Annual Review 2014–15 Navigating the New Geopolitics

# Global Power Dynamics Challenges of Interdependence Sustainable Economic Growth

# CHATHAM HOUSE The Royal Institute of

The Royal Institute of International Affairs Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is an independent policy institute based in London. Our mission is to help build a sustainably secure, prosperous and just world.

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# Introduction 2014-15 Review

# Chairman's statement

I am very pleased to report to you that 2014–15 was another year of strong collective performances and good results for Chatham House.

As I meet and engage with fellow members of the institute and those involved in and supporting our work, it is clear that our reputation is strong and that the depth and breadth of our research and events remain the crucial reasons for their involvement. This year's Annual Review underscores the broad scope of our work, outlines the robustness of the institute's finances and confirms my mood of confidence as we enter a critical period of our history.

Total net assets, excluding the value of Chatham House itself, at 31 March 2015, were £13,759,000, compared with £11,154,000 the previous year (see the Honorary Treasurer's report on page 28). This was boosted by two endowments totalling £1.2 million; a 14 per cent increase in research income to £8.5 million; and a rise in membership subscription income to £2.4 million (notably, a 13 per cent increase in individual membership revenues and an eight per cent rise in those from our institutional memberships).

We have continued to combine this growth with a diversification of our sources of funding, including a further rise in the level of grants from foundations. In addition, the financial contributions from our sponsored conferences and discretionary fundraising were significantly higher than in previous years and membership continues to grow across all categories.

One of the highlights of this past year was the visit by our Patron, HM The Queen, and HRH The Duke of Edinburgh to Chatham House on 18 November 2014 to open The Queen Elizabeth II Academy for Leadership in International Affairs. During Her Majesty's visit, we launched the institute's Second Century Initiative, which will help us secure endowment and other long-term funding for the Academy, research fellowships and new research centres, and additional physical space and supporting infrastructure. As part of the launch, we were delighted to announce a commitment of £3.8 million from the MAVA Foundation to establish the Hoffmann Centre on the Sustainable Resource Economy: and a cornerstone contribution of £3.2 million from the Asfari Foundation towards the Academy and the future acquisition of additional space in the adjoining Ames House.

In January this year, we were again ranked highly in the University of Pennsylvania's annual Global Go To Think Tank Index. We were rated the top non-US think-tank for the seventh consecutive year; and second in the world overall for the fourth year in a row. Our report, How to Fix the Euro, co-published with Elcano and AREL, was ranked second best policy report. These global rankings are, most importantly, a sign of appreciation of the hard work of our staff and associate fellows.

2 | Chatham House

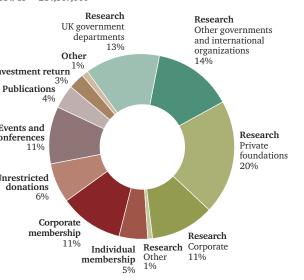
Chatham House income by category  $2014/15 = \pounds 14,507,000$ Research Research UK government Other governments departments and international 13% organizations Other  $14^{-}$ % Investment return<sup>1%</sup> 3% Publications 4% Events and Research conferences Private 11% foundations 20% Unrestricted donations 6% Corporate membership Research 11% Corporate Research Individual Other 11%

Indeed, I would like to commend the Director, Robin Niblett, and his staff and our associate fellows for their many achievements this year. I am also immensely grateful to our members and supporters for their contributions and the ongoing and active roles they play in the successes of the institute. In turn, I acknowledge and welcome those new donors who are broadening our existing networks and support base as we head towards our centenary. I make no apology in mentioning that we are undertaking a campaign to raise funds to secure the financial future and achieve the ambition we have for the institute. I will be working hard to obtain those funds and in that regard will seek the help of all supporters of Chatham House.

This year, Stuart Sinclair and Alistair Newton are stepping down as members of Council after six and five years respectively. Their advice and insightful suggestions contributed greatly towards the institute's recent achievements and I hope they will continue to interact with us in their future endeavours. I am also pleased to announce that Council has agreed a one-year extension of Sir Roderic Lyne's tenure as our deputy chairman, during which time we will begin the search for his successor.

Thanks to you all, Chatham House has maintained and enhanced its reputation in this past year as one of the world's most trusted and independent policy institutes on international affairs.

Stuart Popham QC







# **Director's statement**

During 2014–15 we took several steps to boost Chatham House's ability to fulfil our mission to help build a more sustainably secure, prosperous and just world.

One priority has been to strengthen the institute's capacity for interdisciplinary research. In an increasingly complex world, our research and debates have to cut across topics, countries and regions in order for us to better understand and seek solutions to the challenges of today and tomorrow, from resurgent geopolitical rivalries to intense competition for resources and the spread of violent non-state actors. To this end, I have appointed Michael Keating as Associate Director for Research Partnerships. He will work with our research directors and programme heads to ensure the institute makes the most of its diverse range of expertise. In this context, it was satisfying to note that Chatham House was ranked second and fourth best in the world in the University of Pennsylvania's annual think-tank survey in the categories of 'Institutional Collaboration' and 'Transdisciplinary Research', respectively.

Another priority has been to engage a more diverse set of voices in the debate on international affairs. The second London Conference, which was held on 1–2 June at Lancaster House and included a keynote post-election discussion with the Rt Hon Philip Hammond, UK Foreign Secretary, was attended by delegates from 39 countries. Outside the venue, the live-streamed discussions generated 1.3 million impressions from the institute's Twitter accounts and 2,036 people from 86 countries watched the event live via webcast. These figures underscore the extent to which Chatham House is becoming part of the wider public discourse on international affairs, and I am pleased that our redeveloped website attracted 660,000 visits in the final quarter of the financial year – 53 per cent up on the same period last year.

In turn, The Queen Elizabeth II Academy for Leadership in International Affairs is enhancing our ability to attract analysts and future leaders from around the world. Academy fellows from China, Japan, Russia and Syria are already bringing new perspectives and ideas to our research programmes and contributing qualitatively to all aspects of daily life at the institute.

At the same time, Chatham House continued to debate and challenge the ideas of leading figures over the course of the year. For example, Muhammadu Buhari, then presidential candidate and now President of Nigeria, engaged members with his manifesto for office; Melinda Gates, co-founder of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and recipient of the Chatham House Prize in 2014, discussed global health and development with our members; and Federica Mogherini spoke about her immediate priorities as the new EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

The year has also seen Chatham House engage in the debate over the UK's responses to the changing international context. In the lead-up to the 7 May general election, we formed a working group on UK foreign policy and published a series of policy-oriented election notes on future UK policies towards climate change, the European Court of Human Rights, UK–Japan relations and Syrian refugees. Ongoing work across the institute in 2015–16 will feed into the UK government's and parliament's review of changes in the international security context and the country's referendum on its EU membership.

These and other activities at Chatham House are taking place in an environment in which growing attention is being paid to the funding sources of policy institutes around the world. This year, we undertook new steps to increase further the transparency about our many sources of financial support. The homepage of the institute's website links directly to a new 'Our funding' section which includes a breakdown of overall income and sources. We will continue to evolve our approach in order to show as clearly as possible how the institute's various sources of funding contribute to its ongoing work and the public benefit.

In closing, I would like to reinforce one of the main messages of our chairman – that is, the tremendous support that the institute's staff and associate fellows receive from the membership, Council, Senior Advisers, individual and institutional donors and others, including our three presidents. Chatham House would not be able to fulfil its role without their support, for which we are enormously grateful.

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Dr Robin Niblett CMG

# About us

# What We Do at Chatham House

# Origins

In 1919 British and American delegates to the Paris Peace Conference, appalled by the waste of human life caused by the First World War, conceived the idea of an Anglo-American institute of foreign affairs to study international problems.

In the event, the British Institute of International Affairs was founded in London in July 1920 and the American delegates established the Council on Foreign Relations separately in New York. The institute received its Royal Charter in 1926 and became the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Since 1923 the institute has been based at Chatham House and is now more commonly known by this name. Chatham House, the home of three former British prime ministers, is located in historic St James's Square close to key government departments in the heart of London.

# Mission

Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is an independent policy institute based in London. Our mission is to help build a sustainably secure, prosperous and just world.

The institute:

- engages governments, the private sector, civil society and its members in open debates and confidential discussions about significant developments in international affairs;
- produces independent and rigorous analysis of critical global, regional and country-specific challenges and opportunities; and
- offers new ideas to decision-makers and opinionshapers on how these could best be tackled from the near to the long term.

Demand for Chatham House's research, convening capacity and ideas is growing. In response, the institute is focusing its efforts on three priorities: expanding and deepening core areas of research capacity; engaging emerging leaders from around the world through the creation of The Queen Elizabeth II Academy for Leadership in International Affairs within the institute; and gaining access to additional physical space adjacent to the institute's current premises in order to accommodate the first two priorities.



