



International Studies Association - International Organisation Section

Chadwick Alger Prize 2018

for the Best Book on International Organization and Multilateralism

Committee Members:

Professor Antje Wiener	University of Cambridge, UK
Professor Donald Puchala	University of South Carolina, USA
Dr. Sherif A. Elgebeily	University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

Rankings:

WINNER:	Herman T. Salton, <i>Dangerous Diplomacy</i> , Oxford: Oxford University Press
2ND PLACE:	Ian Hurd, <i>How to Do things with International Law</i> , Princeton: Princeton University Press
3RD PLACE:	Christopher R.W. Dietrich, <i>Oil Revolution</i> , Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

About ISA:

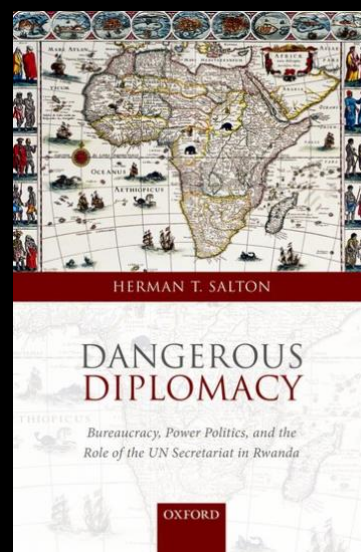
Representing 100+ countries, ISA has over 6,500 members and is the most respected and widely known scholarly association in the field. It publishes six acclaimed academic journals: *International Studies Quarterly* (ISQ), *International Studies Review* (ISR), *International Studies Perspectives* (ISP), *Foreign Policy Analysis* (FPA), *International Political Sociology* (IPS), and the *Journal of Global Security Studies* (JoGSS). It also co-sponsors the journal *International Interactions* (II).

LAUDATIO

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WINNER

Herman T. Salton
Dangerous Diplomacy
Oxford University Press



Dangerous Diplomacy is the result of superior scholarship. It is an outstanding book and this year's undisputed Chadwick Alger Prize winner.

Herman Salton focuses on the performance of the United Nations (UN) during the Rwanda genocide of 1994. The overriding purpose of the book is to examine in penetrating detail the workings of the peacekeeping departments of the UN Secretariat. As Salton argues, to understand the operations of the UN, one needs to grasp that personalities are determinative, as also are bureaucratic structures and processes, and actors' visions, conceptualizations, aspirations and limitations.

The book is both carefully structured and clearly written and the findings are original and important. Salton's research drives convincingly to the conclusion that "the case of UNAMIR shows that problems in the field reflected structural issues at Headquarters, which were in turn the product of conceptual confusion and unclear delineation of roles . . ." (248). He also concludes that the problems that derailed UNAMIR persist within the UN even today.

Salton's study is mainly based on the analysis of archival materials and memoirs, particularly (though far from exclusively) the papers of Murrill Goulding, Under-Secretary-General of the UN during the tenures of Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Kofi Annan. He also appears to have had rather extraordinary access to Secretariat records and correspondence and off-the-record interactions among Security Council representatives. Beyond his archival studies, Salton exhibits command of a vast, multi-lingual bibliography spanning the UN literature, IR theory, Political Theory and International Law.

The references to both the private Goulding collection and other informal sources offer insights into the decision-making process of the United Nations that are rarely seen despite a focus on transparency (at least officially) through publicly available material – resolutions, verbatim records, etc. The subject matter – though over two decades old – does not feel at all dated; rather, this is the type of book that reads as a "de-classified" explanation, serving to finally answer questions about UN failures in reacting adequately to the genocide in Rwanda.

More than this, however, the structure and content of the narrative is excellent – there is reference but not reliance on these private documents, diaries, and personal accounts. At no point does the reader feel overwhelmed with statistics or other data, as was the case with other submissions. Moreover, the reader really appreciates a treasure trove of genuinely "secret" information here - this is as close as one might get to being inside the head of the decision-makers when they were facing the Rwanda crisis. The positions taken by Salton are both innovative and impactful on our understandings of how the UN responds to keeping the peace (and the peace kept), as well as charting the development of the role of the UNSG. This is a real page-turner and factual goldmine.

