by the Secretary not less than seven days before the date of the Meeting: nominations for the other Committee Members may be taken from the floor of the meeting;

- (d) consider any motions of which due notice has been given, and any other relevant business.
- 10. An Extraordinary General Meeting may be called in any Full Term; by the President, the Secretary or the Treasurer on not less than seven days' notice; or on a written requisition by seven or more members, stating the reason for which the meeting is to be called, and delivered to the Secretary not less than fourteen days before the date of the Meeting.
- 11. Prior to all General Meetings notice of the agenda shall be sent out with the notice of the Meeting.
- 12. The quorum for a General Meeting shall be ten members present in person or by proxy, of whom three must be members of the Committee. When any financial business is to be transacted there must be present the Treasurer, or a member of the Committee deputed by the Treasurer to represent the Treasurer's views to the Meeting (provided that where it is a case of a deputy, the only financial business transacted shall be that which was set out in the agenda accompanying the notice of the meeting).
- 13. Every matter, except where this Constitution provides otherwise, shall be determined by a majority of members present and voting. In the case of equal votes the President of the Club shall have a casting vote.
- 14. Minutes of all meetings shall be kept and formally adopted. Copies of the minutes shall be made available to members and, upon request, to the Proctors.

#### the committee

- 15. The affairs of the Club shall be administered by a Committee consisting of not more than eight persons, which shall determine the subscriptions payable by the members of the Club, and have ultimate responsibility for the activities of the Club. Members of the University shall at all times make up the majority of the members of the Committee. The Committee shall have control of the funds and property of the Club, and of its administration.
- 16. No member of the Committee (or the Club) shall enter into or purport to enter into any arrangement, contract or transaction on behalf of the Club with a value exceeding £1,000 unless the Committee has resolved to approve the relevant arrangement, contract or transaction at a Committee meeting.

- 17. The quorum for a Committee meeting shall be four members present in person. When any financial business is to be transacted, there must be present either the Treasurer or a member of the Committee deputed by the Treasurer to represent the Treasurer's views to the meeting.
- 18. The Committee shall be made up of the President, the Secretary, the Treasurer (together, the "Office Holders"; and their offices are referred to as "the Offices"), the Senior Member and <\_\_\_\_\_> other persons. The President, the Secretary and the Treasurer shall each be either a member of the Club whose eligibility stems from paragraph 4 above or paragraphs 6(a) to (c) above, or (with the approval of the Proctors) a member of Congregation. If his or her eligibility stems from paragraphs 6(a) to (c) above, on election to office he or she must sign an undertaking to abide by relevant provisions of the University Student Handbook and other relevant University policies, and to accept the authority of the Proctors on Club matters.
- 19. The President shall have the right to preside at all meetings of the members of the Club and at all meetings of the Committee. Should the President be absent, or decline to take the chair, the Committee shall elect another member of the Committee to chair the meeting.
- 20. Minutes of all meetings, including Committee meetings, shall be kept and formally adopted. Copies of the minutes shall be made available to members and, upon request, to the Proctors.
- 21. The Secretary shall:
  - (a) maintain a register of the members of the Club, which shall be available for inspection by the Proctors, the Clubs Office and the Proctors' Office on request;
  - (b) give notice of meetings of the members and the Committee;
  - (c) draw up the agendas for and minutes of those meetings;
  - (d) notify the Proctors (through the Clubs Office) promptly following the appointment and resignation or removal of Office Holders and other members of the Committee;
  - (e) take responsibility for the operation and updating of a suitable club web-page displaying (at a minimum) current club contacts and the constitution;
  - (f) provide the Insurance Section with full details of any insurance cover purchased from or through a national governing body pursuant to paragraph 2(c) above; and
  - (g) inform the Proctors through the Clubs Office if the Club ceases to operate, or is to be dissolved, and in doing so present a final

statement of accounts (the format of which the Proctors may prescribe).

