



Book Reviews

War in the Blood: Sex, Politics and AIDS in Southeast Asia

Chris Beyrer (London and New York: Zed Books/Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998), 256 pp.

War in the Blood is part travelogue, epidemiological detective story and political analysis of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Southeast Asia. Chris Beyrer manages to unite these seemingly disparate styles through his obvious passion for the places and people he writes about as much as through his ability to weave these different perspectives together. This book is something of a departure from the literature on HIV/AIDS. The style is personal and at times passionate. Beyrer moves beyond the established contours of most studies of HIV/AIDS in Southeast Asia (which are generally concerned with focused interventions in specific communities and groups) and takes a broader view of the overarching political, economic, social and cultural factors that shape the epidemic and responses to it. The book is divided into three sections. Part One deals with the countries. This section is framed around Beyrer's professional experiences in Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Vietnam and the province of Yunnan in China. Part Two, 'People, Risks', addresses thematic issues that cross national boundaries, including the status of women, prostitution, the role of the military and the organisation and impact of the heroin trade. The final section, entitled 'Relativity and Culture', draws together the main arguments presented throughout the book.

The thesis of the book revolves around the argument that the spread of HIV/AIDS is intimately connected to political, cultural and economic problems, and that HIV/AIDS prevention efforts have generally ignored or failed to engage with the broader environments in which they are proposed and take place. Beyrer notes that 'Studies of HIV and AIDS are likely to be incomplete if we leave out the medicine or the politics, but also if we neglect the status of women, the economics of the narcotics trade, the levels of social tolerance or political repression in society' (p. 13). Towards the end of the book he becomes more trenchant in his criticism of the shortcomings of public health approaches: he says that 'in the extensive HIV/AIDS literature these political realities are all too rarely included in discussions of epidemiology, national vulnerability or barriers to prevention. Measures of risk in the public health literature typically focus extensively on the behaviours of individuals, even in settings where social systems are patent obstacles to risk reduction' (p. 208). Specific criticisms are directed at the managers of these obstacles, the political élite.

Beyrer returns to Thailand throughout the book as a touchstone and a reference point. He first went to Thailand in 1992 to work on HIV/AIDS. His work there, the relationships he developed and his observations of the impact and response to the epidemic were obviously formative and important experiences for him. The Thai response to HIV/AIDS is seen by many people who work in HIV/AIDS and public health as a model of national 'best practice'; Beyrer highlights the key cultural and political elements of this. Thailand's success in curbing the rate of HIV/AIDS transmission had much to do with the political and social willingness to accept that certain conditions (most notably the extent and spread of prostitution) were fuelling the epidemic. This acceptance was the basis for the government endorsed and led '100% Condom Policy', which achieved significant reductions in new infections.

Assessments of the other countries featured are less positive. Religious and ideological barriers to condom promotion and needle exchange in Malaysia, political corruption and repression in Burma and the legacy of war on Cambodia and Laos all pose significant barriers to effective HIV/AIDS prevention.

Although *War in the Blood* was published in 1998, it was obviously written before the full impact of the Asian financial crisis was felt. On a more critical note, the lack of analysis placing the region in a global context is a shortcoming. Comment on the impact of structural adjustment policies on

health care systems, the power of multinational pharmaceutical companies in restricting access to effective HIV/AIDS treatments and the response of Western governments to these issues would enhance the overall analysis. Similarly, the focus on the centrality of government masks the significant role of the non-government sector. Having said that, Beyrer succeeds in setting the HIV/AIDS epidemic in a regional context that expands the category and the characteristics of 'risk' to include political choices. In a similar vein, Beyrer highlights the lack of linkages created between AIDS and broader political issues. The chapter on 'Ethics, Rights and Values' contains a critique of the narrow scope of the human rights framework that has developed around HIV/AIDS. While he acknowledges the legitimacy of confidentiality, mandatory testing and informed consent as human rights issues, he is concerned they will have little meaning if they are not acted on in a broader human rights context. Using the example of Burma, he questions the utility of stressing the human rights of HIV/AIDS when 'citizens are denied freedom of speech or assembly, a free press and the right to vote ... Arbitrary arrest, incarceration without trial, and extra-judicial execution have all been documented. Can the rights of people with AIDS be expressed in any meaningful way without taking into account the wider reality of human rights under this regime?' (p. 209). *War in the Blood* is a bold book and Chris Beyrer writes passionately about the people and the landscapes of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Southeast Asia. He has succeeded in producing a compelling account of the relationship between the epidemic and the political and socio-cultural terrain that shapes its progress.

