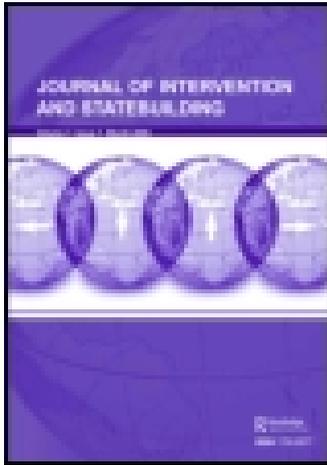


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### Book Reviews

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## Book Reviews

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### Public Health in Statebuilding

**Securing Health: Lessons from Nation-Building Missions** by Seth G. Jones, Lee H. Hilborne, C. Ross Anthony, Lois M. Davis, Federico Girosi, Cheryl Benard, Rachel M. Swanger, Anita Garten and Anga Timilsina. Santa Monica: RAND, 2006. Pp.351 + notes + bibliography + index. £15.75 (pbk). ISBN 0-8330-3729-3.

**The African State and the AIDS Crisis** edited by Amy Patterson. Hants: Ashgate, 2005. Pp.230 + index. £55.00 (hbk). ISBN 0-7546-3967-3.

Edited volumes often bear misleading titles that misrepresent both the quality and content of the scholarship contained within. It is reassuring therefore that the two edited volumes reviewed here actually broadly accomplish what is implied by their titles. In the *Securing Health* collection, for example, the contributors set about systematically reviewing the efforts that have been undertaken by international organizations and/or various government agencies to re-establish (or in some cases actually establish) national health systems in post-conflict countries. The post-conflict states surveyed in this book range from the post-Second World War examples of Japan and Germany, through to case studies of present-day Afghanistan and Iraq. The contributors scrutinize the various programmes and policies in each of the countries surveyed, prior to summarizing the relative success and/or failures of each case, and arriving at a number of generalized conclusions or 'lessons learned'.

Similarly, *The African State and the AIDS Crisis* provides a contemporary analysis of how African countries have sought to address their respective HIV/AIDS-inspired public health disasters, while simultaneously contending with various social, economic and political roadblocks. The contributors examine on a case-by-case basis, and in some detail, the political configuration and other social and economic factors that assist, or conversely inhibit, African governments' ability to respond to and effectively deal with HIV infection rates in their countries. The volume joins a growing, albeit long-awaited, literature that tries to tackle head-on the issue of how political structures and political commitment (or their absence) impact upon public health. Topics examined in the volume include, for instance, the role of patriarchy in African societies and its impact upon public health campaigns aimed at preventing HIV transmission; the role and influence of external donors and funding on long-term sustainability of

indigenous public health programmes; the role and impact of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and pharmaceutical companies; and the role and influence of African leaders and civil society in directly shaping the public health response. By drawing on both positive and negative case studies Patterson has also sought to present a balanced account of the African experience, as well as contextualize the rationales behind some of the more contentious government responses to this disease (the chapter on South Africa is particularly enlightening in situating President Thabo Mbeki's notorious stance on rejecting Western views of the cause of HIV/AIDS, and the most-appropriate treatment of this disease).

Moreover, in adopting a case-study approach, one of the more refreshing aspects to emerge from this collection is that it does not characterize all African countries as corrupt and incompetent failing states. Rather, by highlighting the more successful examples of where African leaders and/or governments have proactively sought to contain the epidemic, the contributors have sought to identify some broad-spectrum principles that could be applied to HIV/AIDS governance throughout the entire continent. Further, in highlighting certain African 'success stories' the editor of the volume has sought to convey an important message: namely, that Africa is not a lost cause and that significant gains have already been made. The volume thus makes a distinct contribution not only to the HIV/AIDS literature, but also to the literature on development in Africa more generally.

While both volumes broadly accomplish what they set out to do, there are some oversights and flaws in what are otherwise fine and informative volumes. One of the key drawbacks of *Securing Health*, for instance, is its attempt to draw general conclusions on health (re)construction efforts where data is acknowledged to be poorly collated or entirely non-existent. This is a problem that pervades the entire collection – from the more historical case studies through to the contemporary ones. One of the implications arising from the lack of data is that the referencing leaves much to be desired. The chapter examining reconstruction efforts in post-war Japan, for example, appears to draw the bulk of its material from only two sources: official US government publications and one monograph by an American military doctor. Similarly, the chapters on Haiti, Somalia and Kosovo draw much of their source material from official publications by intergovernmental organizations, rather than engaging with publications by field researchers and/or public health professionals. Given that the primary objective of the volume is to critically appraise post-conflict reconstruction efforts, this over-reliance on official publications is a major weakness. At a minimum, it raises the question of whether those agencies/actors engaged in reconstruction efforts have been entirely open and transparent regarding any potential failures. At worst, it suggests a serious defect in the book's research given that official publications may be reluctant to be too critical of any programme's failures, especially where it may impact upon member states' future willingness to contribute financial resources. Arguably, the contributors to this volume would have been better served had they adopted a more interdisciplinary approach and engaged with the larger volume of public

health and development-related literature, which potentially offers more objective and impartial assessments of the effectiveness and overall benefit of health programmes in post-conflict reconstruction.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise, *The African State and the AIDS Crisis* has a few flaws in relation to its evidence base and the contextualization of the research. Although it is important to acknowledge that the chapters are concise and follow a coherent theme, which examines both positive and negative examples of African state responses to HIV/AIDS, it is disappointing that the concluding chapter fails to contextualize the HIV/AIDS crisis amongst the other contending priorities that African states must deal with (not least, a multitude of other infectious diseases). Indeed, if the reader did not know otherwise, it would be easy to assume that HIV/AIDS was the only public health crisis that Africa must contend with. While there is little doubt that HIV/AIDS will continue to devastate African populations, an evidence-based and properly-contextualized analysis regarding the actual (as opposed to assumed) long-term economic and social consequences of this disease on Africa is still waiting to be done.

A second and related criticism of the volume is that it buys into the 'hollowing out of the state' argument without question or query. Admittedly, this is a criticism that could be levelled at much of the HIV/AIDS literature<sup>2</sup> – nonetheless, this does not excuse the oversight being replicated here, particularly given the merit and quality of most of the book. Finally, although Patterson has assembled an impressive array of contributors including such notable figures as Alan Whiteside and Nana Poku, it is still disappointing that there are so few African-based scholars contributing to the volume. This, again, is a criticism that could be levelled at much of the health literature on Africa. Nevertheless, when part of the aim of the volume is to arrive at 'African solutions to African problems', a larger contingent of African scholars would seem to be a sensible place to start.