- 22. The Treasurer shall:
  - (a) keep proper records of the Club's financial transactions in accordance with current accepted accounting rules and practices;
  - (b) develop and implement control procedures to minimise the risk of financial exposure, such procedures to be reviewed regularly with the University's Internal Audit Section ("Internal Audit");
  - (c) ensure that bills are paid and cash is banked in accordance with the procedures developed under (b);
  - (d) prepare an annual budget for the Club and regularly inform the Committee of progress against that budget;
  - (e) ensure that all statutory returns are made including VAT, income tax and corporation tax if appropriate;
  - (f) seek advice as necessary on tax matters from the University's Finance Division;
  - (g) develop and maintain a manual of written procedures for all aspects of the Treasurer's responsibilities;
  - (h) make all records, procedures and accounts available on request to the Senior Member, the Proctors and Internal Audit;
  - (i) forward to the Proctors (through the Clubs Office) by the end of the second week of each Full Term a copy of the accounts for the preceding term (the format of which the Proctors may prescribe) signed by the Senior Member, for retention on the Proctors' files; and
  - (j) if the Club has a turnover in excess of £25,000 in the preceding year, or if owing to a change in the nature or scale of its activities, it may confidently be expected to have such a turnover in the current year, submit its accounts (the format of which the Proctors may prescribe) for independent professional inspection and report by a reporting accountant approved in advance by the Proctors. Accounts are to be ready for inspection within four months of the end of the Club's financial year and the costs of the inspection and report shall be borne by the Club. If requested by the reporting accountant, the Club shall submit accounts and related material as a basis for a review of accounting procedures, the cost likewise to be borne by the Club.
- 23. The Senior Member shall:-

- (a) keep abreast of the actions and activities of the Club;
- (b) provide information relating to the Club to the Proctors on request;
- seek to settle any preliminary disputes between the Committee and the members;
- (d) following paragraph 22(i) above, consider whether the accounts of the Club are in order and, if so, sign them;
- (e) ensure that adequate advice and assistance is available to the Secretary and the Treasurer in the performance of their responsibilities under paragraphs 21 and 22 above; and
- (f) be available to represent and speak for the Club in the public forum, and before the University authorities.
- 24. The members of the Committee shall be elected by the members of the Club annually, and shall be eligible for re-election. The members of the Club shall not appoint several individuals jointly to hold any of the Offices, nor allow any individual to hold more than one Office at a time. The members of the Club shall appoint a member of Congregation as the Senior Member when electing other members of the Committee each year provided that a Senior Member who has previously held office as Senior Member for more than five consecutive years shall not be eligible for re-appointment. The Senior Member shall be a member of the Committee *ex officio*.
- 25. If during the period between the annual elections to offices any vacancies occur amongst the members of Committee, the Committee shall have the power of filling the vacancy or vacancies up to the next Annual General Meeting by co-optation.
- 26. Each Office Holder must, and shall procure that other Office Holders shall, at the end of any term of Office, promptly hand to the relevant successor in Office (or to another member of the Club nominated by the Committee) all official documents and records belonging to the Club, together with (on request from the Committee) any other property of the Club which may be in the outgoing Office Holder's possession; and must complete any requirements to transfer authority relating to control of the Club's bank accounts, building society accounts, or other financial affairs.
- 27. Without derogating from its primary responsibility, the Committee may delegate its functions to finance and general purposes and other subcommittees which are made up exclusively of members of the Committee.

- 28. The Committee shall have power to make regulations and by-laws in order to implement the paragraphs of this Constitution, and to settle any disputed points not otherwise provided for in this Constitution.
- 29. No member of the Committee shall be removed from office except by the approving votes of two-thirds of those present in person or by proxy at a General Meeting.

#### indemnity

- 30. So far as may be permitted by law, every member of the Committee and every officer of the Club (each a "relevant officer") shall be entitled to be indemnified out of the Club's assets against all costs, charges, losses, expenses and liabilities incurred by the relevant officer in the execution or discharge of duties as a relevant officer or the exercise of powers as a relevant officer, or otherwise properly in relation to or in connection with the relevant officer's duties. This indemnity extends to any liability incurred by a relevant officer in defending any proceedings, civil or criminal, which relate to anything done or omitted or alleged to have been done or omitted by the relevant officer in that capacity and in which judgement is given in the relevant officer's favour (or the proceedings are otherwise disposed of without any finding or admission of any material breach of duty on the relevant officer's part), or in which the relevant officer is acquitted, or in connection with any application under any statute for relief from liability in respect of any such act or omission in which relief is granted to the relevant officer by the Court.
- 31. So far as may be permitted by law, the Club may purchase and maintain for the benefit of any relevant officer insurance cover against any liability which by virtue of any rule of law may attach to the relevant officer in respect of any negligence, default, breach of duty or breach of trust of which the relevant officer may be guilty in relation to the Club and against all costs, charges, losses and expenses and liabilities incurred by the relevant officer and for which the relevant officer is entitled to be indemnified by the Club by virtue of paragraph 30.