# Independent analysis

- Our reports, papers, books and other research output provide independent and in-depth analysis.
- *International Affairs,* a leading journal of international relations, combines policy relevance with an academic, in-depth analytical approach to contemporary world politics.
- *The World Today,* the institute's magazine, presents authoritative analysis and commentary on current topics. It provides a vital background for experts, business planners, academics and others.
- The institute received 1,915,423 visits to the website from around the world, during 2014–15.
- The institute received around 3,000 citations in major international media outlets during 2014–15. Chatham House is placed in the top five, in terms of media coverage, in comparison with the world's other leading think-tanks.

Right: Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, United Nations Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director, UN Women, speaks at 'Gender Equality: 50–50 by 2030' in June 2015. Far right: Vittorio Colao, Chief Executive, Vodafone, in conversation at a Chatham House Corporate Leaders' Series event in July 2014.



# Members

Ever since its founding in 1920, Chatham House has relied on its members, both individuals and corporates, to support its mission, especially its role as a platform for informed debate on the most pressing issues in international affairs. Members are drawn from the worlds of business, diplomacy, academia, politics, the media and civil society. They play an essential role in questioning and challenging world leaders and other speakers when they visit Chatham House. While the majority are UK-based, overseas members (based in more than 76 countries) form an increasingly significant proportion of the total.

Chatham House benefits from a wide range of philanthropic, research-related and membership support. This diversity of support is critical to the independence of the institute.

The Chatham House Council is composed of members of the institute, elected annually for a three-year term. The Council may co-opt a small number of additional members each year.

# The Queen Elizabeth II Academy for Leadership in International Affairs

Formally launched by HM The Queen in November 2014, the Academy provides a venue for the next generation of global leaders to focus on the complex policy challenges of a fast-moving world.

Each year, the Academy brings to Chatham House between eight and 12 fellows and senior fellows from around the world. Through personal projects, as well as seminars, presentations and visits to partner organizations, fellows develop the skills, knowledge, networks and self-awareness to allow them to be more effective leaders. Over the course of their time at the Academy, fellows will build networks and relationships with one another, with Chatham House staff, and with experts and leaders in academia, government, business, civil society and the media. As alumni of the Academy, they will be able to continue to call upon one another and Chatham House throughout their careers.

# **Informed debate**

- Around 120 events for members and some 15 major one- or two-day conferences in 2014–15 enabled world leaders and experts to exchange ideas.
- Research programmes hosted more than 250 workshops, seminars and briefings on a range of policy questions.
- Experts frequently provide evidence to government officials and legislators in Beijing, Brussels, Delhi, London, Washington DC and other capitals.
- Regular briefings for corporate partners and members allow them to interact with invited speakers under the Chatham House Rule.

# New policy ideas

- A number of research projects culminate in Chatham House reports, which make recommendations for tackling a range of key policy challenges.
- These recommendations are frequently developed iteratively with leading policy-makers, giving them a stake in the ideas.
- Experts provide briefings on their ideas to government officials and legislators in relevant capitals around the world.
- Chatham House consistently ranks highly in the University of Pennsylvania's annual Global Go To Think Tank Index, where it has been assessed by its peers as the No.1 think-tank outside the US for seven consecutive years and No.2 worldwide for the past four years.

# About us Year in Review

# NATO's future

Ahead of the 2014 Wales summit, Chatham House proposals for NATO's next steps attracted wide media coverage through a series of events, a research paper and government briefings.





Her Majesty The Queen, accompanied by His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh, formally launched The Queen Elizabeth II Academy for Leadership in International Affairs at Chatham House in November 2014.

SEP



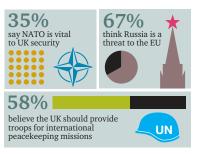
**Opportunities for Afghanistan** In December 2014, Ashraf Ghani, President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, came to Chatham House for a discussion on the challenges and opportunities ahead for the country. The event was part of the project Afghanistan: Opportunity in Crisis, which also included publications, podcasts, video interviews and an interactive timeline.

NOV



Following the website redesign, traffic grew to 1,915,423 visits during 2014–15. In autumn 2014, the institute started using infographics to illustrate research findings, such as the Chatham House–YouGov Survey results.

AUG





OCT

Chatham House Prize 2014 'I was fortunate enough to be challenged today, with very thoughtful, provoking questions during the Chatham House Q&A... You got me thinking about some issues too in a new way.'

Melinda Gates, Chatham House Prize winner, November 2014



DEC

New editor for International Affairs Professor Andrew Dorman was appointed commissioning editor of International Affairs in early 2015. He succeeded Caroline Soper, who retired from the editorship in December 2014, after 20 years at Chatham House. The publications editor, Margaret May, also stepped down after 26 years. Both continue their involvement on a consultancy basis.

A view from the Gulf HRH Prince Turki bin Faisal Al Sa'ud of Saudi Arabia, Chairman, King Faisal Center to the UK and the US, spoke at Chatham House in March 2015 on the outlook for Saudi Arabia





Democracy in Nigeria In the run-up to Nigeria's 2015 elections, General Muhammadu Buhari, then a presidential candidate and now Nigeria's president, spoke about democratic consolidation in Africa and Nigeria's transition. The February 2015 event livestream attracted around 60,000 viewers.

# London Conference 2015

Chatham House's flagship annual conference, on 1–2 June, brought together senior decision-makers in policy, business and academia from 39 countries to debate the profound economic and political rebalancing taking place across the world.





FEB

2015

JAN

EU challenges In February 2015, Federica Mogherini, totive of the European U In February 2015, Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and Vice-President of the European Commission, outlined how the EU could address challenges and opportunities in its neighbouring regions.

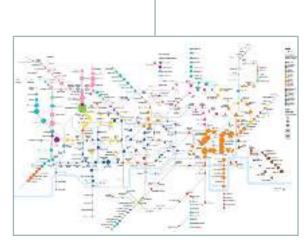
# UK foreign policy

MAR

UK Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond gave a keynote presentation on the opening day of the London Conference 2015 at Chatham House. He spoke on the EU, relations with Russia and the US, and wider international engagement.



MAY



APR



JUN

#### The World Today 70th anniversary issue

In June 2015, The World Today magazine celebrated its 70th anniversary with a look at topics from the first issue in July 1945 through to the present day, including the rise of China, the impact of the Iranian revolution and the development of nuclear weapons.

#### Mind the language gap: a map of diversity

The World Today designed a map of the London Underground to illustrate the second languages spoken in different areas of the capital. Published in the February/March 2015 issue, it received 128,000 views on the website.

# Africa | Asia | Eurasia | MENA | US Explaining Global Power Dynamics

Chatham House is examining the ways in which ongoing shifts in global economic and political power are leading to greater competition between states, blocs and institutions.

# US allies and alliances

As the 2016 election approaches, the US is in a reactive mode to world events. President Barack Obama's first-term promise to move the focus of America's foreign policy towards the Asia-Pacific was complicated by events in the Middle East and Europe. In this context, the US Project is exploring the changing international role of the US, and the global constraints and challenges it faces.

In January a research paper, *Obama's National* Security Strategy: Predicting US Policy in the Context of Changing Worldviews, examined the administration's 2015 strategy document in the context of previous American strategic planning frameworks. Prior to this, the 2014 report Asia-Pacific Security: A Changing Role for the United States, supported by the MacArthur Foundation, looked at how America's allies perceived its transition under Obama. The report provides the basis for ongoing work on the regional distribution of power. Also in 2014, Chatham House's US Project published a report entitled *Elite Perceptions of the US in Europe and Asia*, supported by the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, which looked at how America is seen by leading individuals in the two regions.



Caroline Atkinson, Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for International Economics, speaks at 'Transatlantic Economic Cooperation and the Global Economy' in February 2015.



Minister Li Wei, President, Development Research Center of the State Council, People's Republic of China, speaks at 'Fuelling the Innovation Economy: China and the UK' in July 2014.



# New Asian power relations

What is China's future role in shaping a more effective regime for the governance of natural resources, and how should the international community engage with China? These questions are at the heart of Chatham House research with a leading Chinese think-tank, the Development Research Center of the State Council, supported by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO). As China is the world's biggest producer and consumer of resources, its resource strategy has global implications. The issue is highly topical in the context of China's plans for a 'New Silk Road' and international tensions about the role of the new, China-led, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. Five workshops with senior Chinese policy-makers were held in Beijing to test and refine proposals for China's government to consider in the 13th Five-Year Plan (2016-20).