In summary, both volumes have a particular contribution to make to their respective audiences. *Securing Health* is unquestionably of interest to policy-makers in the health-development field, and quite possibly should be considered required reading for every bureaucrat and/or government agency contemplating post-conflict reconstruction work. While its referencing issues do leave it somewhat of a poor academic resource, if it is viewed more as a field manual as opposed to a scholarly work, the volume has considerable utility. Likewise, *The African State and the AIDS Crisis* makes a distinct contribution to the literature by offering a refreshing and balanced commentary on the HIV/AIDS catastrophe in Africa. Its appeal to African specialists and health specialists alike is evident, and thus it is a recommended and worthy addition to any health researcher's library.

## Notes

1 See for example, Dean A. Shuey, Fatime A. Qosaj, Erik J. Schouten and Anthony B. Zwi, 2003. Planning for health sector reform in post-conflict situations: Kosovo 1999/2000. *Health policy*, 63 (3), 299–310; Brett D. Nelson, Snezana Simic, Lauren Beste, Dejana Vukovic, Vesna Bjugovic and Michael J. VanRooyen, 2003. Multimodal assessment of the primary healthcare system of Serbia: a model for evaluating post-conflict health systems. *Prehospital and disaster medicine*, 18 (1), 6–13; and Valery Ridde, 2005. Performance-based partnership agreements for the reconstruction of the health system in Afghanistan. *Development in practice*, 15 (1), 4–15.

2 For more discussion on this see, for example, Alan Whiteside, Alex de Waal and Tsadkan Gebre-Tensae, 2006. AIDS, security and the military in Africa: a sober appraisal. *African affairs*, 105 (419), 201–18; and Colin McInnes, 2006. HIV/AIDS and security. *International affairs*, 82 (2), 315–26.

## New Approaches to Peacekeeping

**The United Nations, Intra-State Peacekeeping and Normative Change** by Esref Aksu. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003. Pp.219 + bibliography + index. £50 (hbk). ISBN: 0-7190-6748-0.

**Understanding Peacekeeping** by Alex J. Bellamy, Paul Williams and Stuart Griffin. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004. Pp.275 + appendix + bibliography + index. £17.99 (pbk). ISBN: 0-7456-3058-8.

**Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations** by Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006. Pp.351 + bibliography + index. £15.95. (pbk) ISBN: 0-691-12275-X.

**Peacekeeping and the International System** by Norrie MacQueen. London and New York: Routledge, 2006. Pp.246 + maps + notes + bibliography + index. £21.99 (pbk). ISBN: 0-415-35354-8.

The four books reviewed here reflect a growing maturity in the contemporary study of peacekeeping. For all the academic ink spilled over peacekeeping in recent years, research output in the field has been remarkably uniform, dominated by a plethora of edited works that pore over the same batch of case studies, each time drawing predictable conclusions about the need for more clearly defined mandates and better coordination within the United Nations (UN) system. Although some of these books contain case-studies (and some banal conclusions as well), their overall tack is nonetheless different.

Instead of merely describing the microscopic problems of particular operations, each book makes an effort to offer a more analytical and general approach. To differing degrees, each book tries to plug the study of peacekeeping

into mainstream International Relations (IR) analysis, with some of the authors explicitly claiming allegiance to a particular theoretical tradition in IR. As such, these books indicate that peacekeeping is increasingly drawing the scholarly attention that it merits, given its prominence in world politics today. By examining changes in the UN's peacekeeping activities, Aksu draws on a 'historical structural' approach, inspired by Robert Cox, to explore the changing normative role of the UN. In contrast to much of the existing literature, with its microscopic focus, both Bellamy *et al.* and MacQueen provide a broad backdrop of international politics within which to contextualize the study of peacekeeping. MacQueen draws on neo-realism while Bellamy *et al.* draw on international society approaches to construct their analyses; however, in practice, these differing theoretical approaches seem to make little difference to their analysis and conclusions. Doyle and Sambanis' book offers both a quantitative and qualitative assessment of UN peacebuilding operations, as they seek to identify the factors making for successful UN efforts in the reconstruction of peace in civil conflict.

In their efforts to provide a broader analysis, each of the authors tries to break with some of the traditional verities of the existing peacekeeping scholarship. For example, Bellamy *et al.* boldly suggest that the starting point of all peacekeeping analysis 'should be an appreciation of its essentially contested nature and its underlying purposes rather than abstract ideas drawn from conflict research or complex taxonomies derived from what peacekeepers do in the field' (Bellamy *et al.* 2004, p.32). Aksu, MacQueen and Bellamy *et al.* are all suspicious of attempts to sharply distinguish peacekeeping in the post-Cold War era from Cold War peacekeeping. As MacQueen says: '[today's peacekeeping] is a phase of peacekeeping and not the entire phenomenon' (MacQueen 2006, p.13); and Bellamy *et al.*: 'contrary to the claims of many earlier attempts to understand ... peacekeeping, there is no chronological division that accurately reflects the practical reality and history of peacekeeping operations' (Bellamy *et al.* 2004, p.6). These authors variously cite the UN operations in West Irian (UNTEA, 1962) and Congo (ONUC, 1960–64), amongst others, as evidence for their claims. All four books also broadly agree on their understanding of what peacekeeping is – a consensual third-party effort at conflict management that can draw on broad international support and that aims to pacify a conflict situation through various stabilizing activities.

In practice, of course, the content of stabilization efforts range widely, from cease-fire monitoring to statebuilding. The difficulty, and the differences between these authors, lies in deciding how inclusive to make their understanding of peacekeeping, and where to draw the line between war-fighting and impartial deterrence, which is a crucial aspect of any peacekeeping operation, no matter how consensual (Aksu 2003, p.24). Aksu argues that a shift has taken place in the nature of peacekeeping, from an emphasis upon external sovereignty (freedom from external interference) to emphasizing internal sovereignty (building up state capacity) (Aksu 2003, pp.93–4). This move is echoed in Bellamy *et al.*'s distinction between Westphalian and post-Westphalian peacekeeping – the former limited to

managing orderly relations between states, the latter inspired to transform failed states into liberal democratic polities (Bellamy *et al.* 2004, pp.1–2). Bellamy *et al.* also subdivide peacekeeping into five types (traditional, managing transition, wider peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace-support operations). Doyle and Sambanis differentiate peacebuilding from peace enforcement (war-fighting), arguing that precisely what makes the UN successful in the former critically undermines it in the latter, as multilateralism undermines the decisiveness and coherence needed for war-fighting (Doyle and Sambanis 2006, p.196).