#### dissolution

- 32. The Club may be dissolved at any time by the approving votes of twothirds of those present in person or by proxy at a General Meeting. The Club may also be dissolved (without the need for any resolution of the members) by means of not less than thirty days' notice from the Proctors to the Secretary of the Club if at any time the Club ceases to be registered with the Proctors.
- 33. In the event of the Club being dissolved, its assets shall not be distributed amongst the members, but shall be paid to or at the direction of the University.

#### **INTERPRETATION**

- 34. Any question about the interpretation of this Constitution shall be settled by the Proctors.
- 35. This Constitution shall be binding on all members of the Club. No regulation, bye-law or policy of the Club shall be inconsistent with, or shall affect or repeal anything contained in, this Constitution.

# Appendix to the Standard Constitution of a Non-Sport Club

## St Antony's International Review Bylaws

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## PREAMBLE

We, the members of the St Antony's International Review (*STAIR*) strive

- To engender pioneering debate on contemporary and future issues of global relevance,
- To make a continuous and sustainable contribution to intellectual debates in international affairs,
- To crystallize the ethos of inter-disciplinary, creative, and productive thinking inherent to St Antony's College,
- To give a voice to cutting-edge research and to provide graduate students with a tangible forum for intellectual discourse,
- To foster the practical education of graduate students in publicizing new ideas,

And for these ends

- To base any effort on participation and to ensure the integration of as wide a variety of students as possible,
- To act by principle of consensus,
- To peer-review the publications,
- To publish themed, internally coherent issues consisting of academically rigorous articles that approach the set theme from a variety of angles.

These aims of *STAIR* shall be arrived at by way of collective effort.

#### **ARTICLE I. NAME AND OBJECTIVES**

<u>Section 1.</u> The name of this organization shall be the *St Antony's International Review*, hereinafter referred to as *"STAIR."* 

<u>Section 2.</u> St Antony's International Review is an international affairs journal established by graduate members of St Antony's College, University of Oxford. *STAIR* is a non-profit organization. The central aim of *STAIR* is to reflect the cross-disciplinary dialogue on global issues of contemporary relevance that is a unique feature of life at St Antony's. In recreating the College ethos of open, accessible, and engaged debate, *STAIR* seeks to develop a forum in which emerging scholars can publish their work alongside established academics and policymakers. By drawing on the wide range of disciplinary perspectives and intellectual resources of St Antony's College and the University of Oxford, we are keen to further raise the international profile of the College and the University, and strengthen the link between alumni and current members. *STAIR* also hopes to become an important voice in current international affairs debates.

<u>Section 3.</u> All of STAIR's activities shall conform to these Bylaws and to the University's new Standard Constitution of Non-Sports Clubs, introduced in Michaelmas Term 2016 (the "New Standard Constitution", to which these Bylaws are appended), which all non-sports clubs of the University are required to adhere to. In the event of any divergence or conflict between these Bylaws and the New Standard Constitution, the provision(s) and requirement(s) of the New Standard Constitution shall prevail.

#### **ARTICLE II. STUDENT MEMBERSHIP**

<u>Section 1.</u> Any Student member of the University of Oxford is eligible to apply for membership of *STAIR* provided that he or she has attended at least three General Meetings as an observer. If a member of *STAIR* fails to attend four out of the preceding eight General Meetings at any given time, his or her membership shall automatically lapse and can only be renewed if he or she subsequently attends at least three General Meetings as an observer.

<u>Section 2.</u> Non-Oxford students can become members of *STAIR* by following the rules set in Article II.

*STAIR* members may proactively recruit a non-Oxford student who possesses the necessary skill sets to run for an open position. Excluded from this rule are the positions of Managing Editor, Liaison Officer, and Treasurer. Prior to

standing for election, their candidacy will require a two-thirds majority vote of support from *STAIR* members. For editorial positions (i.e. Themed Section Editor, General Section Editor, Book Reviews Editor), the non-Oxford student will require at least one co-editor who is an Oxford student.

Once the two-thirds majority in support of the candidacy has been achieved, the election for the position will take place as described in Article VIII of these bylaws.

No more than three officer positions can be held by non-Oxford students at any time. Elections will take place sequentially, following the listing in these bylaws.