Chatham House's research on the Asia-Pacific has looked at the key strategies, national attributes and international dynamics that have influenced security in the region. This has included maritime security, the limitations of regional institutional cooperation, as well as non-traditional security challenges. Over the past year, the institute has hosted three conferences on the theme of security in the Asia-Pacific, involving speakers from across the region. A high-level roundtable in April 2015 discussed the future of multilateralism in Asia – specifically, the opportunities for cooperation between Japan, India and Australia. Japan's relations with the United Kingdom are the focus of a five-year project funded by the Nippon Foundation and run in partnership with it and the Great Britain Sasakawa Foundation. As part of the activities for year two of this project, in 2014 Chatham House hosted a conference in Tokyo, with participation from Sir John Major and leading academics from the UK, Japan and beyond. In addition, a research paper by Associate Fellow Sir David Warren queried whether the UK still matters to Japan and its neighbours in northeast Asia.

Chatham House's research on the Korean peninsula focuses on the geopolitical and strategic issues shaping relations between North and South Korea. In October 2014, Chatham House partnered with South Korean newspaper *Joongang Ilbo* to host a conference on northeast Asian security in Seoul, with the participation of South Korean Foreign Minister Yun Byung-se and former Australian prime minister Kevin Rudd. In December, Minister Yun also visited Chatham House to share his views on the situation on the Korean peninsula with a UK audience. The Asia Programme's research on South Korea also explores the role of mid-sized powers in northeast Asia at the beginning of the 21st century.

Left: President Barack Obama makes a brief statement to the media during a meeting with his cabinet at the White House in May 2015.

Right: Japanese Defence Minister Gen Nakatani inspects a scale model of the Japan Maritime Self-Defence Force's amphibious plane US-2 at the country's first international military trade fair in Tokyo in May 2015.







# The balancing role of mid-sized powers

Once again, the issue of policy cooperation has been in the spotlight. Turkey assumed the presidency of the G20 in December 2014, under a mandate of 'collective action for robust and inclusive growth'. In her research paper, Policy Cooperation in the G20, Associate Fellow Mina Toksöz explored how mid-sized powers could promote international cooperation and help mitigate economic risks. She suggested that Turkey, during its presidency of the G20, prioritize infrastructure investment and international coordination to reduce risks to global growth from policy 'spillovers'. Senior Research Fellow Stephen Pickford led a project in collaboration with the Turkish think-tank TEPAV that also resulted in recommendations for the Turkish presidency of the G20. These were presented during the G20 meeting of finance ministers and central bank governors in Istanbul in February 2015. Among other things, Chatham House and TEPAV suggested that the G20 prioritize opportunities for small and medium-sized enterprises to participate in new projects.

Work on Latin America's relationship with the global economy included a series of discussions organized by the International Economics Department in conjunction with the Inter-American Development Bank. Concluding in July 2014, discussions focused on intra- and extra-regional trade and financial flows, the views from the region's main trading partners, and the prospects for better integration into global value chains. This project highlighted the capacity of Latin America to promote productivity through economic integration, and the importance of intra-regional integration to support growth and development and to keep the region at the centre of international investors' strategies.

Above: Turkey's Deputy Prime Minister, Ali Babacan, at a press conference marking the start of Turkey's presidency of the G20 on 1 December 2014. Right: Long queues formed at petrol stations across oil-rich Nigeria on 25 May 2015, following a row over government subsidy payments to petrol importers.

# The role of African anchor states

Africa's regions are anchored by the economic activity and political influence of key states, developments in which have far-reaching international consequences. The dominance of Kenya in East Africa and Nigeria in West Africa is undisputed. But Kenya's recent oil finds and the progress of an ambitious devolution plan are tempered by insecurity that places the country at the front line of the global war on terror. Africa's biggest economy, Nigeria, has equally been damaged in real and reputational terms by its escalating Boko Haram crisis and institutional erosion in recent years. With complex governance challenges matched by considerable opportunity, both countries walk a precarious path as regional leaders and stabilizers.

Events and publications, such as the September 2014 research paper *Nigeria's Interminable Insurgency? Addressing the Boko Haram Crisis*, engaged leaders from politics, religion, business and civil society. Debate and analysis highlighted vital issues of concern in these countries and how these might be addressed, with outreach in Africa, Asia and Europe, focused on drawing different actors together for improved cooperation. This has fed into decision-making on approaches to pivotal challenges, including elections. In February 2015 Nigeria's president Muhammadu Buhari, then an opposition candidate, spoke at Chatham House on the importance of democracy for Africa. In March 2015 Josephat Nanok, governor of Turkana County, spoke about resource management and decentralization in Kenya.



Far left: Abdullah Gül, President, Republic of Turkey (2007–14), speaks at 'Reflections on Turkey and the Wider Region' in November 2014.

Left: Dr Leena Koni Hoffmann, Marie Curie Fellow, Centre for Population, Poverty and Public Policy Studies, speaks at a panel event on 'Power and Democracy in Northern Nigeria: Understanding Political Change' in July 2014.

Right: Giorgi Margvelashvili, President of Georgia, and Matt Frei, Europe Editor, Channel 4 News, discuss 'Georgia and European Security in the Wake of the Ukraine Crisis' in September 2014.





#### Russia and its neighbours

The conflict in Ukraine has taken the oxygen from the wider international debate around the other former Soviet states; but the countries once under direct Kremlin control continue to receive detailed analytical attention from the institute's Russia and Eurasia Programme. From Central Asia to the South Caucasus, Chatham House's research continues to reflect these countries' autonomous realities – as well as the pressure they are under – through meetings and publications. A new Ukraine Forum is a prime example of examining that country in its own right, not through the prism of Russia. Officially launched in July 2015, the forum will take a dispassionate look at Ukraine's internal progress,

or lack thereof. But Russia and its further estrangement from the West inevitably overshadow much else. A paper on Russia's economy concluded that its actions in Ukraine have rendered prospects for reform bleaker than ever; a new project on Russia's mobilization is intended to facilitate Western onlookers' understanding that the country's economy, military and society are being prepared for further conflict; and a major report, *The Russian Challenge*, published in June 2015, argued carefully but candidly that the West must no longer even attempt to integrate Russia under its present leadership into the international system. That policy angle has failed.

Above: An elderly woman stands in front of a damaged house in Nikishyne, Ukraine, in March 2015. The town was levelled in fighting between Kyiv government forces and pro-Russian rebels.

Right: People attend a rally and concert in central Moscow in March 2015 to mark the one-year anniversary of Ukraine's Crimean peninsula coming back under Russian control.



Right: Susan Dabbous, journalist (right) and author of *How Would You Like to Die?*, with Ruth Sherlock, Middle East Correspondent, the *Telegraph*, discussing 'Reporting Undercover in Syria' in September 2014. Far right: Staffan de Mistura, United Nations Special Envoy for Syria, speaks at 'The Syrian Conflict: Four Years On' in March 2015.

# NATO, defence and deterrence

NATO was given renewed purpose in 2014 by Russia's annexation of Crimea and its subsequent, and continuing, intervention in eastern Ukraine. But while the fundamental question of 'Why NATO?' has been answered, uncertainty remains as to how the Alliance should execute its strategic directives, what its priorities should be, and how it should garner sufficient resources. A research paper entitled NATO: Charting the Way Forward was the product of extensive roundtable discussions between Chatham House staff and leading observers and practitioners from the Alliance and its member states. Along with the paper, Chatham House held a press briefing for more than 100 media representatives, a launch with senior FCO and NATO officials, and hosted a talk by then-secretary general Anders Fogh Rasmussen. Launched just before NATO's 2014 Wales summit, the paper had widespread media coverage and was well received by

senior officials at NATO and in the capitals of its member states. It led to requests to continue the roundtable discussions to help facilitate progress on the summit deliverables and other NATO activities.

The International Security Department has continued its Carrington Series on examining different approaches to the concept of nuclear deterrence. In the past year, it has hosted roundtables with experts from France, India, the UK and Russia. The department also started a new seminar series on the UK's defence policy in the international context, which will continue in the coming year, and published four research papers that considered the broader implications of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). The papers looked at the impact that the ATT can have on development goals, the defence industry, human security and other related instruments.

Below: A man carries a picture of Russia's President Vladimir Putin in a T-shirt saying 'Crimea' at an open-air political cartoons exhibition in Moscow on the anniversary of the much-contested Crimea referendum in March 2015. Above right: Syrian men help the injured following a reported barrel bomb attack that hit an open market in the northern city of Aleppo in June 2015.







# Power and politics in the MENA region

Dramatic events across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) continue to define the social, political and economic landscape of a region in turmoil. Governance structures in Syria and its neighbouring states face enormous strains, to the point of collapse, as the conflict continues with devastating impact in Syria and beyond. Meanwhile, the escalation of violence in Yemen poses new questions about the increasingly assertive role of Gulf states as regional foreign policy players. In the face of multiple immediate crises, the MENA Programme at Chatham House has continued to promote long-term and regionally driven policy solutions to address some of the key underlying drivers of instability. Work on social policy, citizenship, inter-community relations and regional power dynamics has underpinned this effort.