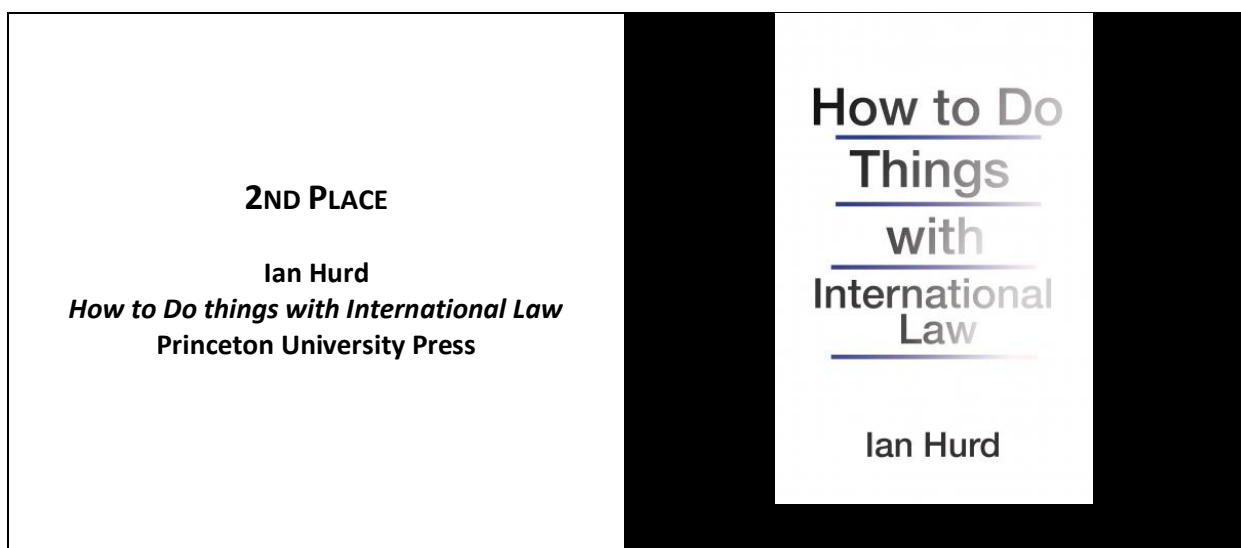
Against this backdrop, Salton argues that Rwanda did not happen in a vacuum, that context conditions mattered, and that circumstances require attention and finds that to this day, the meaning of the 'political' remains contested in the UN. It is a timely book that suggests that there is a lot to learn from the Rwanda crisis and the noted impact of the UN's inner-institutional conflicts and how they play out when addressing the quite distinct policies of peace-keeping, peace-building and peace-making, respectively, and when to apply important reference to Goulding's archives.

As many of us who have written professionally about this organization will agree, even though we believe that we understood the UN at a level of considerable sophistication, reading Salton, the reader will recognize how much more knowledge there is to take into account in order to understand the actual workings and political role of the UN.

The book is a fascinating read and offers genuinely novel insights. Salton offers a politically most relevant insight on collaboration and communication between the UN's leading departments. The finding regarding the definition of what actually makes a 'political' situation and its impact on taking decisions about political situations such as in Rwanda offer important and novel insights for research in the field of international organisations.

In sum, this historical reconstruction of the Rwanda crisis by an author with a former UN practitioner's background and a legal education offers encompassing references to historical approaches to IR, such as for example Carr's distinction between academics and politicians as well as the distinctive role of the UN Security Council and the UN Secretary General in the actual policy-making decision-making processes.

This book's argument, approach and innovative reconstruction of long-hidden available data fit the Chadwick Alger Prize prize substance of international organisation perfectly well.



Despite the book's modest title, Hurd's book is simply excellent. *How to Do things with International Law* focuses on the interplay between international law and international politics and his study drives convincingly to the conclusion that "we cannot reasonably join liberals in contending that law is a naturally progressive force in world politics. Nor can we accept the realist claim that state power overwhelms international law. Law itself produces resources that states find useful; it is a source of power in which states invest."