<u>Section 3.</u> Membership can be revoked by a majority vote of the Executive Committee under the exceptional condition that a Member has failed to act in agreement with *STAIR*'s objectives or has jeopardized the academic and/or professional integrity of the journal. Members suspended under this clause may appeal their suspension in writing to the membership, who may then reinstate such membership by a two-thirds majority vote.

<u>Section 4.</u> All Members are required to actively participate in the administrative and editorial work and to read and comment on the submissions, abstracts and, articles received by *STAIR*.

<u>Section 5.</u> No member shall receive any salary or other compensation for his or her contributions to the production and functioning of the journal.

#### **ARTICLE III. MEETINGS AND VOTING**

<u>Section 1.</u> *STAIR* shall hold weekly General Meetings (GM) during term at a time and place designated by the Executive Committee. These meetings will be advertised on *STAIR*'s website. Special meetings may be called by the Editors with approval from a majority of the Executive Committee.

<u>Section 2.</u> The General Meeting constitutes the highest decisionmaking body of *STAIR* and is responsible for discussing and deciding on new themes for upcoming issues.

<u>Section 3.</u> All reporting and decision-making shall be conducted at the General Meetings. All Officers are accountable to Members at the General Meeting and need to seek their consent on matters of administrative or editorial importance. Members at the General Meeting are responsible for ensuring the academic and professional

integrity of the journal and can overturn any decision of Officers or the Executive Committee by a majority of two thirds of Members present.

<u>Section 4.</u> A quorum is required for transaction of official business at weekly meetings and shall be comprised of one-third of *STAIR*'s membership.

<u>Section 5.</u> Unless otherwise specified, meetings are conducted according to the latest edition of *Robert's Rules of Order*.

<u>Section 6.</u> Decisions at meetings are taken by simple majority vote of the members. A two-thirds majority is required in special cases as designated by the Executive Committee or as required in other Articles of these Bylaws. Other less frequently used voting requirements are described in *Robert's Rules of Order*.

#### **ARTICLE IV. DUTIES OF OFFICERS**

<u>Section 1.</u> *STAIR*'s Officers shall consist of five Editors (four Themed Section Editors and one General Section Editor), a Managing Editor, a Production Editor, a Sales and Marketing Officer, a Treasurer, a Liaison Officer, a Senior Member, a Public Relations Officer, a Copy Editor, a Book Reviews Editor, and a Webmaster. Either the Managing Editor or the Liaison Officer must be a student at St Antony's college.

Section 2. The Editors shall:

A. Serve on the Executive Committee.

B. Strive to implement through their work the aims and ideas set out in the Preamble and in Article 1.

C. Be in charge of the contents of the journal issue they were elected for under Article VIII, Section 2. This includes direct responsibility for solicitation and presentation to the General Meeting of abstracts and articles, for the peer-review and corrections process, as well as supervisory responsibility for book reviews, copy-editing, and final proof-reading.

D. Present to the General Meeting an outline for the production of the issue they took responsibility for no later than four weeks after being elected. This outline shall describe the editorial principles for the planned issue as derived from the Preamble and Article 1; the structure of the issue; the proposed division of tasks between the two editors responsible for the issue and between them and other members of *STAIR*. It shall contain a proposed time-line for the solicitation and selection of abstracts and articles, peer-review and corrections process, copy-editing, final production and proof-reading. The outline

must find the approval of a majority at the General Meeting or be amended and resubmitted until a majority is found.

E. Conduct, in cooperation with the Managing Editor, *STAIR*'s official correspondence and report on *STAIR*'s activities at the Annual General Meeting.

F. Perform other duties and functions as are authorized by the Executive Committee or these Bylaws.

G. Coordinate the peer-review process for all articles submitted to *STAIR* for publication; the identity of peer reviewers is to be kept confidential by the two Editors in charge of an issue; for supervision the Managing Editor shall be supplied with a list of the names and affiliations of the reviewers only but receive no information on who reviewed which article.

H. Conduct appropriate correspondence on behalf of *STAIR* with the authors of all submissions, including notification of revisions, acceptance, and rejections.

I. Make any final editorial decisions as are necessary in accordance with the objectives of *STAIR* as set forth in these Bylaws.

J. Circulate all abstracts, articles and anonymized peer-review comments received by *STAIR* among the Membership and consider any comments received from members when recommending abstracts or articles.