A research paper in February 2015 on Yemen and the Saudi–Iranian 'Cold War' found that competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia for regional power continues to exacerbate the situation in Yemen, while a major report entitled *Future Trends in the Gulf* argued that the reshaping of relations between citizens and state in the Gulf will be fundamental to the future security of countries in the region. The two publications were among the most-read outputs across Chatham House in the first half of 2015, reaching international policy audiences from the US to regional governments. In 2014 the MENA Programme also launched the Syria and Its Neighbours Policy Initiative. This multi-year research project convenes governments, academics and civil society from across the Middle East and internationally to support the development of a coordinated and holistic policy response to address the regional dynamics and long-term implications of the conflict in Syria. A conference on 'Policy, Power and Sectarian Identities in the MENA Region' brought together policy-makers, religious leaders, media and civil society to consider how the intersection of politics, power and sectarian identity affects the region and proposed innovative approaches for preventing sectarian conflict.

One of the most-read *International Affairs* articles during the year assessed Iran's strategy in dealing with the rise of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Authors Dina Esfandiary and Ariane Tabatabai concluded that Iran's interests in Syria remain secondary to preventing the fragmentation of Iraq. The article was downloaded around 3,000 times.



#### Adjoa Anyimadu Adjoa Anyimadu is a research associate with the Africa Programme, where she leads research on Kenya, Tanzania

and African maritime security.

She has authored Chatham House papers on East and West African responses to piracy, UK-Africa relations and ransom payments. She has conducted research in 11 African countries, and accompanied a NATO counterpiracy mission in the Indian Ocean. She is a regular media commentator and has written for the New York Times and the Guardian. She has provided expert advice to the International Taskforce on Piracy Ransom Payments, the UK Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee and the European Union.



#### Orysia Lutsevych

Orysia Lutsevych is manager of the new Ukraine Forum within the Russia and Eurasia Programme. She focuses on social change and the role of civil society in democratic transition in the post-Soviet region.

Her recent research analysed Russia's use of proxy-NGOs in achieving its foreign policy objectives. She is author of the Chatham House briefing paper, How to Finish a Revolution: Civil Society and Democracy in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine (2013), and is working on a forthcoming paper, Putin's Little Helpers: Agents of the Russian World. She previously led the start-up of Europe House Georgia and was executive director of the Open Ukraine Foundation. She has a master's in international relations from Lviv State University and a master's in public administration from the University of Missouri-Columbia, US.



#### Jacob Parakilas

Jacob Parakilas is assistant project director for the US Project. Before joining Chatham House, he worked for Action on Armed Violence, a London-based NGO.

His research has largely focused on American foreign policy and international security issues. Originally from Lewiston, Maine, Jacob holds a BA in international relations from Hampshire College, an MLitt in Middle East and Central Asian security studies from the University of St Andrews, and a PhD in international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science. He has also worked at the World Security Institute, the Arms Control Association and the US Department of Homeland Security.



#### Fida Shafi

Fida Shafi is a Palestinian scholar with a PhD in political science from the University of Vienna, as well as master's qualifications in human rights, educational administration and public administration. She has worked as a consultant for Girls not Brides, a global partnership to end child marriage, and was an Academy senior fellow at Chatham House, hosted by the International Security Department (2014).

Her research focuses on Islam, democracy, political participation, gender equality and policy development. Previous senior roles include director of the Gender Equity Program at CARE International in the West Bank and Gaza Strip; director of the American Friends Service Committee in the West Bank; and gender specialist at the United Nations Development Programme/Local Rural Development Programme. She has taught at Birzeit University for 17 years.

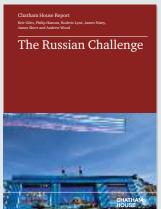
# Further reading:



#### **Future Trends in the Gulf** Jane Kinninmont (February 2015)

This Chatham House report was downloaded by 2,731 readers during the first five months after publication. The report was mentioned in *Newsweek* and the author was interviewed on *Al Jazeera*.

www.chathamhouse.org/ publication/future-trends-gulf



#### The Russian Challenge

Keir Giles; Professor Philip Hanson; Sir Roderic Lyne; James Nixey; James Sherr; Sir Andrew Wood (June 2015)

Media coverage for this Chatham House report included the BBC, the *Independent*, *The Times* and the *Telegraph*. During the first month of publication, it was downloaded 4,470 times and received 1,217 referrals on Facebook.

www.chathamhouse.org/ publication/russian-challenge

# Managing the Challenges of Interdependence

Chatham House is examining the impacts of the dependence of politically sovereign and accountable states on increasingly interconnected markets and societies.

# China's renminbi strategy

Chinese ambitions to counter the dominance of the US dollar in the international monetary system have generated a series of policies to establish the renminbi as an official international currency – China's 'renminbi strategy', which Chatham House has followed since 2009. This year the International Monetary Fund will undertake a review of the composition of the Special Drawing Rights basket, which will be a major step towards establishing the renminbi as a key reserve currency.

In 2014 the International Economics Department at Chatham House and the Institute of World Economics and Politics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences held two workshops on the renminbi offshore market and the liberalization of China's capital account. Offshore centres throughout Europe have undertaken to diversify their reserves to reflect this changing dynamic of the international monetary system, in an attempt to establish themselves as hubs for trade in renminbi. The International Economics Department will remain focused on these developments throughout this pivotal year, with a large research project that will culminate in an international policy forum in October 2015.

A one-hundred renminbi bank note is used for payment at a market in Beijing. Chinese Premier Li Keqiang cut China's annual growth rate target to 'around seven per cent' in March 2015.



# China | Europe | Law and governance | Security Managing the Challenges of Interdependence

Carl Bildt, Chair, Global Commission on Internet Governance, speaks at 'A Free and Open Internet: Threats and Opportunities in 2015' in February.





# Asia's volatile capital flows

With the US dollar still the dominant international and reserve currency, Asian countries continue to be exposed to the monetary and financial conditions of the US. Julia Leung, inaugural Academy Julius Fellow and former undersecretary for financial services and the Treasury for the Hong Kong government, investigated how Asian economies deal with shifting capital flows. In her research paper, Facing the Flood: How Asia Is Coping With Volatile Capital Flows, she stressed that financial stability is the responsibility of both the suppliers (the major reserve currencies) and the recipients of capital flows. The importance of financial stability as a 'public global good' was discussed in a paper that Research Director Paola Subacchi and Associate Fellow Paul van den Noord presented at a joint IMF-Chatham House seminar in July 2014. The paper is part of the forthcoming book Managing Complexity (Brookings Press).

Left: An Indonesian money changer sorts US dollar bills in Jakarta in March 2015 – the Indonesian economy shrank for a second quarter in the three months ended 31 March 2015.

Below: Hackers in the Netherlands prepare for the Observe, Hack, Make event – an international camping festival for hackers held every four years.

# Governance of the internet

During the year, the International Security Department held a series of meetings sponsored by AIG on internet governance and, with the Centre for International Governance Innovation, supported the Global Commission on Internet Governance (GCIG), chaired by Carl Bildt. The Commission held five formal meetings in Sweden, South Korea, Canada, the UK and the Netherlands. Future meetings are planned in Ghana, India, Brazil and the United Arab Emirates. To tie in with the 2015 Global Conference on Cyberspace, the Commission also released the statement 'Toward a Social Compact for Digital Privacy and Security'. The full range of publications being produced by the Commission is available on the GCIG website (www.ourinternet.org). The Commission expects to publish its final report in 2016.



Right: from left; Professor Linda Colley, Shelby M.C. Davis 1958 Professor of History, Princeton University; Ben Page, Chief Executive, Ipsos MORI; Jon Snow, broadcaster, Channel 4 News; and Sir Simon Jenkins, author and journalist, discuss 'What's United About This Kingdom?' in July 2014. Far right: José Manuel Barroso, President, European Commission (2004–14), on 'Ten Years at the Helm of the European Commission: Some Reflections on Europe' in October 2014.



# The future of the eurozone

The after-effects of the 2008–09 global financial crisis mean that unemployment, sluggish job growth and the decline in demand for infrastructure investment continue to create economic problems in Europe. Paola Subacchi, Stephen Pickford, Davide Tentori and Helena Huang collaborated to produce a report, *Building Growth in Europe*, detailing policy recommendations to promote infrastructure investment with what resources have remained available since the financial crisis. In order to ensure continued growth across Europe, the report outlines the need for a European Infrastructure Agency to encourage a pan-European strategy of investment and foster effective collaboration between the private and public sectors.