MacQueen, by contrast, eschews these finer distinctions, dismissing ‘theological debates’ on how the use of force shapes peacekeeping (MacQueen 2006, p.10). Instead, he makes a strong claim that peacekeeping has fundamentally been the same activity from at least the beginning of the twentieth century: ‘[United Nations] peacekeeping in Liberia or Georgia in the first half of the twenty-first century serves essentially the same purpose for the international system as [League of Nations] peacekeeping on Germany’s borders did in the first half of the twentieth century’ (MacQueen 2006, p.viii). The only significant change in peacekeeping in the post-Cold War era that MacQueen is willing to concede is the expansion of peacekeeping into the superpowers’ former spheres of influence, with UN operations in Afghanistan (UNGOMAP, 1988–90) and Latin America (ONUSAL, 1991–95; MINUGUA, 1997; and ONUCA, 1989–92). In other words, that there has been a quantitative and geographic change rather than any fundamental qualitative change in peacekeeping.

The problem with MacQueen’s schema is that he refuses to consider the obvious point that quantitative expansion can result in a qualitative change. MacQueen’s analysis of the factors that precipitated the expanded role of peacekeeping is also desultory and bland, accepting uncritically many of the assumptions of post-realist analysis about globalization, global governance, the collapse of African states and the rise of humanitarianism. Yet all of these factors, if taken seriously, are ideas that are ultimately at odds with the tenets of MacQueen’s self-proclaimed ‘neo-realism’ – a term that MacQueen adopts, but which seems to have little real meaning for him beyond a commitment to conducting analysis through the prism of ‘high politics’ (with a striking attention to superpower diplomacy, the balance of power, national foreign policies – the kind of analysis that is often skimmed over in peacekeeping research). Nonetheless, MacQueen has a fluent narrative style, which is refreshing by comparison with much of current peacekeeping and IR scholarship. MacQueen also has the historian’s ability to sift through large amounts of material to extract relevant details and important points.

Bellamy *et al.*’s *Understanding Peacekeeping* has the strength that, of the four books, it is the one that engages most directly with existing literature on peacekeeping, providing one of the most cogent and detailed critiques of extant peacekeeping scholarship to date. ‘[D]espite the millions of words written on the subject of peacekeeping’, they write, ‘there has been remarkably little discussion of the relationship between peacekeeping operations and wider processes and trends in global politics’ (Bellamy *et al.* 2004, p.4). Bellamy

*et al.* take peacekeeping scholarship to task for its fixation with rigid schemes of classification and misguided attempts to draw sharp distinctions between different ‘generations’ of peacekeeping (see especially Bellamy *et al.* 2004, pp.13–14). Their own idea of the politics of peacekeeping is less convincing, however. They suggest that the ad hoc and provisional character of so many peacekeeping operations is attributable to its ‘essentially contested nature’ – that is, fundamental disagreement about the purposes of peacekeeping (Westphalian or post-Westphalian) (Bellamy *et al.* 2004, p.32).

But given that peacekeeping continues to expand inexorably in the absence of any significant ideological confrontation, perhaps it is unwise to interpret the ramshackle nature of UN multilateralism as evidence of some substantial or meaningful political clash over principles. MacQueen’s analysis is more astute here, particularly in his observation of the ambivalent character of the post-Cold war expansion of UN peacekeeping: ‘all areas . . . were [now] in principle open to UN peacekeeping . . . however . . . If the superpowers were no longer so interested in safeguarding their Cold War spheres of influence, equally they were no longer so committed to managing security within these areas’ (MacQueen 2006, p.129). In other words, from early on, peacekeeping in the post-Cold War period was characterized by the shedding of strategic and political commitments, more than the embrace of new normative responsibilities.

By contrast, *Making War and Building Peace* and *The United Nations, Intra-State Peacekeeping and Normative Change* are both more unoriginal and more narrow in their analysis, demonstrating less of the creative insight and critical responses which come through in MacQueen’s and particularly Bellamy *et al.*’s books. Doyle and Sambanis for example, muster an impressive methodological apparatus, that includes an imposing statistical analysis of post-1945 conflicts and UN responses, which is flanked by more fine-grained qualitative analysis of specific operations. However, it is unclear whether this effort brings any more insight than can be gleaned from other analyses of peacekeeping, published over the last few years. Aside from their claim that UN peacebuilding is superior to outright military victory as a solution to civil war, their conclusions replicate the mundane generalizations found elsewhere in the field: ‘We find that peace operations must be designed to fit the case . . .’ (Doyle and Sambanis 2006, p.5) and ‘the defining characteristic of all the successful operations is that they each achieved a comprehensive peace agreement’ (Doyle and Sambanis 2006, p.349). Their analysis is also limited by the fact that they primarily focus on twentieth-century data, and it is unclear whether there have been enough UN peacekeeping operations to make viable generalizations.

That said, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, *Making War and Building Peace* and *Peacekeeping in the International System* would form three solid pillars of primary reading for any course or module on peacekeeping. Each of these books will also surely become an important reference point for researchers in the field. Aksu’s book by contrast makes some good points, eloquently describing the expanded nature of UN authority and the reframing of sovereign state consent that has gone alongside it (Aksu 2003, p.92). But it is nonetheless thin by

comparison to the other books under review here, failing to convincingly lift itself above a doctoral dissertation. Overall, despite their drawbacks, the theses advanced in these four books, and their attempts to relate peacekeeping to mainstream IR, are welcome evidence of the growing confidence and sophistication in the field of peacekeeping research.

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## The Role of Trust

**Trust and Rule** by Charles Tilly. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Pp.xiv, 196 + references + index. \$19.99 (pbk). ISBN 978-0-521-67135-4.

Charles Tilly is a prolific writer and an authority in modern historical sociology. His new book on trust networks, and their integration into modern structures of rule, starts with a paradox. One might expect 'trust networks' to fear rulers as competitors and predators, bent on subjugating or destroying them. One could expect relations between a trust network and political powers to be antagonistic, and its logical course of behaviour to avoid or minimize interaction. However, trust networks are increasingly integrated in public politics. Democracy's very existence depends on this integration. Trust networks not only survive, but also support such obviously monopolistic systems of rule as totalitarian, authoritarian and theocratic states. How and why does this happen? What accounts for the variety of integration, and for the stability, or the lack thereof, of the resulting regime?