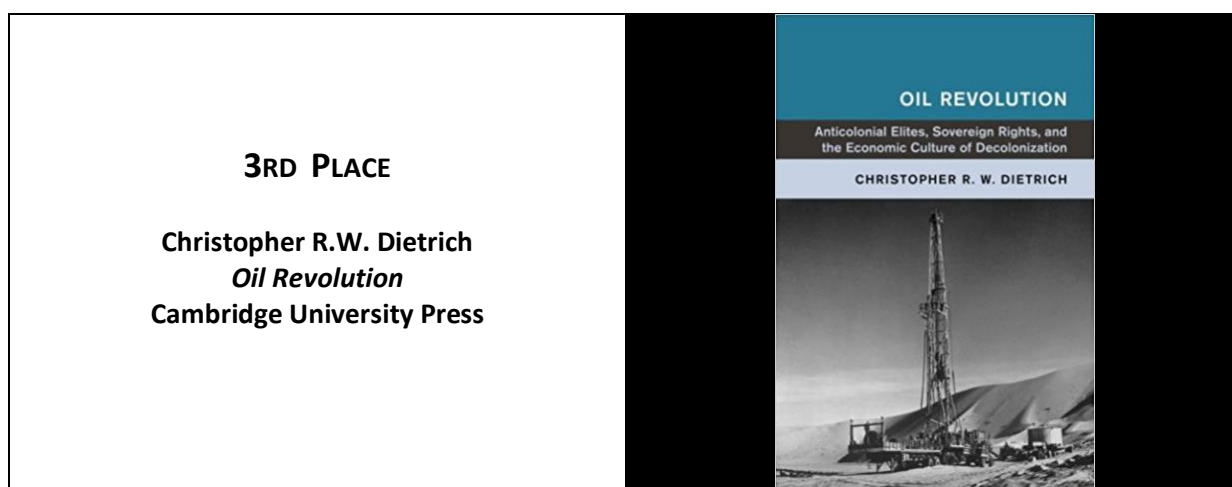
Modern international politics, Hurd argues, are pervaded by legalism: international law governs relations among states; actors take the law most seriously; seeking legitimation is a component of foreign policy; gaining legitimation powers policy and failing to gain legitimation weakens policy. Yet, law neither drives nor tempers politics inasmuch as states, especially powerful ones, make, interpret and use international law to buttress their self-interested pursuits. International Law can constrain, but it can also permit. Hurd's argument is much more sophisticated and expansive than this simple point that states seek legitimation and manipulate international law to accomplish it.

The "international rule of law" paradigm and the implications that Hurd derives from it offer us a new and different way to think about contemporary international relations. He sees international relations operating today within an "empire of law." Hurd's work is informed by a vast literature

extending across Law, Politics, International Relations, Political Sociology and beyond. Hurd also displays a refreshing sense of irony toward the world he is studying. A world order secured by international law is a good thing, but then perhaps it isn't such a good thing. All of Hurd's central themes are concretized and his propositions tested in three penetrating case studies, among which his analysis of the politics of internationally outlawing torture is absolutely fascinating.

The politicisation of law - both domestic and international - is something that has been recognised for decades, notably in relation to the national interests of the UN Security Council members. However, Hurd proficiently shows how, under the guise of the international rule of law, powerful states are able to shape the permissions and omissions of international law to their benefit. His discussion on the malleability of legal lacuna is particularly good and his assertion that where no law explicitly exists to guide states, the first state(s) to fill it how they prefer set the pace for others to follow. While some of the subject matter have previously been discussed - the use of nuclear weapons, torture, the right to self-defence under Article 51 of the UN Charter - they remain as topical today as when first discussed, which serves to add to Hurd's fluidity of legitimacy: why are they still so controversial today if they are resolved legal issues? A great book that deserves a wide readership not only within IR and political science fields, but also by international lawyers who often tout an inviolable, doctrinal view of law isolated from its usage as a pragmatic tool of foreign policy.