In January 2015 the Europe Programme published the research paper *Internationalism or Isolationism?* by Thomas Raines, which explored the results from the latest Chatham House–YouGov Survey looking at UK public attitudes to international affairs. The survey was widely covered in the media. It showed that despite economic challenges, the public still thinks that the UK should aspire to be a 'great power' and it suggested that Euroscepticism may have passed its peak.

As the UK moved towards an unpredictable general election in May 2015, Chatham House convened a working group of parliamentarians, academics and analysts to explore the foreign affairs challenges and choices that would face the next government. The group discussed issues such as UK policy in the Middle East and the potential implications of Scottish independence. Summaries and podcasts from the events were published on the Chatham House website. During the election campaign, members' meetings with high-level panels explored diplomatic, defence and development issues, as well as the UK–EU debate. Two of these events were broadcast on *The World Tonight* on Radio 4.





German Chancellor Angela Merkel and British Prime Minister David Cameron step forward to listen to their nations' national anthems in Berlin in May 2015.

Ahead of the Scottish referendum on independence in September 2014, Chatham House experts examined the implications of a 'yes' vote for the remainder of the UK and what the foreign policy of an independent Scotland might look like. A UK working group, convened by the Europe Programme, held a series of meetings. Outputs included *Six Foreign Policy Implications of the Scottish Referendum*, which looked at the implications for issues such as defence, NATO and the UK's international reputation. Ahead of the vote, then-chief secretary to the Treasury Danny Alexander outlined his vision of Scotland's place in the world at Chatham House. After Scotland had returned a 'no' vote, experts including Neal Ascherson, Malcolm Chalmers and John Curtice explored the future direction of politics in Scotland at a Chatham House members' event.

# What do people associate with the EU?

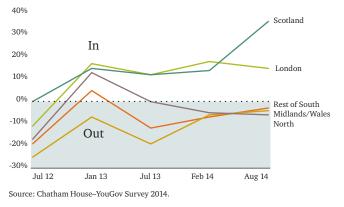
# In Scotland

- 1 Bureaucracy
- 😫 2 Freedom to live across Europe
- 3 Loss of national power
- 4 Protection of citizens' rights
- 5 Peace and security

# In the South (excluding London)

- 1 Bureaucracy
- 2 Loss of national power
- 3 Lack of border security
- 4 Waste of money
- 5 Undermining national culture

# Net support for EU membership varies across the UK



# China | Europe | Law and governance | Security Managing the Challenges of Interdependence

From left: Leyla Hussein, co-founder, Daughters of Eve; Sue Lloyd-Roberts CBE, Special Correspondent, BBC; Rt Hon Lynne Featherstone; Dr Comfort Momoh, Female Genital Mutilation and Public Health Specialist, Guy's and St Thomas' NHS Foundation Trust at 'FGM: Building an International Response' in December 2014.



# The changing landscape for human rights

In an increasingly multipolar and connected world, shifting power, technological advances, non-state actors and changing patterns of migration and displacement impact on the development and implementation of human rights standards. As part of its work on China and the international human rights system, in November 2014 the International Law Programme held a two-day roundtable in Beijing, cohosted by the China University of Political Science and Law. The meeting provided an opportunity for Chinese academics to discuss with counterparts from elsewhere emerging trends in the protection of individuals under international law, as well as recent statements from the Chinese Communist Party about China strengthening its influence in international legal affairs. Following seemingly contradictory resolutions at the UN Human Rights Council in June 2014, the International Law Programme embarked on a new project on business and human rights, publishing a briefing paper on current trends and holding a number of roundtables with representatives from the business community, civil society and government. The programme also published a briefing paper in October 2014 on the treatment of stateless persons in international law, highlighting a traditionally overlooked issue. The paper generated media interest, had a high number of downloads and was selected for publication on the Council of Councils' website. In May 2015, the programme co-hosted a meeting with the Swiss and Norwegian governments to discuss a Protection Agenda for cross-border, disasterinduced displacement. The agenda will be the focus of an intergovernmental conference in October 2015, the culmination of the Swiss-Norwegian Nansen Initiative.

Bangladeshi and Rohingya migrants from Myanmar (Burma) arrive at the naval base in Langkawi on Malaysia's west coast in May 2015, before being transferred to a mainland immigration depot.



From left: Professor Anne-Marie La Rosa, Senior Diplomatic Adviser, International Committee of the Red Cross; Baroness Patricia Scotland QC, founder and patron, Global Foundation for the Elimination of Domestic Violence; Margaret Purdasy, Legal Counsellor, UK Mission in Geneva; and Madeleine Rees, Secretary-General, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, discuss 'Sexual Violence in Conflict: What Use is the Law?' in January 2015.





# International law and armed conflict

During the year, the International Law Programme continued work on its Human Rights in Armed Conflict project, clarifying the application of international human rights law to military operations. The programme also explored challenges for international humanitarian law, including an event on sexual violence in armed conflict held jointly with the International Security Department at Chatham House and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Discussions on accountability for international crimes, generated by the Milestones in International Criminal Justice project, included Palestinian membership of the International Criminal Court and non-cooperation by states with the Court. The situation in Ukraine and action by the US and UK against Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) raised questions about the rules on use of force by states. These were examined in meetings, including an event on Ukraine run jointly with the Russia and Eurasia Programme.

#### **Fragile states**

Fragile states remain a critical vulnerability in an interdependent world. Focusing on Afghanistan during a key period of transition, the Asia Programme has engaged with international and domestic stakeholders to promote pathways to political stability as the International Security Assistance Force forces draw down. The Afghanistan: Opportunity in Crisis project has produced publications in English, Dari and Pashto. Events included the first speech outside Afghanistan by President Ashraf Ghani following his election, held at Chatham House in December 2014. Public events and roundtables were convened in Kabul, Brussels, Oslo and Washington, DC.

One year on from the outbreak of conflict in South Sudan, the Africa Programme launched the research paper *South Sudan's Slide into Conflict: Revisiting the Past and Reassessing Partnerships* in December 2014, which examined the country's descent into civil war and the quality of partnership between donors and fragile or conflict-affected states. With outreach across the region, Africa Programme analysis identified how regional and international actors could integrate their activities to address South Sudan's political, security and developmental challenges.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) faces interlinking policy challenges relating to elections and alternative political voices, post-conflict challenges and international consensus. *Beyond Crisis in the DRC: The Dilemmas of International Engagement and Sustainable Change*, an Africa Programme research paper, discussed the tough choices ahead for the DRC and its international partners. The pursuit of sustainable positive change in the DRC requires clear, open and honest dialogue, both among the DRC's external partners and between the international community and Congolese interlocutors, which the Africa Programme supports through its Great Lakes events series.



Above: A supporter of Afghan President Ashraf Ghani puts up a poster in Kabul. Ghani and former rival Abdullah Abdullah agreed to form a 'unity government' in September 2014 after disputes over the presidential election run off. Right: After 36 years of more or less continuous conflict, Afghanistan now has an opportunity to achieve stability and peace. Image from a Chatham House video produced for the Afghanistan: Opportunity in Crisis project. China | Europe | Law and governance | Security Managing the Challenges of Interdependence



From left: Jane Kinninmont, Deputy Head and Senior Research Fellow, MENA Programme; Dr Patricia Lewis, Research Director, International Security Department; and Professor Anoush Ehteshami, Professor of International Relations and Joint Director of the Centre for the Advanced Study of the Arab World, Durham University, discuss 'Iran Nuclear Negotiations: Reaching an Agreement' in November 2014.

Left: Workers of the Korea Hydro and Nuclear Power Company participate in an anti-cyber-attack exercise at Wolsong power plant, South Korea, in December 2014.



# New international approaches for transnational threats

The International Security Department continues to provide analysis and research in the space security sector. The department was fortunate to host Academy Senior Fellow Guoyu Wang from the Beijing Institute of Technology, who specializes in space law. He spent six months working on areas of cooperation between China and the EU. In December 2014, a research paper by Caroline Baylon considered the challenges at the intersection of cyber security and space security from the perspectives of eight countries and three multilateral organizations. Building on this work, Chatham House has secured funding from the Sasakawa Peace Foundation to consider in more depth the cyber vulnerabilities of space-based assets, with a specific focus on satellites.

Following the completion of the first phase of its work on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons, funded by the Norwegian government, the International Security Department began a second phase focusing on the lessons learned from the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapon testing. Meetings were held last year in Argentina, London and Bangkok, and further meetings are planned for Istanbul and the South Pacific. A research paper entitled *The Humanitarian Impacts of Nuclear Weapons Initiative: The 'Big Tent' in Disarmament,* was published in March 2015.