This book attempts to answer these questions, and draws a convincing picture of the historical evolution of trust networks – internally and externally induced changes in their structure, behaviour and functioning; their relationship with 'predators' (that is, competing networks and authorities) and the resulting strategies of accommodation; the conditions that enable previously segregated networks to become integrated into public politics – the relationship between trust and democracy; and the current challenges that both trust networks and democratic regimes face in the era of trans-national politics and digital communications. An epic story of humanity's struggle – between, on the one hand, the egotism of rulers and, on the other, the vulnerability and weakness of the ruled – is, in Tilly's typical fashion, smartly represented as a research programme examining the historically evolving relationship between trust networks and public politics. It is little wonder that the book often resorts to speculations, tentative answers, hypotheses and propositions not fully validated by the empirical material amassed.

Nonetheless, the very positing of the problem is a breakthrough in its own right. The first three chapters, which formulate research questions for the study and

suggest the way to approach them, is a must read for graduate students in political science and sociology. The wealth of the comparative historical material that Tilly uses to illustrate his propositions entertains and engages. The conceptual schema – for example, the lists of the ‘bottom-up’ and the ‘top-down’ strategies in interactions between trust networks and authorities – is both ingenious and illuminating. Some of the book’s premises are of course open to debate. I find it difficult to accept what Tilly calls a ‘transactional account’ of trust, which sustains his much repeated definition of trust networks as interpersonal ties within which people set valued resources at risk from the mistakes and/or failures of others. This definition leads to rather polemical representations of institutions – such as taxation, conscription-based armies and welfare states – as moved primarily by trust; examples of the successful integration of pre-existing trust networks into the daily structures of modern politics. It is at least as plausible to argue that these examples demonstrate the enduring success of the state’s efforts to *break up* pre-existing trust networks, substituting them for impersonal ties of formal obligation. The very fact that someone places their valued ‘resources’ (like money forfeited in taxes, or a child being drafted to the army) at risk – ‘to the malfeasance’, etc., of others – does not mean that a relationship of trust has been established through this single transaction or by this occurrence alone. It is somewhat easier to believe that a person could not refuse such a transaction because there was no feasible alternative, or that the pay-off structure imposed unbearable costs for non-compliance.

The questions of trust and rule that the book poses are large enough to applaud its publication, whether one agrees or disagrees with the theoretical stance advocated by the author or with any of the concrete conclusions drawn from it. Trust networks cannot be fully explicated as merely psychological phenomena. That much is clear. Sociological and cultural perspectives add to our understanding of the origins and evolution of individual orientations that together sustain any social network. Representations of trust as a historical phenomenon surely deserve more serious attention and Tilly’s book does a good job of situating the dilemmas of trust and rule in a rich historical context.

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St Thomas University, Canada

## The Inhumanity of International Law

**The Humanization of International Law** by Theodor Meron. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2006. Pp.527 + index. €55.00/US\$ 72.00 (pbk), ISBN 90-04-15193-1.

International law is replete with rules aimed at the protection of people. Once a purely state-centred set of rules, international law has incrementally proved to be a valuable and commonly used tool to protect individuals. Building on this major shift in international law, Theodor Meron analyses the importance of human rights law and international humanitarian law. This book is based on the general course on public international law 'International Law in the Age of Human Rights', which he taught at The Hague Academy of International Law in 2003. The reader could find the rambling structure of the book bewildering but the imperfect presentation of the ideas should not detract from the fascinating question that this volume addresses. Indeed, this work is not devised as a mere account of international rules dedicated to the protection of human beings. It purports to examine the 'influence of human rights and humanitarian law on general international law' (p.x). This is an ambitious objective that would, if attained, fill a gap in the literature. Although studies of the relationship between human rights law (including international humanitarian law) and general international law abound, few have actually embarked on the extensive analysis of the impact of the former on the latter.

Generally speaking, Meron's analysis of the influence of human rights law and humanitarian law on general international law is beset by a strong bias, as Meron builds most of his conclusions on the developments pertaining to humanitarian law only. He does not seek, however, to conceal this predisposition. On the contrary, the entire book overtly draws on its author's mastery of international humanitarian law and his much-vaunted expertise in that field. This undoubtedly makes this volume an outstanding account of modern developments in international humanitarian law. This bias however scales down the hindsight that the reader can expect as regards the handling of the general question of the humane character of international law. This is of course not to say that international humanitarian law is alien to the general question of the *humanization* of international law. International humanitarian law has definitely paved the way for the emergence of a body of rules protecting human beings. In that sense, international humanitarian law – probably together with diplomatic protection – is the forerunner of the protection offered by human rights. This may be underpinned by the fact that international humanitarian law and human rights law are nowadays construed as a more or less *single body of law*, the former being the *special* branch of the latter for those situations deemed an armed conflict.<sup>1</sup> This means, in legal terms, that international humanitarian law is a *lex specialis* (special rule) derogating to the *lex generalis* (general rule) of human rights law – as observed by Meron in Chapter 1.

From a conceptual standpoint, Meron does not really question the articulation between international humanitarian law and international human rights law. If international humanitarian law is the *lex specialis* of international human rights law, each of them can be construed as belonging to the same single body of norms aimed at the protection of individuals. If this is true, the basic assumption upon which Meron's book rests is not entirely convincing. Indeed, the author purports to gauge the extent to which the development of international human

rights law and international humanitarian law has ‘radiated’ throughout international law in general. It is not obvious, however, that rules dedicated to the protection of human rights (in a broad sense) have had any ‘influence’ on the other areas of international law. Indeed, instead of rubbing off on general international law, rules on the protection of individuals have rather emerged as a *distinct* body of law to which some general rules are deemed not to be applicable. In other words, it is not ‘*under* the influence of human rights law’ that ‘rights have been granted to individuals’ (p.353; emphasis added), rather it is *through* the development of human rights that this happened. In many respects, international humanitarian law and international human rights law thus remain estranged from general international law.<sup>2</sup> If the ‘fragmentation’ of international law really is an issue – as the popularity of this topic in international legal scholarship seems to indicate<sup>3</sup> – it is precisely because different bodies of law can live side by side (as illustrated by the schism between general international law on the one hand and international human rights law and international humanitarian law on the other).