K. Compile a list of recommended abstracts for selection and present it to the General Meeting. This list must find majority approval at the General Meeting before any authors can be notified and articles requested. If the list of recommended abstracts fails to be approved at the General Meeting, it shall be amended and resubmitted until a majority is found.

L. Following the peer-review, compile a list of recommended articles for publication and present it to the General Meeting. This list must find majority approval at the General Meeting before any authors can be notified. If the list of recommended articles fails to be approved at the General Meeting, it shall be amended and resubmitted until a majority is found.

M. Report regularly to the General Meeting with reference to the outline plan presented to the General Meeting before.

Section 3. The Managing Editor shall:

A. Perform the tasks associated with the role of "President" as defined by the University of Oxford Regulations governing clubs, societies, and publications.

B. Serve as chairperson at the General Meetings. If the Managing Editor is absent, Members at the General Meeting shall elect an adhoc chairperson by majority vote.

C. Regularly update Members at the General Meeting on all matters of importance.

D. Coordinate and supervise the activities of all Officers in order to ensure the academic and professional integrity of *STAIR*.

E. Ensure the timely publication of all journal issues.

F. Conduct *STAIR*'s official correspondence in cooperation with the Editors.

G. Ensure that adequate advice and assistance are available to the Officers in the performance of their responsibilities as established in these Bylaws.

H. Keep the official records of *STAIR*, including the minutes of each weekly meeting,

all Executive Committee meetings, and the Annual General Meeting.

I. Circulate to all Members, on a weekly basis, the agenda for the General Meeting. All Members can place items on the agenda by notifying the Managing Editor in advance or at the General Meeting after all other agenda items have been addressed.

J. Distribute to all members, on a weekly basis, a copy of the minutes of the preceding week's meeting.

K. Annually update and distribute current copies of the Bylaws to the Officers, Members, and Advisory Board by the end of Trinity Term.

L. Keep full records of *STAIR*'s membership.

M. Endeavour to recruit new Members including suitable candidates for all Officer's positions.

N. Maintain the email lists of *STAIR*.

O. Maintain contact with the College's Development Office and be in charge of all relations with alumni.

P. Perform other duties and functions as are necessary and authorized by the Executive Committee.

Q. Serve as co-signatory for the journal's bank account.

Section 4. The Production Editor shall:

A. Serve on the Executive Committee.

B. Be in charge of the technical production process of the journal.

C. Take responsibility for standardizing the format of all accepted submissions to the journal, including any advertisements received, and preparing each issue to go to print in a timely fashion.

D. Keep and maintain all software and templates necessary to produce each journal issue.

E. Liaise with the printing companies and ensure quality standards.

F. Report all activity on an ongoing basis to the Managing Editor and the three Editors in charge of the current issue in production.

G. Report regularly to the Members at the General Meeting.

Section 5. The Sales and Marketing Officer shall:

A. Serve on the Executive Committee.

B. Be responsible for sales, subscriptions, distribution, and all advertising that pertains to the journal.

C. Keep a current database of all current and potential subscribers, keep current records of all active subscriptions and expired subscriptions for a period of two years, collect and keep records of all payments for subscriptions, and (re)evaluate the costs of all types of subscriptions and single copies in cooperation with the Treasurer.

D. Guarantee that all subscriptions are mailed out in a timely fashion and search for new institutions, organizations, and other parties that may be interested in subscribing to the journal.

E. Maintain a database of all previous, current, and potential sources of advertising in the journal and conduct correspondence with such advertisers in accordance with the aims of the journal.

F. Perform other duties and functions as are necessary and authorized by the Executive Committee.

G. Report all activity on an ongoing basis to the Managing Editor.

H. Report regularly to the Members at the General Meeting.

I. Serve as co-signatory for the journal's bank account.

Section 6. The Treasurer shall:

A. Serve on the Executive Committee.

B. Manage and be co-signatory for the journal's bank account and any other accounts necessary for conducting business. The Treasurer's consent is required for all operations on any accounts of *STAIR*.

C. Keep proper records of *STAIR*'s financial transactions in accordance with current accepted accounting rules and practices.

D. Collect and be custodian of any fees or assessments authorized by these bylaws or funds and/or payments allotted to *STAIR*.

E. Disburse funds only as authorized by either a majority vote of the membership or by at least one other member of the Executive Committee in accordance with *STAIR*'s aims and in line with Members' decisions.