The International Security Department also continued its work towards a weapons-of-mass-destruction-free zone in the Middle East. This included facilitating a visit to the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons by a delegation of Israeli opinion-shapers; and publishing a research paper, *All in the Timing*, that analysed the Helsinki Conference process in the lead-up to the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in April 2015.

Recent public health crises have demonstrated a global need for improved public health surveillance data-sharing procedures. While the barriers to data-sharing are well understood, solutions still have to be identified and adopted and data need to be shared as openly as possible. The Centre on Global Health Security convened a preliminary roundtable in February 2014 to begin seeking solutions. This meeting emphasized the need for guidance on how to reach an agreement to share public health data and how to negotiate the terms of that agreement, in recognition that data-sharing is not a right, but a 'negotiation'. The project is funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. The UK Ministry of Defence and the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development are supporters of and contributors to the project.

The April/May 2014 issue of *The World Today* magazine focused on the future of the internet, including the role of the US and the balance between openness and privacy. In the lead article, Ben Hammersley argued that we face a global struggle as countries battle to control the internet.



#### Julia Leung

Julia Leung is the executive director of the Securities and Futures Commission of Hong Kong, in charge of investment products. At Chatham House, she was the inaugural Academy Julius Fellow (January–December 2014), hosted by the International Economics Department.

She was previously undersecretary for financial services and the Treasury for the Hong Kong government and executive director of the Hong Kong Monetary Authority in charge of international affairs. She was also a chief correspondent with the Asian Wall Street Journal for six years. At Chatham House, her research focused on the policy response to the global financial crisis in Asia. It culminated in the publication of the research paper Facing the Flood: How Asia Is Coping With Volatile Capital Flows (2014).



#### **Thomas Raines**

Thomas Raines is a research associate and manager of the Europe Programme. Previously, he worked as an analyst in the Strategy Unit of the Foreign & Commonwealth Office.

His research interests lie in British foreign policy, the UK's relationship with the EU, and public attitudes to international affairs. He is the author of a recent research paper on attitudes to foreign affairs in Britain, Internationalism or Isolationism? (2015), and co-author of the Chatham House reports Hard Choices Ahead: British Attitudes Towards the UK's International Priorities (2012) and A Diplomatic Entrepreneur: Making the Most of the European External Action Service (2011).



#### **Elham Saudi**

Elham Saudi is an associate fellow with the International Law and Middle East and North Africa Programmes. She has worked on fact finding relating to alleged human rights violations in Libya and advised a number of Libyan, European and international bodies in relation to the conflict in her native country.

She has been active in promoting human rights in Libya at an international level as a regular participant at the UN Human Rights Council and the African Commission. She also co-authored an amicus curiae brief for the International Criminal Court. She has an LLM in international law from SOAS, University of London.



#### **Elizabeth Wilmshurst**

Elizabeth Wilmshurst CMG is a distinguished fellow with the International Law Programme. She was a legal adviser in the UK diplomatic service between 1974 and 2003 and was subsequently a visiting professor at University College, London.

Her areas of expertise include international law on the use of force; the law of the United Nations and its organs; consular and diplomatic law; state immunity; international criminal law; human rights and international humanitarian law. She is a co-author of *An Introduction to International Criminal Law and Procedure* (Cambridge, three editions) and editor of *International Law and the Classification of Conflicts* (Oxford, 2012).

# Further reading:

#### Research Paper

Internationalism or Isolationism? The Chatham House–YouGov Survey British Attitudes Towards the UK's International Priorities



#### Internationalism or Isolationism? Thomas Raines (January 2015)

This research paper received more than 4,000 unique page views on the Chatham House website. Coverage of the survey included the International New York Times, the Financial Times, the Guardian, The Economist and Les Échos in France.

• www.chathamhouse.org/ publication/internationalismor-isolationism-chatham-houseyougov-survey

#### Briefing Ruma Mandal and Amanda Gray International Law Programme | October 2014

Out of the Shadows: The Treatment of Statelessness under International Law

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#### **Out of the Shadows**

Ruma Mandal and Amanda Gray (October 2014)

An op-ed on this research paper on the treatment of statelessness under international law, produced jointly with International Rescue Committee, UK, appeared in *The Diplomat.* One of the authors was interviewed by BBC News online.

Www.chathamhouse.org/ publication/out-shadowstreatment-statelessness-underinternational-law

# Energy | Food | Health | Natural resources

# Promoting Sustainable Economic Growth

Chatham House is examining how governments and societies can balance growth and welfare expectations with environmental and resource stresses.



View of a forest fire in the Amazon from a flight by Greenpeace activists over areas of illegal timber exploitation in Brazil in October 2014.

# Decoupling economic growth from resource consumption

Illegal deforestation undermines sustainable development. It fuels corruption and conflict, results in significant greenhouse gas emissions, and deprives governments of revenues. The Energy, Environment and Resources Department has completed the second phase of a groundbreaking study to track global efforts to tackle illegal logging. Progress has been assessed in 19 key timberproducing, -processing and -consuming countries, resulting in the publication of individual country reports and other outputs. A dedicated website hosting the findings and the underlying dataset will be launched in the summer of 2015, alongside a report assessing the global situation. This work is particularly timely, as the EU decides on the future direction of its Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) Action Plan and the international community agrees a new set of Sustainable Development Goals.

Production of meat and dairy products is a significant driver of climate change, responsible for just under 15 per cent of global greenhouse gas emissions – about the same as the exhaust emissions of all the cars, trucks, trains, planes and ships in the world. Despite this, the livestock sector is largely ignored by climate change policy-makers. Funded by the Avatar Alliance and Craig and Susan McCaw foundations, and working with the University of Glasgow, Chatham House has led a project to explore global public understanding and awareness of the links between meat and dairy consumption and climate change. A 12-country survey, the first of its kind, informed the research paper *Livestock – Climate Change's Forgotten Sector*, which garnered widespread international media coverage and was presented at the annual UN climate talks in Peru. This has been followed by focus groups and expert workshops in Brazil, China, the US and the UK, informing a report to be published in advance of the December 2015 Paris talks, at which the international community will agree a new global climate deal.

This work has been complemented by a joint project with the Centre on Global Health Security to understand the effectiveness of different strategies to encourage healthy and sustainable diets. The work was funded by the EAT Initiative. It resulted in a research paper, *Reviewing Interventions for Healthy and Sustainable Diets*, that was launched at the 2015 EAT Forum in Stockholm.

In November 2014 Chatham House announced plans to establish the Hoffmann Centre on the Sustainable Resource Economy with a £3.8 million commitment from the MAVA Foundation. The long-term goal of the Centre is to contribute to the decoupling of resource consumption from economic growth. Robert O. Keohane, Professor of International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, gives the C. Douglas Dillon Lecture 'Towards Paris: The Politics of Climate Change Policy' in May 2015.



HE John Dramani Mahama, President of the Republic of Ghana, at a roundtable discussion on 'Economic Transformation: Progress and Challenges in Policy Implementation' in October 2014.



#### Sustainable economic development

Effective resource governance is crucial for stability both in producer countries and international markets. Experts from the Energy, Environment and Resources Department have provided extensive media commentary on the sustainable development agenda. A research paper, Cartels and Competition in Minerals Markets, addressed the policy challenges associated with anti-competitive practices in international metals and minerals markets, receiving coverage in the Financial Times. Two further publications addressed the role of resources in conflict and peace. Investing in Stability examined the proposition, implicit in the strategies of many donors working in fragile states, that resource development in conflict-affected regions can contribute to peace. Addressing Natural Resource Conflicts considered how the international community can better support resolution of resource-related conflicts. Ongoing research, supported by DFID, examines the risks to the extractives-led development model from lower commodity prices and efforts to cut greenhouse gas emissions.

The global food system is vulnerable to disruption by extreme weather or the interruption of trade, for example due to conflict, political instability or the closure of key shipping lanes. These risks are poorly understood. Chatham House is undertaking new research to map disruption risks on to key food trade routes and production hubs, identify systemic vulnerabilities and develop recommendations for how these can be managed. Initial findings have already fed into the UK's national Climate Change Risk Assessment and the UK-US Taskforce on Resilience of the Agri-Food System to Extreme Weather Events.

Improved policy environments in many states in sub-Saharan Africa, rooted in more democratic leadership and careful economic management, have generated more

nuanced debate around trends in Africa, with a focus on economic growth. This has drawn global attention to economic opportunities in Africa, as growth elsewhere is constrained. But economic growth is no guarantee of equitable development and inclusion. Africa Programme activities have informed policy-makers tasked with responding to priorities such as coping with rapid population growth and creating jobs. Key figures, including the presidents of Ghana, Rwanda and Tanzania, and the executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, discussed approaches to inclusive growth with international audiences at Chatham House during the year. The Africa Programme's work on emerging powers, including on South Korea's engagement in sub-Saharan Africa, has highlighted to international actors the risks of a narrow engagement limited to resource extraction and the establishment of new markets for manufactured goods.