Meron’s understanding of the humanity of international law rests on his analysis of the *content* of international law. By his account, international law has been humanized through the adoption of numerous rules and the emergence of various customary rules devoted to the protection of human beings. In that sense, international law has proved more ‘humane’ thanks to its content (humanity *ratione materiae*). There is no doubt that Meron’s volume provides a thorough description of this substantive aspect of the ‘humanity’ of international law. Today, it is almost unanimously accepted that individuals are endowed with international legal personality, as is recalled by Meron (Chapter 5). Yet, this international personification of individuals does not necessarily speak to a humanization of international law.

Firstly, the conceptual impossibility of a real ‘influence’ of human rights on general international law is evidenced by the fact that there is no compelling illustration of such an influence. Though this volume provides a remarkable in-depth analysis of various aspects of the international rules protecting individuals, it fails to offer an account of how international humanitarian law pervades general international law. The question of the ‘humanization’ of international law – i.e., whether international humanitarian law and international human rights law have had some bearing upon other areas of international law – is not really considered.

More importantly, this international personification of individuals on the international plane is *not* sufficient to humanize international law. For international law to be truly humane, individuals should be endowed with some form of lawmaking power that would – as famously explained by Abi-Saab – make them *sujets du système* (subjects of the system), and allow them to partake in the functioning and the devising of the legal order.<sup>4</sup> Even though, nowadays, individuals are undoubtedly ‘participants’ in the international legal system and are entitled to participating rights, through which they may exert some influence on the lawmaking process, individuals do not have a real say in the conduct of the international legal system. The significant participation of non-state actors in

the international system may well call for a ‘fresh conceptual and ethical language’;<sup>5</sup> however, it does not suffice to make individuals real *sujets du système*. For that reason, international law is not yet an inclusive legal system and remains deeply inhumane from the standpoint of the system that it lays down (inhumanity *ratione personae*).

It can be argued that this study expresses the view of a wise and outstanding legal scholar belonging to a generation that witnessed an extraordinary shift in the content of the rules of a once exclusively state-centred international legal order. There are sound reasons to enthuse about that move. This should not, however, eclipse the lingering inhumanity of international law. It behoves legal scholars and practising lawyers to beware that, as a system, international law remains profoundly inhumane. While Meron’s *Humanization* is a very welcome publication of an enhanced version of his excellent general course on public international law, it is not the insightful and theoretical analysis portended by its appealing title.

**Jean D’Aspremont** © 2008  
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## Notes

1 See, for example, International Court of Justice, Advisory opinion on the *Legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons*, Rec. 1996, para.25 or the Advisory opinion on the *Legal consequences of the construction of wall in the occupied Palestinian territory*, Rec. 2004, para.105.

2 See, for example, Meron’s coverage of the debates on reservations to treaties (pp.18–246). See generally, the Second Report of the ILC Special Rapporteur Alain Pellet on reservations to treaties, A/CN.4/477 (1996). This does not mean, however, that they do not share common roots. On this question, see Bruno Simma and Dirk Pulkowski, 2006. Of planets and the universe: self-contained regimes in international law. *European journal of international law*, 17 (2), 529.

3 See, for example, Martti Koskeniemi and Päivi Leino, 2002. Fragmentation of international law? postmodern anxieties. *Leiden journal of international law*, 15 (2), 553–79.

4 Georges Abi-Saab, 1987. Cours général de droit international public. *Collected courses*, 207, 9–463, esp. 444; see also, Prosper Weil, 1992. Le droit international en quête de son identité: cours général de droit international public. *Collected courses*, 237, 9–370, esp. 118–22.

5 Fernando Téson, 1992. The Kantian theory of international law. *Columbia law review*, 92 (1), 53.

## Ethics and Justice in Peacebuilding

**What We Owe Iraq: War and the Ethics of Nation Building** by Noah Feldman. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004. Pp.131 + notes + index. £18.95 (hbk). ISBN 0-691-12179-6.

**What is a Just Peace?** edited by Pierre Allan and Alexis Keller. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp.215 + bibliography + index. £42.00 (hbk). ISBN 0-19-927535-1.

Feldman's book is a refreshingly erudite, candid and sensible account of the American occupation of Iraq since 2003. As the one-time Senior Constitutional Advisor to the Coalitional Provisional Authority (CPA) in Iraq, Feldman is well placed to offer an insightful and well-informed analysis of the work that he and his colleagues undertook following the fall of Saddam Hussein. His prose is flowing, and he recounts his argument with verve and skill. His reflections on the ethics of nation-building and the mistakes made in Iraq are thought-provoking and accompanied by some wonderfully lucid accounts of everyday life inside the CPA. In one particularly revealing vignette, Feldman tells of the morning that he and Judge Donald Campbell, largely by chance, undertook the de-Ba'athification of the Iraqi Lawyers Association (ILA). Their impromptu removal of the President of that association, prompted by the clamour of the rank and file of ILA members, was surely a violation of Iraqi law, but, Feldman reasons, it was done for the good of the Iraqi people. Such an argument clearly does not sit easily with him, however, and the remainder of the book constitutes an attempt to scrutinize the ethical questions that the events of that morning, and the deeper problems they suggest, give rise to.

This is a short book, comprising three essays dealing with the major practical and moral issues that attend the practice of nation-building. Feldman begins by asking why America even engages in such a historically troublesome and unrewarding enterprise in the first place. He argues, convincingly to my mind, that it is in America's enlightened self-interest to do so. By tackling corrupt and failed states, and aiding them in their progression towards a more stable form of self-rule, America denies both terrorists and tyrants a base from which to operate. Strong states such as the USA and the Western European powers, Feldman contends, 'have an interest in building nation-states that seem reasonably legitimate to their citizens, because failed states and those perceived as illegitimately imposed from outside are likely to generate terror' (p.3).

So far so good. But what about the larger picture? Surely we must place the ethics of nation-building, and particularly the efforts of the CPA in Iraq, in their proper historical context? This means taking account of the fact that nation-building is often preceded by military invasion and conquest. Accordingly, critics have charged the CPA (and its supporters) with complicity in the illegal invasion of Iraq. By seeking to rejuvenate post-war Iraq, they argue, the CPA risks lending an unjust war some degree of unwarranted post facto legitimacy. Feldman is alert to these arguments. However we felt about the war, he contends, we – and he makes a point of using the term 'we' – have a duty to deal with its aftermath. 'Now that the can of worms has been opened . . . the only way to get it closed is a government that Iraqis consider democratically legitimate' (p.20). Having invaded Iraq, America, and indeed the world, cannot now walk away from the

mess left behind. In this respect, Feldman is in tune with Colin Powell's Pottery Barn rule: if you break it, you own it.