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International Orders

John A. Hall (Cambridge: Polity, 1996), xiv + 210 pp.

This book is about international order. It distinguishes between pluralistic ('realist'), oligopolistic and hegemonic international orders, and between those based on industrial capitalism and liberalism as well. It goes on to discuss, in the light of these distinctions, the historic emergence of the European system, the subsequent 'age of revolutions', and the Cold War. And it concludes with a discussion of the international order today.

It is also a book that leaves much to be desired, for three interrelated reasons. First of all, it is highly derivative. Secondly, it is uncritical, to the point of sycophancy. Thirdly, it is ideologically partial, to the point of myopia. Having been composed in 1995, the concluding section is also out of date.

The fundamental problem is flagged in the very first sentence by the author himself, where he tells us that he is a sociologist, not an expert in international relations. And yet the book is about international relations. Indeed, it is about one of the discipline's core concerns.

Hall deals with his self-professed lack of expertise by reading works by those who are specialists. What he writes is largely derived from them, and to my mind, it is much better read in the originals.

I fear that he hasn't read nearly enough, either. One can only speculate as to why this should be the case, when the author knows he is an ingenué, and might have been expected to compensate for that fact by making an effort to master the literature on the subjects he wishes to discuss. Neither the text itself nor the references provided throughout token any evidence that Hall has tried to master more than a tiny fraction of what deserves to be read on these issues, however. If he has read more widely, it is not apparent in what he has written.

And this is a problem, not only because Hall so often says things that reveal his lack of knowledge. For example, the Correlates of War project people might well wonder at someone saying that 'curiously little empirical work' (p. 8) has been done on the incidence of war and peace. Students of international political economy would be similarly puzzled to read that 'the greatest weakness of recent commentators has been to presume that social forces have or will have uniform consequences' (p. 179).

It is a problem, first and foremost, because what Hall has read, he does not seem to have read very critically. Indeed for Hall, most of what he cites, particularly with regard to his theoretical concerns,

is the last word on the subject. These are not just writers with whom Hall feels sympathy. They are by turn 'brilliant', 'superb', 'great', 'impressive', 'important', 'powerful', 'unrivaled', 'superlative', 'outstanding', 'striking', 'excellent', 'marvellous', 'exceptionally intelligent', and in the case of one particular favourite, 'elegant, innovative, and persuasive' as well. Having read most of the works Hall refers to, I would say that one or two of these epithets might well apply to one or two of them, but no more than that. 'There is no better guide to the nature of sociability, states, and justice than Hedley Bull's *The Anarchical Society*', Hall says on p. 1. Now: Bull's book was a good one, but it was distinguished as much by what it left unsaid as what it did say. Much the same could be said of all the other works that Hall cites as well, though perhaps I'm too grudging. The cumulative effect of Hall's unqualified praise does lead one to wonder, though, about his willingness to test the ideas that underpin his study against competing points of view. This doubt is borne out by the author himself who admits (p. 9) to being selective in his theoretical concerns. He also admits to giving 'short shrift' to 'international law, Marxism, technological determinism, and dependency theory' as well as the idea of an 'imperial order'. His ostensible reason for doing so is that none of these are likely to characterise the modern world polity 'as a whole'. Lack of the global character of their work would be news to Marxists and neo-Marxists. On the other hand, they would not be surprised to find Hall asserting, as he does elsewhere (p. 165), that 'economic factors habitually reflect rather than cause geopolitical conditions'. In a throw-away comment towards the end, Hall also seems to feel that he can dismiss the work of a large number of serious scholars for being 'trapped', as he sees it, in a 'miasma of post-modern relativism' (p. 197). No doubt this is where all the women are, since none of Hall's international orders are seemingly gendered in any way. No doubt this is where all the environmentalists are as well, since none of Hall's international orders have ecological consequences either.

Hall's lack of willingness to engage critically with those he cites seems to stem from his ideological commitment to liberalism and realism. We are told that 'any attempt to deal with the horrors that international relations can bring depends upon the possession and reaffirmation of the values of liberalism' (p. 197). We are also told that realism 'cannot be abandoned as long as the world polity remains asocial' (p. 30). Strong states embedded in an international society defined by liberal institutions are Hall's best hope for the world, it seems.

This 'realism/liberalism mix' is mainstream IR. As such, it is familiar stuff. Hall adds nothing to the disciplinary literature on the subject, in this regard. If anything, he detracts from it, since he makes the arguments one typically finds there sound considerably less sophisticated than they actually are.