In sum, Hurd's rebuttal of both liberal and realist theorists' respective view of the role of international law in world politics is outstanding. And the finding of "International Law as a system of governance" and the suggestion that "international legalism is an empire" (i.e. an inescapable, hierarchical, global political arrangement of authority that shapes the possibilities of action for its subjects) fill a notable gap in the IR theory literature. The book speaks to both IR theorists and International Lawyers and will make an important addition for reading lists on courses on international law in both disciplines for decades to come.



Oil Revolution is a superb historical text charting the rise of oil that accompanied a mass decolonization (1949-1974). Dietrich argues that with the birth of post-WWII sovereign rights the international reliance on oil and the resulting oil price changes had an impact upon the rise of neo-liberalism and international affairs. The author deftly intertwines natural resources rights with the explosion of new governments and their national sovereignty in the wake of decolonisation across the Middle East and North Africa. In doing so, he also explains how oligarchies, oil elites, and long-standing dynasties were created – Gaddafi, the Iranian Shah, and Arab nationalists like Nasser. Dietrich does an excellent job as highlighting how oil motivated not only international trade but also international politics and how control over the oil fields – or at least cooperation with those who did

– was key to foreign policy in the West. Not only does he explain the historical events and the motivations behind them, but he expertly links them to key policy decisions, government official statements, and public events. In this way, he gives the reader a look behind the curtain of international politics: the Suez Crisis; the Six-Day war; the Vietnam War.

The book is very well researched, excellently written, and easily accessible for a wide audience. The use of photographs to highlight key events and figures is excellent and the appendices allow for a clear timeline to be followed. A magnificent book, thoroughly enjoyable to read. Notably, Dietrich's study is not as much about oil, oil companies, contests about concessions and the like, as it is about the people who pressed for sovereign control over natural resources in decolonized countries. Dietrich identifies these people as "anticolonial elites" and insightfully traces their coming together transnationally to unite the Third World into the political bloc that by 1974 was able to launch the campaign for a New International Economic Order. The story that Dietrich tells is moving and original; it emerges from exhaustive research and is told in passage after passage of splendid prose. Importantly, *Oil Revolution* is as much an intellectual history as it is a political history.

The historical trail that leads eventually to the Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order was trod by third-world political leaders. But it was blazed by intellectuals – Prebisch, Hirschman, Myrdal, Galtung, Emerson, Schacter, Wallerstein and many others, and it was paved with new and challenging ideas like unequal exchange, center/periphery and permanent sovereignty. Last not least, the book's outstanding presentation and convincing literary framing deserves a special mention.

The "oil" story that Dietrich narrates is a classic tragedy. The "energy crisis" fomented by the anticolonial oil elites and used politically against the West led to the declaration on the New World Economic Order. This declaration was applauded throughout the decolonized world. Yet, ironically, the elevated prices for petroleum that defined the "energy crisis" subsequently impoverished much of the post-colonial world, with lasting effects even today. Thinking of Cordelia's fate in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, seeking positives oftentimes yields negatives. International history is fickle indeed. We in the early 21st Century do have a new international economic order, although it is far from the one that Dietrich's anticolonial elites could have imagined or likely would have welcomed.

ISA's Mission

The International Studies Association is one of the oldest interdisciplinary associations dedicated to understanding international, transnational and global affairs. Founded in 1959, its more than 7,000 members span the globe – comprising academics, practitioners, policy experts, private sector workers and independent researchers, among others. The Association has long served as a central hub for the exchange of ideas and for networking and programmatic initiatives among those involved in the study, teaching and practice of International Studies. Through its highly attended Annual Convention and regional/international conferences, as well as its respected journals and International Studies Encyclopedia, the Association promotes rigorous discussion, research and writing on a broad range of topics within International Studies, broadly construed. ISA also offers various funding, bridging and mentoring opportunities that facilitate the development of new ideas, relationships and skillsets. These opportunities provide a space for underrepresented groups, early career scholars and other professionals to grow in the field. More at www.isanet.org