Feldman moves on from here to outlining some principles that he thinks should guide US policy in Iraq, and nation-building more generally. Interestingly, he frames this discussion in the language of trusteeship. In doing so, he draws on a body of literature that stretches from the Spanish neo-scholastics of the sixteenth century – Las Casas and Vitoria – right through to the present day. Feldman, however, takes the idea of trusteeship somewhere new. Rather than simply adopting the notion of trusteeship as a metaphor for some kind of paternalist neo-colonialism, he looks to treat it as the 'starting point for a hard-headed analysis of the exercise of decision-making authority' (p.61). With this in mind, he draws on democratic theory and contemporary economic thinking, specifically agent-principal theory, to produce an account of trusteeship that has as its central concern the question of who possesses the 'authority to govern' (p.62). This shifts the locus of trusteeship away from wardship over a given territory or population, and anchors it firmly within a democratic account of legitimate governance. The result of this innovative engagement with the concept of trusteeship is to produce a new and more democratically attuned set of guiding principles to orient states as they engage in nation-building projects. In Feldman's words, 'the fundamental underlying duty' that falls upon the nation-builder is 'exercising the power of government, and in that capacity it must put the interests of the governed ahead of its own' (p.68).

Feldman's argument is not without its rough edges. His faith in the capacity of the Iraqi people, exercising their freedom of speech and assembly to curb the excesses of the CPA, is fine in theory, but problematic in practice. Public protest is obviously not a realistic option for many Iraqis today. Iraq's history of dictatorship and repression, and its current state of anarchy and lawlessness, have rendered the streets a dangerous place for free and open political expression. Trusting in the power of free assembly and speech as a check on executive power will not work in a land where people are often subject to intimidation and terror. This is a surprising oversight from Feldman, as elsewhere he displays a great deal of understanding with respect to the Iraqi political climate. Indeed, his treatment of the rise of denominational identity politics in Iraq, particularly Shi'ite identity politics, is superb, and lays the political dynamics of post-Saddam Iraq bare for all to see.

This is a highly informative book and a great read. Its jaunty pace and vivid account of life in present-day Iraq renders it an attractive text for undergraduate students, while its depth of analysis commends it to a more advanced research audience. It would be useful and interesting for anyone interested in current affairs, the politics of Iraq, US foreign policy and the thorny issues of nation-building and empire. Above all, though, it stands out as an admirable effort to imagine what a just peace in Iraq might look like.

The question of just peace is also the primary concern of *What is a Just Peace?*, edited by Pierre Allan and Alexis Keller. Allan and Keller start from the premise that they have identified a crucial and under-examined area of research. They

pose the question: what exactly does the notion of just peace encompass, and what would one look like? Allan and Keller, and their contributors, make the point that there is a real paucity of contemporary material dealing with this issue. The problem, they maintain, is that there has been an abject failing on the part of all concerned to look beyond the surface of what peace might entail. What one finds in the literature instead conflates and confuses the ends of peace, justice and order. This is clearly dissatisfactory, they suggest, as order, peace and justice are not synonyms, rather they are distinct ends which sometimes pull against one another. Allan and Keller's aim with this edited collection is to take the first step in remedying this worrying gap in the literature.

This is a laudable goal. How, then, do they go about their business? The early signs are promising when one takes a look at the list of contributors and the structure of this book. Including the editors, there are seven contributors in all, drawn from the fields of theology, peace research, cultural studies, political science, and international studies, as well as one diplomat. If this interdisciplinary collection sounds unwieldy, that is offset by the editors' firm imprint on the book. Between them, Allen and Keller contribute four of the nine pieces on offer here. The benefit of this is that it lends the book a firm spine and a high degree of coherence. Consequently, this is not a scattershot collection of essays, but a tightly focused series of reflections on a common concern. This is to the editors' credit. Also in the book's favour is its success in bringing together both International Relations theory and Peace Research. This is achieved not just in the abstract realm of theory, but by locating the essays gathered here in the context of the ongoing quest to achieve a just solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict. Especially commendable in this regard is the editors' decision to invite delegates from the Israel-Palestine peace talks to participate in this collection. The result is Yossi Beilin's essay, 'Just Peace: A Dangerous Objective'.

But the execution is not always up to the editors' standard of conception. This is apparent when we consider Beilin's essay. Despite a strong central argument – to the effect that the quest for a just peace may be unhelpful because it bequeaths belligerents a term of art for questioning and denying the utility of any prospective peace treaty – Beilin's essay fails to move anywhere beyond this. This is fine insofar as we are considering Beilin's essay on its own terms, but it represents a poor return for the editors' efforts to bring together the theory and practice of international affairs. Stanley Hoffmann's essay also offers a poor return: extremely brief, it resembles a think-piece rather than a serious scholarly effort to conceptualize what the term 'just peace' might mean. In mitigation, it is entitled 'Peace and Justice: A Prologue'. Nonetheless, it is a slight offering, coming as it does from such a renowned scholar and placed as the opening gambit in such an ambitious project. Allen's own chapter is altogether bolder. He attempts to provide a metrics for assessing and evaluating different levels of war/peace, ranging from genocide to global care. This is a useful survey of the subject matter, and is bound to be to the liking of the more scientifically-oriented theorists. Ultimately, however, it is hard to see how one can

scientifically measure such a thing as peace or justice, and Allen's chapter fails to convince me otherwise.

On a more positive note, the chapters by Sir Adam Roberts, David Little, Edward Saïd and Alexis Keller hit their respective targets. All four represent some serious research and thought. They deal, respectively, with the relationship between the use of force and just peace, the role religion might play in fostering such a peace, a method for conceiving what a just peace might entail, and an historical review of how the law of nations fails the promise of just peace. At the heart of these essays is a willingness to consider that the notion of 'just peace' might itself be an invitation to war and conflict. As such, these authors look to conceive of 'just peace' as both the object and the solution of violent dispute. This is a valuable contribution, and one which should not be under-estimated. In identifying the irony of just peace, the contributors to this collection have opened up an exciting avenue for prospective research. Indeed, viewing the aspiration of a just peace in Iraq, as described by Feldman, through the critical lens offered here, provides a fresh perspective and another layer of complexity to that question. This, perhaps, is the achievement of this book.

In conclusion, both *What We Owe Iraq* and *What is a Just Peace?* offer some much needed new thinking on the subject of post-conflict justice. No doubt, these books will be followed by many others of a similar vein as scholars look to engage with the issue of nation-building in the context of the war on terror. For the present though, scholars interested in this field would be well advised to acquaint themselves with both books reviewed here. For the sake of 'just peace' one must also hope that the next generation of nation-builders will also acquaint themselves with these books. After all, and here I am paraphrasing John Kerry's unfortunate remark, those who fail to do their homework are likely to end up in another Iraq.