F. Ensure that all statutory returns are made including VAT, income tax, and corporation tax if appropriate.

G. Seek advice as necessary on tax matters from the University's Finance Division.

H. Make all records and accounts available on request to the Executive Committee or any of its members.

I. Supply financial reports to Members at the General Meeting once per term or when requested and prepare the annual Financial Report for the AGM.

J. Coordinate a budget for expenses with the Executive Committee members and the Public Relations Officer.

K. Supervise all expenses of *STAIR* and, if necessary, impose control on expenditure until a decision from Members can be obtained at the next General Meeting.

L. Perform other duties and functions as are necessary and authorized by the Executive Committee.

M. Report all activity on an ongoing basis to the Managing Editor.

N. Regularly report to Members at the General Meeting.

Section 7. The Liaison Officer shall:

A. Perform the tasks associated with the role of 'Secretary' as defined by the University of Oxford Regulations governing clubs, societies, and publications.

B. Serve on the Executive Committee.

C. Represent, in cooperation with the Managing Editor and the Editors, *STAIR* in all its relations with St Antony's College; all other relevant college and university boards and personnel, including the Courts of the University and other University authorities; and all institutions and organizations external to the College and the University.

D. Keep proper records of *STAIR*'s external relations.

E. Perform other duties and functions as are necessary and authorized by the Executive Committee.

F. Report all activity on an ongoing basis to the Managing Editor.

G. Regularly report to Members at the General Meeting.

<u>Section 8.</u> None of the Officers or Members may expend *STAIR*'s funds without prior consent from the Treasurer plus one other member of the Executive Committee. All Members are personally liable for funds dispersed without the prior consent of these Officers.

Section 9. The Public Relations Officer shall:

A. Organize and publicize the launch events and any other public events hosted by *STAIR*.

B. Report all activities on an ongoing basis to the Managing Editor and the Editors in charge of the issue related to particular PR activities.

C. Report to Members at the General Meeting.

Section 10. The Copy Editor shall:

A. Ensure in close cooperation with the relevant Editors that the format of all articles for publication conforms to common spelling and typesetting rules and to *STAIR*'s house style.

B. Plan and coordinate the copy-editing process in close cooperation with the relevant Editors and the Production Editor.

C. Keep record of the *STAIR* house style and document all decisions relating to questions not already addressed by the house style.

D. Report all activity on an ongoing basis to the Editors of the issue in current production.

E. Report to Members at the General Meeting.

Section 11. The Book Reviews Editor shall:

A. Be in charge, in close cooperation with the Editor's of the issue in current production, of the content of the book reviews section.

B. Coordinate the solicitation and selection of book reviews.

C. Circulate all book reviews received to all Members and consider any comments received in response.

D. Compile a list of book reviews recommended for publication and present this list to Members at the General Meeting. This list must find majority approval at the General Meeting or be amended and resubmitted until a majority is found.

E. Report to the Editors of the issue in current production.

F. Report to Members at the General Meeting.

<u>Section 12</u>: The Senior Member shall:

A. Fulfill the tasks outlined in the University of Oxford Regulations governing clubs, societies, and publications.

<u>Section 13</u>: The Webmaster shall: A. Maintain the website of the journal.

#### ARTICLE V. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

<u>Section 1.</u> The Executive Committee shall consist of the five Editors, the Managing Editor, the Treasurer, the Sales and Marketing Officer, the Liaison Officer, the Production Editor, and a Senior Member. The Senior Member will not be required to attend weekly meetings.

<u>Section 2.</u> The Executive Committee is authorized to act on behalf of *STAIR* at all times in their elected capacities and in accordance with their duties as specified in Article IV. Other decisions can be taken by the Executive Committee instead of by Members at the General Meeting only if these decisions are too urgent to be referred to the next General Meeting.

<u>Section 3.</u> A quorum is required for transaction of official business at an Executive Committee meeting. A quorum for an Executive Committee meeting shall consist of five of the ten members.

<u>Section 4.</u> Each member of the Executive Committee shall have one vote on Executive Committee decisions. In the event of a tie in which the Executive Committee can conclude no friendly agreement, the decision will be put to a majority vote of the Members at the next weekly meeting.

<u>Section 5.</u> The Executive Committee meets once per week during term time to prepare the General Meeting. When meetings are not possible during the breaks, the Executive Committee conducts business over the email list for the Executive Committee. Executive Committee meetings and the email list are open to all Members and members of the Advisory Board. Members and members of the Advisory Board may raise issues before the Executive Committee but may not vote on any issues.