Note that realism/liberalism is the position rationalist/pessimists take. Other assumptions about human nature lead to other analytic languages, like the globalism/liberalism we find rationalist/optimists preferring. The question then is: why should we accept Hall's assumptions about human nature as the definitive ones? I, for one, remain unconvinced they are.

Realism/liberalism of the kind Hall prescribes is also mostly a politico-strategic position. As a consequence, Hall is not able to take into account the full significance of the international political economy. Nor does he take into account (and this is curious for a sociologist) the significance of that concept of international political society that is not couched in statist terms. Nor does he take into account the politico-cultural context within which all of this proceeds. One comment to the effect that the 'supposed alienation and anomie of those in the advanced West' being 'far less general and less powerful than modern social philosophers imagine' (pp. 178–179) hardly amounts to a comprehensive analysis of the modernist project. Nor does it provide an adequate account of the international ordering practices of which this radical and globalising project is currently made.

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Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition

Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Dozema (eds) (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), ix + 294 pp.

Global Sex Workers is an important and landmark collection. Individual articles, personal accounts

and edited interviews with sex workers, other activists and researchers draw attention to the diversity of sex work and the complexity of practice; they draw attention too to efforts to establish or maintain the rights of sex workers. The contributions—24 chapters—offer cases from Cuba to South Africa, Cote d'Ivoire to Japan, in diverse settings where different legislation, surveillance and social attitudes pertain to sex work and sex workers. They describe a highly fragmented and varied industry. Always stratified, today the distinctions are not only of mistress, brothel prostitute and street walker, but between local and immigrant women who work sporadically in live sex shows, sex tours, escort services, image clubs, massage parlours, provide phone sex, or work as exotic dancers, lap dancers or bar workers. Economic disparity and raw poverty underpin their recruitment. Worldwide women are over-represented among the poor, and sex workers are more often than not single parents working to keep their small families intact.

The parallels in these diverse examples are illuminating and sometimes surprising. Consider two cases. Oumar Tandia describes the efforts to organise women in Senegal. Here there are no brothels *per se*, most women work independently on the streets or in bars, and there is very little communication among the Anglophone immigrant sex workers, predominantly from Ghana and Nigeria, and the local, Francophone, women. But these women share with each other and with women and young men worldwide the experiences of social marginality and powerlessness. They live in a world where police and client harassment is common, where links to their families may be tenuous and yet their incomes critical for family welfare, where their economic circumstances are fragile, their health compromised daily, and their access to health services limited.

Licia Brussa describes the work of a transnational STD and HIV/AIDS intervention project in Europe, established to help improve the work conditions and health and safety of immigrant women from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. Her account, while highlighting variety, also dispels notions that in parts of Europe women's working conditions are optimum. Immigrant sex workers often live in conditions of personal deprivation, their health and welfare compromised, their access to information minimal. In the Netherlands, for instance—a country often upheld for its liberalism—women may live and work in overcrowded conditions, sharing toilets, towels and sheets, paying high rent for windows, and working long hours for low pay.

Sex work reflects wider social and economic patterns of globalisation of labour, migration and commerce. Sex work across national boundaries is not new, of course, and the figures that are available are always questionable, as Alison Murray suggests when she challenges the statistics of the 'traffic' in women from Burma to Thailand. And as Marjan Wijers argues, not all prostitution is trafficking and not all trafficking is prostitution—trafficking covers the movement of people into various jobs in the informal sector, including the entertainment industry, domestic work, and sex work. However, global restructuring, changing economic needs, and global opportunities to migrate to work have increased over the past few decades, and there is evidence both of sex work migration and of changes in its scope, structure and organisation. Migrant sex workers, Kamala Kempadoo argues, are especially vulnerable to violence and coercion, their health especially compromised: the laws that prohibit and regulate migration and prostitution combine 'to create highly complex and oppressive situations for women' and to form major obstacles to those to protect women's rights (p. 17).

Racism complicates our understanding of sex work and women's ability to organise. Being an immigrant, of different race and ethnicity, finds its own market niche; clients draw on colonial stereotypes of the exotic other, as Amalia Lucía Cabezas explains with respect to Cuba. But these stereotypes may apply to any woman of colour or any woman who is assumed to be sexually active. A woman travelling alone, a single mother, a student, a tourist—all may be assumed to be a prostitute. The stigma that attaches to prostitution affects all women, therefore; the discourse on prostitution divides and controls all women.