The Centre on Global Health Security is encouraging collaboration between the extractive industry, the public health sector and other actors to prevent and respond to emerging infectious disease outbreaks. The Infectious Disease Risk Assessment and Management (IDRAM) project develops tools and evidence to enable the extractive industry to better prepare for infectious disease outbreaks. During 2014, an important part of the centre's IDRAM work focused on a series of desktop exercises, carried out in various international settings, to raise awareness of how to coordinate the response to an infectious disease outbreak. Partners to the project include USAID, International SOS, Public Health England, DAI, the Australia-Africa Mining Industry Group and the Ebola Private Sector Mobilisation Group.

Demonstrators in May 2015 in Johannesburg march to demand that the French government stops supporting dirty coal in South Africa and instead supports sustainable renewable energy.





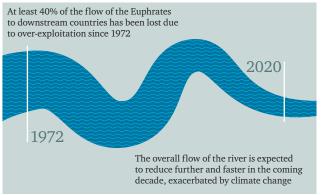


How vital resources – energy, food and water – are valued is fundamental to how they are managed and consumed, with important social, environmental and economic implications. The challenges of resource valuation are particularly stark in the oil-exporting Gulf countries, where Chatham House has been working with partners for the past six years on a series of projects to improve energy and water conservation.

In 2014 the Energy, Environment and Resources Department received the Prospect Energy and Environment Think Tank Award for its work in this area. Since then, a series of papers examining the challenges of valuing vital resources in the Gulf have been published. Chatham House is now working with partners in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates to demonstrate how incentives for energy and water conservation can contribute to economic diversification in the region. The work on resource valuation has also been extended to India, with a high-level workshop in 2014 examining incentives to conserve water and electricity in the agricultural sector. This work has been supported by the FCO and the MAVA Foundation.

Transboundary water concerns can be a lightning rod for geopolitical tension but can also provide a common basis for cooperation, as the research paper *The Euphrates in Crisis* argued. Authored by Academy Senior Fellow M. Nouar Shamout and Senior Research Fellow Glada Lahn, the paper charts the history of tension and mismanagement of the Euphrates among rival riparian states and offers a longterm vision for cooperation in response to the mounting pressures presented by climate change, population growth and conflict.

# Flow of the Euphrates



Transboundary water was also the focus of a report on Attitudes to Water in South Asia, published in June 2014. The report was the result of a study on conflict and contention between states over transboundary rivers, covering Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal and Bangladesh. The report received widespread media attention. In India it was launched by Suresh Prabhu, formerly minister for water and power (currently railways minister and India's G20 Sherpa), who praised its findings. As the report was going to press, India elected its first majority government for 25 years. The new government pledged to collaborate better with its neighbours on waterrelated issues. Chatham House's approach to the report was to reflect South Asian expert views. This, and the use of local think-tank partners to conduct interviews and host events publicizing the report, increased its traction among policy-makers.



Indians in Varanasi in the polluted waters of the Ganges river. The Indian government has pledged to collaborate with its neighbours on water-related issues. Far left: Manoj Ladwa, Communications Director, Narendra Modi for Prime Minister Campaign, speaks at 'Modi's Victory: An Assessment' in July 2014.

Left: Husain Haqqani, Director, South & Central Asia, Hudson Institute, speaks at 'Pakistan, Afghanistan and a History of Mistrust' in March 2015. Kate White, International Energy Unit, Foreign & Commonwealth Office, introduces speakers at the UK launch of the IEA Energy Technology Perspectives in June 2015.



A man sits in the shadow of a coal-fired power plant in Beijing. China and the US, the world's two biggest polluters, agreed new limits to their carbon emissions in November 2014.



# **Energy futures**

The past year has been one of remarkable disruption for the energy sector. In a number of markets, fossil fuelbased electricity generation has come under increasing pressure from the growing use of renewables, leading to sharp declines in electricity utility market values. The business models of fossil fuel companies have also come under scrutiny. In response, the Energy, Environment and Resources Department has undertaken a number of research initiatives. With funding from the MAVA Foundation, CLP Group, and the FCO, Chatham House is working with Exeter University to analyse disruption of the electricity sector in Europe and to develop transferable lessons for other regions about to undergo similar transformations. Distinguished Fellow Professor Paul Stevens debated the viability of international oil companies' business models with Royal Dutch Shell's chief financial officer, Simon Henry, and will publish a research paper examining the question in 2016.

The number of forcibly displaced persons provided for by the United Nations has reached 60 million - the highest number since the Second World War. Most have inadequate access to energy; where supplies exist, they overwhelmingly consist of wood and fossil fuels. Improving access to clean and appropriate energy could generate significant social, economic and environmental benefits, for displaced populations and also for host communities. The Moving Energy Initiative – a DFID-funded consortium that includes the Global Village Energy Partnership, Chatham House, Practical Action, UNHCR and the Norwegian Refugee Council - will develop solutions to improve sustainable energy provision for displaced populations. Work includes pilot studies in Kenya, Jordan and Burkina Faso. Chatham House has begun assessing the potential benefits of increasing sustainable energy use in different settings. Initial findings will feed into preparations for the 2016 UN World Humanitarian Summit.

# Cut costs



In 2014, The Border Consortium spent US\$ 3.8 million on providing charcoal for a camp population of 115,000 people

#### **Reduce emissions**



For a camp of 150,000, emissions savings from the use of fuel-efficient cookstoves and solar-powered lanterns could equal 104,700tCO<sub>2</sub>e per year (Gunning, 2014)



Professor Dame Sally Davies, Chief Medical Officer for England, Department of Health, at an event on 'Anti-Microbial Resistance: A Global Health Security Threat' in February 2015.

# New thinking on health governance

During the past 20 years there has been major progress in public health across the world. Life expectancy has increased and many more people live healthy lives. However, major needs remain and in many places inequalities in economic status and health have increased. Given that both the development challenges and the economic situation are changing across the world, the global system needs to adapt.

In September 2014 Chatham House launched the Rethinking the Global Health Architecture project. The project seeks to understand the 'fitness for purpose' of the core functions of a global health system in the transition to the post-2015 UN development agenda. The project is funded by the Swedish International Development Agency, and partners include SEEK Development, the Norwegian Institute of Public Health and the Global Strategy Lab at the University of Ottawa.

The project goal is to promote informed dialogue among stakeholders and decision-makers on the future of the global health architecture. The final publication from the project will assesses emerging trends and challenges, examine reform proposals and present options for improving the current situation. Its key proposals for reforming the global architecture will focus on crosscutting solutions, leadership and stewardship, global public goods, the management of externalities and direct country assistance. Through a series of roundtables and interviews, the Centre on Global Health Security has developed a strong network of experts and policy-makers who will play a key role in helping to present the final paper's recommendations to the main actors and institutions in the global health field.



Above: World Health Organization (WHO) Director-General Margaret Chan and UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon at the Strategic Health Operations Centre, WHO headquarters, in Geneva, at an Ebola briefing in 2014. Above right: Street artist Stephen Doe paints an educational mural to inform people about the symptoms of Ebola in the Liberian capital, Monrovia, in September 2014.



# Health access and development

The Ebola crisis in West Africa has tested the state of preparedness for international health emergencies. Experts from the Centre on Global Health Security have been at the forefront of the debate on the international response to the crisis, providing analysis on the effectiveness of the response, lessons to be learned and other issues emerging from the experience in West Africa. The centre's head, Professor David Heymann, contributed to the debate by leading and/or participating in a string of high-level panel discussions, from the Munich Security Conference to the sidelines of the World Health Assembly, as well as through expert commentary and journal articles. He also recently led a high-profile public policy debate on global health security in the *Lancet*.

The centre has also been leading a working group of experts who are examining business models for developing new antibiotics. The traditional model is failing and making further development of antibiotics financially unattractive for pharmaceutical companies. A new report, to be published in summer 2015, takes a detailed look at different incentive schemes and aspects of business models, and makes specific recommendations. The report will help to frame future discussion, particularly on the supply of new drugs, which is being considered in depth by the O'Neill Review on Antimicrobial Resistance (AMR), due to report in 2016. The centre has also been leading a collaborative process on addressing issues at the animalhuman interface that contribute to AMR as a worldwide public health concern. The project examines the benefits and risks to human health from livestock, and the strategies for addressing these. The main partner on this project is the Livestock Global Alliance.



#### David L. Heymann

David Heymann is a senior fellow and head of the Centre on Global Health Security at Chatham House. He is also professor of infectious disease epidemiology, at the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine and chairman of Public Health England, UK.