<u>Section 6.</u> The Executive Committee shall submit to the full membership and Advisory Board at the first meeting of each term a report on the previous term's progress as well as guidelines for proceeding in the current term.

<u>Section 7.</u> Any decision of the Executive Committee may be overturned by a two-thirds majority vote of the membership, unless otherwise specified in these Bylaws.

<u>Section 8.</u> No member of the Executive Committee shall receive any salary or other compensation for his or her contributions to the production and functioning of the journal.

### ARTICLE VI. SPECIAL TASKS AND ASSOCIATE EDITORS

<u>Section 1.</u> Special tasks that are not covered by the duties of Officers can be assigned to individual members by a majority vote of Members at the General Meeting. No such assignment shall carry a title or be mentioned on the journal's credits page (online or print).

<u>Section 2.</u> The Executive Committee can nominate Members who are not Officers but have shown exceptional work commitment for the journal to be mentioned as 'Associate Editor' on the credit pages of the issue currently in production (online and print). Any such nomination can only be made two weeks before an issue scheduled to go to print and not at any earlier time. The nominated Members shall be credited as 'Associate Editors' if the nomination finds the approval of a majority of Members at the last General Meeting before an issue goes to print.

## ARTICLE VII. ADVISORY BOARD

<u>Section 1.</u> The Advisory Board shall consist of all invited faculty members of the University of Oxford and of external institutions, accepting the responsibilities set forth in Article VII, Section 2. Invitations can only be extended by a member of *STAIR*'s Executive Committee with the approval of a majority of Members at the General Meeting.

Section 2. The Advisory Board shall:

A. Serve an advisory role to *STAIR*'s Executive Committee on issues of importance raised by any of *STAIR*'s members.

- B. Provide editorial assistance to STAIR's Editors when requested.
- C. Attend the Annual General Meeting.

## ARTICLE VIII. ELECTIONS

<u>Section 1.</u> Elections for the positions of Managing Editor, Treasurer, Sales and Marketing Officer, Liaison Officer, General Section Editor, and Production Editor will take place in week four of Hilary Term each year. Nominations will be accepted at the last weekly meeting held prior to the date of the election that is also at least seven days before elections.

<u>Section 2.</u> Elections for the position of Themed Section Editor will take place at the second General Meeting after an issue has been

published. At each election only two new Editors are elected to take responsibility for the issue to be published after the next issue in line; usually in one year's time. The two newly elected Editors will replace the Editors who were responsible for the last issue published. Nominations will be accepted at the last weekly meeting held prior to the date of the election that is also at least seven days before elections.

<u>Section 3.</u> Elections for the positions of Public Relations Officer, Copy Editor, and Book Reviews Editor will take place each time a pair of new Themed Section Editors is elected. Nominations will be accepted at the last weekly meeting held prior to the date of the election that is also at least seven days before elections.

<u>Section 4.</u> The elections shall be conducted by a Returning Officer. The Returning Officer for an election is elected by majority vote of Members at the last General Meeting before elections. The Returning Officer must not be a candidate at the same time.

<u>Section 5.</u> Members may cast their vote by email to the Returning Officer. All votes by email must be received by 1800h on the day before the elections. The Returning Officer is obligated to keep the identity and votes of Members voting by email confidential.

<u>Section 6.</u> All candidates must be members of the journal. Nonmembers who wish to present their candidacy for election may seek approval to run from a two-thirds vote of the membership present at the Nominating Meeting.

<u>Section 7.</u> Candidates for the positions of Editor and Managing Editor must also be full-time graduate students that are not completing their final year of studies at Oxford. The Editors and Managing Editor must be individuals able to uphold the values and principles of St Antony's College and the University of Oxford.

<u>Section 8.</u> Candidates may only be nominated and elected for one position; no person may hold more than one position at any time.

<u>Section 9.</u> Voting in elections will be conducted by simple majority ballots. In the event that no candidate obtains election after the first round of voting, the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes will compete in a run-off election. The candidate receiving the most votes in the second ballot shall take office. The run-off election will be repeated until one candidate receives more votes than the other. All ballots shall be anonymous and will be counted by the Returning Officer.

<u>Section 10.</u> Elected Officers will assume their positions in the week following elections.