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## Guide to Globalization

**Comparative Politics in a Globalizing World** by Jeffrey Haynes. Cambridge: Polity, 2005. Pp.351 + bibliography + index. £18.99 (pbk). ISBN 0-7456-3093-6.

In recent years it seems that the field of globalization studies has undergone a process similar to that which it purports to be analysing, with a multiplicity of information becoming available to scholars and practitioners alike. Jeffrey Haynes's *Comparative Politics in a Globalizing World* brings an innovative and useful approach to the topic, tackling the multitude of factors influencing globalization. Culling an impressive amount of information from various

disciplines, Haynes explores globalization as the common ground for comparative politics and International Relations. As the author explains, the main argument of the book is '(1) to examine how globalization affects domestic political structures and processes in various kinds of states, and (2) how this might modify the traditional focus of comparative political analysis' (p.6). Following this structure, Haynes not only provides an historical overview of globalization, but also highlights its force in today's society. Haynes presents three types of countries at the core of the contemporary international system: 'established democracies', 'transitional democracies' and 'non-democracies'. The first part of the book provides a theoretical analysis of nation-states and of methodologies employed in exploring globalization. The second section examines in detail the main factors that Haynes, at least, connects with globalization, namely: regionalization, economic globalization, the natural environment, political culture, regime change and democratization, political violence and terrorism, religion, human rights, women and political participation.

Although this list is not exhaustive, the author makes reference to connections between disciplines and the implications of globalization for current politics. Further analysis in this field could examine the trajectory of the relationship between various types of nationalisms and globalization, according to the modernist and ethno-symbolist approaches, in particular how symbols and myths have been incorporated in nation-states due to globalization. Most sections of the book provide not only valuable avenues of investigation but also original angles of research, for example on the relationship between religion and globalization. Offering a succinct analysis of the role of globalization in church-state relations and religion and politics, Haynes identifies the ways in which religious institutions have changed over time and the impact of this on various countries.

The book is designed as a textbook for students in comparative politics and International Relations, and is aimed at helping the reader to understand the complicated paths of globalization. With a lively style, Haynes provides a useful academic tool for a broad audience without requiring specialist knowledge in the field. The book ends with a comprehensive bibliography covering the most significant sources on the relevant fields in the English language (pp.320–44).

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## Perspectives on Human Rights

**Human Rights and Human Security** by Bertrand G. Ramcharan. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2002. Pp.246 + index. \$143.00 (hbk). ISBN 90-411-1818-7.

**Asia Pacific and Human Rights: A Global Political Economy Perspective** by Paul Close and David Askew. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004. Pp.230 + notes + bibliography + index. £56.99 (hbk). ISBN 0-7546-3629-1.

How do international human rights norms define the content of human security? How does the protection of human rights in the contemporary world contribute to human security? The first book under review provides a theoretical framework as well as practical cases in order to answer these questions.

Several chapters focus on the relationship between human rights and human security, and the relationship between global poverty and equality. As a theoretical guide, Bertrand Ramcharan also includes the 'Declaration on Human Rights as an Essential Component of Human Security', adopted by the Commission on Human Security on 1 December 2001. Although many views expressed in the book are self-evident, they are nonetheless interesting in that they come from a former high United Nations (UN) official: Ramcharan has been a Commissioner of the International Commission of Jurists and a Member of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration, and he was Assistant Secretary-General and Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights when he wrote this book. For example: 'September 11<sup>th</sup> has taught the world one fundamental lesson: the security of nations, even the mightiest, requires genuine partnership and cooperation at the United Nations' (p.2) and 'international human rights norms define the meaning of human security' (p.3). Rather than an academic research work, this is a well organized commentary of UN functions on human rights and human security for policy practitioners. Most chapters in the book explore the mechanism of the Security Council (Chapter II), the Commission on Human Rights (Chapters V, VI and XII), the High Commissioner for Human Rights (Chapters VII, IX and X), and the Secretary-General (Chapter VIII). Each of the chapters analyses UN agencies beyond their narrow administrative role defined by the UN Charter. The author especially highlights that the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan was: 'by far the most dynamic Secretary-General as far as human rights are concerned the Organization has ever seen' (p.165), and the second High Commissioner Mary Robinson: 'the international community owes a debt of gratitude for the public visibility she has brought to the Office and for the higher profile she has given to human rights' (p.165). The author persuasively explains that protecting human rights by these UN agencies greatly enhances human security.

As Ramcharan's book was written during 2001, too much space is devoted to cases such as the former Yugoslavia – thus some readers may feel the book a little outdated. It would be worth a new edition to cover issues of human rights and human security in places such as Iraq and North Korea. At the same time, the book does not mention some long-lasting and mass human rights violations (such as in post-Tiananmen China) at all.

Unfortunately, the second book under review does not help to fill out Ramcharan's oversights. Nominally, the book focuses on human rights and human security issues in Asia. However, the title is vague and the subtitle misleading: the book actually discusses only the East Asia region (and then mainly Japan, where the

authors live), even though the authors themselves define the Asia Pacific region as ‘encompassing East Asia, the South Pacific and the Americas’ (p.11). Although the authors invoke ‘A Global Political Economy Perspective’ in the subtitle, this seems to be more to merely fit in with the publisher’s ‘International Political Economy of New Regionalism’ series, as the book has little to do with global political economy. What this book makes apparent is that the authors approach human rights debates in East Asia from Western eyes. But the authors’ aims and purposes remain obscure and narrowly focused. For example, in chapter seven, titled ‘The meaning of human rights and the uncertainty of death’, the authors discuss how in Japan human rights are interpreted differently from in Europe and America. But how does this bring a ‘global political economy perspective’ to ‘Asia Pacific and Human Rights’? Similarly, chapter eight, titled ‘Political rights of non-nationals: the constitutional debate in Japan’, does not actually cover human rights violations in Japan, but rather discusses the extent to which the rights of non-national residents can and should be guaranteed in Japan’s voting system.