Previously, he was the World Health Organization's assistant director-general for health security and environment, and representative of the directorgeneral for polio eradication. He is an elected fellow of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academies (US) and the Academy of Medical Sciences (UK). In 2009 he was awarded a CBE for service to global public health.



#### Laura Wellesley

Laura Wellesley is a research associate with the Energy, Environment and Resources Department. She works across issues relating to food security and climate change.

Laura was previously a project coordinator, managing the department's project on forest governance and illegal logging and undertaking related research. Prior to joining Chatham House, Laura worked as a researcher at Global Witness, with a focus on mineral extraction and governance in Afghanistan. She has an MSc in Africa and international development from the University of Edinburgh and an MA in modern and medieval languages from the University of Cambridge.



#### **Michal Meidan**

Michal Meidan is an associate fellow with the Asia Programme. She is director and founder of China Matters, an independent consultancy focusing on the politics and geopolitics of the Chinese energy sector, and a research associate at the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies.

She was a senior analyst at Eurasia Group in New York and London, and headed the Energy and Environment Programme, Asia Centre, Sciences Po, Paris. She was also a lecturer at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. She has authored numerous academic articles and edited the book Shaping China's Energy Security: The Inside Perspective (Asia Centre/Centre études Asie, 2008). She holds a PhD in political science and East Asian studies from Sciences Po, Paris. She is fluent in Mandarin and French.



#### **Guoyu Wang**

Guoyu Wang is a specialist in law and policy for outer space activities, space security, and national space legislation, in particular for the US and China. As an Academy senior fellow with the International Security Department in 2014, Guoyu's research project explored space security and both policy and strategy in the context of China's possible cooperation with the EU over space norms and programmes.

Guoyu convened a roundtable entitled 'Space Crisis Management: A Collaborative Approach for Europe and China', which informed his research at Chatham House. Since leaving the Academy, Guoyu has resumed his role as director of the space legal department of DeHeng Law Firm. He will be developing his work as deputy director of the Institute of Space Law and associate professor at the Beijing Institute of Technology.

# Further reading:

#### Research Paper Rob Bailey, Antony Froggatt and Laura V

Livestock – Climate Change's Forgotten Sector Global Public Opinion on Meat and Dairy Consumption



#### Livestock – Climate Change's Forgotten Sector

Rob Bailey, Antony Froggatt, Laura Wellesley (December 2014)

This research paper received more than 4,000 unique page views on the Chatham House website. Coverage of the survey included the *International New York Times*, the *Financial Times*, the *Guardian*, *The Economist* and *Les Échos* in France.

www.chathamhouse.org/ publication/livestock-climatechange-forgotten-sector-globalpublic-opinion-meat-and-dairy Research Paper Jaakko Kooroshy and Felix Preston w

Cartels and Competition in Minerals Markets: Challenges for Global Governance



# Cartels and Competition in Mineral Markets

Jaakko Kooroshy, Felix Preston, Siân Bradley (December 2014)

This research paper on the key policy challenges associated with anti-competitive practices in international metals and minerals markets received extensive coverage in the commodities section of the *Financial Times*.

• www.chathamhouse. org/publication/cartels-andcompetition-minerals-marketschallenges-global-governance



Chatham House had another successful year financially in 2014/15, reporting net income of £825,000 for the year, as it continued to expand its activities while being able to raise the income necessary to cover the additional costs taken on in recent years.

Total income received during the year was £14,507,000, an increase of 13.6 per cent over the previous year. Research income reached £8,503,000, an increase of 14 per cent. However, this increase again includes the annual adjustment to grant income as a result of implementing the Charities SORP which recognizes revenues as they are received, rather than when they are spent. Research costs increased by 22 per cent, reflecting the continued investment in capacity across many of the research departments/programmes.

Membership subscriptions at £2,387,000 rose substantially over the previous year, with individual membership revenues up 13 per cent (primarily due to an increase in the number of individual members by 14 per cent) and those for institutional membership by 8 per cent. Events, including conferences, continued to make a significant contribution to net income, albeit at a lower level from the previous financial year. Although there was a contribution from the newly launched London Conference, and the inaugural Berlin Conference covered its costs, the margin on other conferences came under pressure due to greater challenges in raising funds for such events.

Income from publications was flat for a third year running, with small increases in revenues from *The World Today* and *International Affairs*. However, income from unrestricted donations increased significantly over the previous year, rising from £646,000 to £822,000.

Total expenditure for the year was £13,682,000, an increase of 17 per cent from the previous year. Expenditure on membership, meetings, the library, communications and publications increased by 7 per cent to £2,334,000. This was mainly due to extra investment in the website following its launch in the early part of the financial year, communications in general, and also in extra editing staff as a result of the increased amount of research output. Support costs, net of recharges to research, increased by 3 per cent. This primarily reflected an expansion in the Director's Office and the Finance Department, with the overall rise in overheads being partly offset by a substantial increase in the level of overhead costs being recharged to the research departments/programmes, as a result of their continued expansion.

The overall net movement in the institute's funds for 2014/15 was £2,605,000, particularly helped by the receipt of two endowments totalling £1,192,000 and other contributions to the Second Century Initiative, as well as a gain in the value of non-cash investments. Following the launch of the Second Century Initiative in November 2014, the institute appointed a firm of independent investment managers (Cazenove Capital Management) to manage the greater part of its non-cash investments from January 2015. At the year-end, Chatham House held non-cash investments with a market value of £8,002,000, compared with £5,881,000 as at 31 March 2014. This increase reflected a net increase in non-cash investments of £1,714,000 made during the year and also an overall investment gain of £407,000 reflecting the strong performance in stock markets, particularly in Europe and the US.

Although there was a strong cash inflow arising from the positive operating performance and tight working capital management, the level of cash decreased by £461,000 during the year to £3,476,000. This reflected not only the increased amount invested in non-cash investments, driven primarily by the continuing poor returns on cash (which averaged only 0.4 per cent), but also repayment of the balance (£1,167,000) of one of the two loans taken out in 2013 to help in the purchase of the ground floor of Ames House.

Total net assets as at 31 March 2015, excluding the value of Chatham House itself, were £13,759,000, compared with £11,154,000 as at 31 March 2014 – an increase of 23 per cent.

Although the institute's financial commitments have risen in recent years, the strong flow of funds as a result of the Second Century Initiative is helping mitigate the increasing costs while enabling the institute to build a strong financial base from which to meet its objectives in the future.

Ed Smith

	2015	2014	04
	(£'000s)	(£'000s)	% increase
Total net assets at year-end*	13,759	11,154	
Income			
Membership subscriptions	2,387	2,176	10%
Research	8,503	7,448	14%
Events	1,681	1,396	20%
Investment return	398	356	12%
Publications	523	517	1%
Unrestricted donations	822	646	27%
Other	193	227	-15%
	14,507	12,766	
Expenditure			
Research	8,088	6,612	22%
Events	1,249	941	33%
Membership, meetings, library, communications and publications	2,334	2,175	7%
Support costs net of recharges to research	2,011	1,957	3%
	13,682	11,685	
Net income / (deficit)	825	1,081	
Second Century Initiative			
Permanent endowments	1,192	-	
Other Second Century funds	181	-	
	1,373	-	
Net movement in funds before investment gain / (loss)	2,198	1,081	
Net investment gain / (loss)	407	(10)	
Net movement in funds after investment gain / (loss)	2,605	1,071	
Net cash (outflow) / inflow for the year	(461)	952	

\*The institute owns the freehold of Chatham House, the full value of which is not included in these figures.

The Financial headlines are extracted from the full unqualified audited group accounts, a copy of which is available to members on the website at www.chathamhouse.org. Alternatively copies may be obtained from Rhona Moir, Executive Assistant to the Finance Director, on telephone number +44 (0)20 7957 5700 or email rmoir@chathamhouse.org. Copies will also be available at the Annual General Meeting.

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BBC Religious Affairs Correspondent

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The Panel of Senior Advisers was founded in 2008 to provide Chatham House with an experienced sounding board for our policy conclusions and help communicate our ideas at the highest levels in the UK and abroad.

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Through their ongoing philanthropic commitment, individuals that comprise the Lionel Curtis Group offer discretionary support to the institute's core research activities — ensuring its independence from any one funding source or agenda.

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Roger Wolf Private investor Rob Bailey, Research Director, Energy, Environment and Resources Department (left), and André Hoffmann, MAVA Foundation President (right). Chatham House is establishing the Hoffmann Centre on the Sustainable Resource Economy.



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Ayman Asfari, Asfari Foundation Chairman (left), and Stuart Popham, Chatham House Chairman (right), at the signing ceremony in November 2014 for the creation of the Asfari Centre within The Queen Elizabeth II Academy for Leadership in International Affairs.



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Partners provide significant long-term support for the institute's research and other activities.
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