<u>Section 11.</u> The Managing Editor, Treasurer, Sales and Marketing Officer, Liaison Officer, General Section Editor, and Production Editor shall serve for a period of one year. The Themed Section Editors shall serve until the issue in their responsibility is published and new Editors are elected (usually one year). The Public Relations Officer, Copy Editor, and Books Reviews Editor shall serve until the next issue is published and new Editors are elected (usually six months). All Officers may seek re-election.

<u>Section 12.</u> In the event of a vacated position, the Executive Committee shall appoint a qualified replacement to fill the interim position until a by-election can be held. By-elections will be held at the third General Meeting after a position has become vacant according to the procedures established in Article VIII. If the position remains vacant after the by-election the Executive Committee shall appoint a qualified replacement to fill the interim position until the next regular election for the position.

<u>Section 13.</u> No elected Officer shall receive any salary or other compensation for his or her contributions to the production and functioning of the journal.

<u>Section 14.</u> *STAIR*'s Members at the General Meeting may replace any Officer with another candidate at any time by a two-thirds majority vote.

<u>Section 15.</u> Each Officer must, on relinquishing his or her appointment, promptly hand to his or her successor in Office all official documents and records belonging to *STAIR*, together with any other property belonging to *STAIR* which may be in his or her possession; and must complete any requirements to transfer authority relating to controls of *STAIR*'s bank accounts, building society accounts, or other financial affairs.

#### ARTICLE IX. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

<u>Section 1.</u> The Annual General Meeting (hereafter "AGM") will be held in Trinity Term each year and will be presided over by the Managing Editor.

<u>Section 2.</u> The AGM is open to all Members and all members of the Advisory Board.

<u>Section 3.</u> The Editors will officially present *STAIR*'s yearly report at the AGM, and the report shall be accepted by a majority vote of those present at the meeting. The report shall be made available to all members and the Advisory Board one week prior to the AGM. If the

report is not accepted, it shall be revised and resubmitted for approval, by proxy vote, of the Advisory Board within two weeks of the AGM.

### ARTICLE X. INDEMNITY

Section 1. So far as may be permitted by law, every member of the Executive Committee and every STAIR Officer shall be entitled to be indemnified by STAIR against all costs, charges, losses, expenses, and liabilities incurred by him or her in the execution or discharge of his or her duties or the exercise of his or her powers, or otherwise properly in relation to or in connection with his or her duties. This indemnity extends to any liability incurred by him or her in defending any proceedings, civil or criminal, which relate to anything done or omitted or alleged to have been done or omitted by him or her as a member of the Executive Committee or STAIR Officer and in which judgment is given in his or her favour (or the proceedings are otherwise disposed of without any finding or admission of any material breach of duty on his or her part), or in which he or she is acquitted, or in connection with any application under any statute for relief from liability in respect of any such act or omission in which relief is granted to him or her by the Court.

<u>Section 2.</u> So far as may be permitted by law, *STAIR* may purchase and maintain for any Officer or member of the Executive Committee insurance coverage against any liability which by virtue of any rule of law may attach to him or her in respect of any negligence, default, breach of duty, or breach of trust of which he or she may be guilty in relation to *STAIR* and against all costs, charges, losses, and expenses and liabilities incurred by him or her and for which he or she is entitled to be indemnified by *STAIR* by virtue of Article X, Section 1.

## ARTICLE XI. DISSOLUTION

<u>Section 1.</u> *STAIR* may be dissolved at any time by a two-thirds vote of members present at the Annual General Meeting.

#### **ARTICLE XII. AMENDMENTS**

<u>Section 1.</u> Amendments to these Bylaws must be approved by both the student membership and the Advisory Board. The membership will vote on amendments during the General Meeting or emergency meetings called by any Officer of the Executive Committee. The Advisory Board will ratify amendments approved by the membership at the AGM.

<u>Section 2.</u> Proposed amendments must be submitted in writing to the Executive Committee, who will then review and circulate the contents of the amendment to the membership at least one week prior to voting.

A. The Bylaws may be provisionally amended by a two-thirds majority vote of *STAIR*'s Members at the General Meeting or attending the emergency meeting.

B. Amendments take provisional effect immediately upon passage.

C. Amendments provisionally adopted at the General Meeting or an emergency meeting by the membership will be submitted in writing to Advisory Board members together with the yearly report. Amendments are fully incorporated into these Bylaws once passed by a simple majority vote of the members present at the AGM.

<u>Section 3.</u> Any journal member or Advisory Board member may propose amendments to the Executive Committee at any time.