The authors’ treatment of human rights issues in China is galling for its cursory nature: many pages are absorbed in discussing one article. Unsurprisingly, they conclude that the Chinese government’s attitude toward human rights under Jiang Zemin has developed positively: ‘This is the first time that human rights were written . . . into the formal document of the Party’s national congress’ (p.72); ‘The Chinese style of human rights may be on its way to assuming a more Marxian character’ (p.74). In fact, human rights protection has long been a slogan of the Chinese Communist Party since its founding 80 years ago. Yet nothing is said about China’s democratic and human rights movement. When the reader comes across lengthy citations introducing basic political words from very basic sources (such as ‘politburo’ taken from Wikipedia at p.33, and ‘supranational’ from the Oxford dictionary at p.135), or as introductions to some well-known international organizations (such as Amnesty International and the Central Intelligence Agency), the reader cannot help but wonder what kind of audience the book is written for. Confusingly, other acronyms (such as ‘GHRR’ for global human rights regime, ‘GPE’ for global political economy) are used as if they are important specialist terms generally used to discuss human rights. As the economic development of East Asia continues, issues of human rights and human security in the region will only continue to grow in importance. But any discussion of human rights in the region cannot avoid the issue of China, given that both the region’s and the world’s largest population remains under dictatorship. The omission of such a discussion is a grave failing of a book that claims to be about the region as a whole.

**Jing Zhao © 2008**

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## The Economics of Statebuilding: A Review of Institutions and Paradoxes

**Economic Justice: Toward a Level Playing Field in an Unfair World** by Ethan Kapstein. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. Pp.195 + notes + bibliography + index. \$27.95 (hbk). ISBN 978-0-691-11772-0

**A Corporate Solution to Global Poverty: How Multinationals Can Help the Poor and Invigorate their Own Legitimacy** by George Lodge and Craig Wilson. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. Pp.161 + notes + bibliography + index. \$27.95 (hbk). ISBN 978-0-691-12229-8.

**The WTO and Sustainable Development** by Gary Sampson. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2005. Pp.306 + index. \$38.00 (pbk). ISBN 92-808-1115-0.

The copious research in the field of development has produced few common policy prescriptions. The three books under review here seek to address three major lacunae in the development literature. *Economic Justice* by Ethan Kapstein, attempts to combine an ethical study of equity with a close look at the realities of economics in a globalizing world. *A Corporate Solution to Global Poverty* by George Lodge and Craig Wilson proposes a new United Nations (UN)-based institution, where corporations would partner with host countries and non-governmental organizations to promote development and reduce poverty. *The WTO and Sustainable Development* by Gary Sampson studies the record and future prospects of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in relation to developing countries and sustainable development. Each book studies an important aspect of the role and impact of the market, institutions, and ethics in international development.

In *A Corporate Solution* Lodge and Wilson spend the first two sections of the book covering oft-repeated criticisms of multinational corporations (MNCs), the institutional architecture of international development, and their respective roles in globalization. Their book culminates in the last two chapters by laying out their vision for an institution which would coordinate action between MNCs and developing country governments to reduce poverty. Lodge and Wilson make their case by intermixing anecdotes and news clippings with academic research in a well organized and readable book. However, there are some drawbacks that undermine the overall thesis. First, Lodge and Wilson attribute nearly every problem faced by developing countries to the evils and uncaring attitude of MNCs. They leave out a significant literature which indicates the value of MNC involvement in developing countries, and how they have sometimes moved to fill a need where governments have failed. Furthermore, Lodge and Wilson themselves imply that many of these issues surrounding MNC behaviour are sins of perception rather than fact – hence the authors would be well served to

present a more balanced view of the role and record of MNCs rather than focusing on nebulous terms and specific anecdotes.

Second, the book is prone to internal contradictions and broad sweeping generalizations. Lodge and Wilson argue that MNCs possess too much power over developing states – but then they turn around and argue that a coalition of MNCs under the auspices of a UN organization should work together to sponsor broadly based sustainable development in specific countries. If the authors believe MNCs currently hold too much power, their formula only serves to increase the influence of MNCs over weak countries. Their broad claims about the alleged link between globalization and poverty ignores research suggesting that the poorest states are those that are the least globalized.<sup>1</sup> Third, Lodge and Wilson's final proposal for a UN-based institution is, as they admit, a nebulous one with little substance. They note that they hope this idea will take flight beyond its current form – but this only makes the whole exercise seem futile, at least in the context of a book.

*Economic Justice* is an attempt by Ethan Kapstein to bring together a wide variety of literatures into a coherent formulation of fairness and equality in international economic relations. Fusing together a Rawlsian philosophical framework around a thorough understanding of international economics and game theory, Kapstein lays out a sound basis for analysing the equity of international economic relations. The theoretical basis for the book is laid out in the first chapter, with the remainder of the book focusing on case studies such as international trade, migration and investment. Kapstein provides a sound, well researched, and insightful discussion of the concepts of fairness and equity in international economics. One flaw in the analysis stems from Kapstein's failure to reconcile the conflict between a government's responsibility to its own citizens and to the citizens of other states. For instance, a government may impose tariffs to protect the income of its own citizens, harming the poor in another country while protecting their own. These issues have proved intractable for many, so Kapstein should not be faulted too much for not delving into them.

In *The WTO and Sustainable Development* Gary Sampson, currently a professor at the United Nations University and former Director General of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, provides an in-depth analysis of the history and role of the WTO in dealing with developing countries. With lawyerly precision and logic, Sampson focuses strictly on what the WTO is empowered to do, how decisions are reached, and their impact on developing countries, thereby avoiding the temptation to write about what the WTO should or should not be doing. This approach may leave those looking for a more theoretical analysis of the role of the WTO unsatisfied, but it provides a thorough and technical understanding of the relationship between the WTO and the developing world. Though Sampson's legalistic writing style is dense, it is well reasoned and researched. As an academic and practitioner, Sampson is also able to combine real world experience of being a lawyer and economist with an encyclopaedic background knowledge of the WTO.

Each book seeks to accomplish very different objectives. *A Corporate Solution to Global Poverty*, by its own admission, is almost an extended working paper,

proposing what even the authors themselves admit is a far fetched idea. *Economic Justice* is a solid contribution that provides an accessible entry point into difficult issues for students and scholars from a variety of disciplines. *The WTO and Sustainable Development* offers a rigorous black letter analysis, which will provide those already familiar with the WTO and its legal framework a deeper understanding of the reasoning behind decisions and its evolution with regards to developing states. These books will promote a more balanced debate and understanding of development and international economic relations.

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#### Note

1 Roberto Rigobon and Dani Rodrik, 2005. Rule of law, democracy, openness, and income: estimating the inter-relationships. *The economics of transition*, 13 (3), 533–64.