The discussion above focuses on women, and this is very much the bias of the book. There are a few exceptions. Khartini Slamah's paper on transgenders in Malaysia draws attention to local contradiction: she contrasts the harassment and discrimination faced by transsexuals and the establishment of a transgender association through combined government and community efforts. Paulo Henrique Longo describes outreach work in Rio de Janeiro with young male sex workers, for whom part of the resistance to HIV/AIDS education was their extreme marginality and their reluctance to

be associated, even with respect to risk, with gay identity. Heather Montgomery draws on her research in Thailand with both young girls and boys, all technically free—that is, neither sold nor kidnapped—who lived in extreme poverty, who were painfully aware of the social stigma attached to sex work, and who fiercely rejected the label of child prostitute. These papers describe the added marginality of being transgender, gay or child, and the ways in which both local prejudice and international debates, often highly charged, affect the conditions of people who sell sex.

The volume provides voices from those who are rarely represented in debates about sexual slavery, debt-bondage, trafficking, organised prostitution, or choice. In the process the papers challenge many of our own prejudices and suppositions. The volume also represents alternative collective voices—the organisations that are the subjects of various chapters have contributed to and sanctioned the texts. In this respect, the volume is perhaps unique; the perspectives illuminating; and the lesson of the need for consultation and partnership between academics and communities is pointed.

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The Myth of the Global Corporation

Paul N. Doremus, William W. Keller, Louis W. Pauly and Simon Reich (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), xiii + 193 pp.

The last few decades of the twentieth century have been a goldmine for the compendium of spectators, commentators and participants whose bread and butter concerns the various processes and phenomena housed under the catch-all term of 'globalisation'. No word in the English language has been so abused, pulled in all manner of directions such that its meaning is both obtuse and its reality unquestioned. 'Globalisation', or any number of its compatriots like 'internationalisation', 'transnationalisation', 'integration' or 'convergence', is commonly held to be alive and well, transforming how and where we work, the types of goods we consume and from where we purchase them. Nationalism and the bounded rationalities embodied in concepts like the 'national interest', the 'national market' or the 'national polis' are increasingly dismissed as relics of an age rapidly passing. Media types, political élite and corporate barons now lord the new information moguls and hi-tech industries, standing in awe of rapidly increasing cybernetic trans-border flows and of the transformations this is wreaking on 'global society' and our collective sensibilities. The euphemisms need little rehearsal here. The changing of millennia is thought to be profound, shifting the locus of power from national assemblies to corporate boardrooms, where the loss of sovereignty over national domains is accounted for by the increasing transparency of borders due to the intangible nature of the financial and paperless products traded. Success, we need hardly remind ourselves, is now measured by how adept we are at plugging into the 'global marketplace' and becoming 'internationally competitive'. Lest we heed this advice history will leave us behind.

As any student worth his or her salt will tell you, at the forefront of this change have been multinational corporations (MNCs). If not the agents of 'globalisation', they are certainly perceived as one of its major instigators and beneficiaries, having grown in size, number, and influence. Enter the book by Doremus, Keller, Pauly and Reich, which confronts the globalisation debate head on. The premise is simple: the process of globalisation should be related to convergence, both in terms of national structures, but especially in the structure, function, activities and operations of MNCs. After all, if, amid the varied processes of globalisation, we can speak of any one entity as truly global, surely it is MNCs whose characteristics must to some degree converge around a similar pole, structured by the needs of the global marketplace, global finance, and the structural edicts of the new global-technological economy. As the authors note, 'The nature and extent of structural convergence in the economic realm should be highly sensitive to the global operations of MNCs. If national economies are pulling together and not coming apart, support should be found among the business vehicles that most prominently appear to be weaving tightening webs of interdependence' (p. 4).

The remainder of the study sets about responding to these postulates, engaging in an elegant, richly detailed, empirical investigation of the characteristics of MNCs. Focusing upon the ‘actual activities of multinational firms in technology and capital-intensive sectors’ (p. 7), the authors examine the variations between MNC activities with regard to strategic behaviour, corporate governance, and the domestic organisational structure into which MNCs are comprised. The evidence presented is striking, not for its diversity but ubiquitous character that is almost universally supportive of the conclusion that MNC activity is still defined by national proclivities or ‘corporate nationality’. The reasons for this are varied but generally situated within the character of (national) socialisation, tradition, habit, and domestic political concerns that shape corporate culture. Globalisation, at least as far as it affects the behaviour of MNCs, is thus filtered through national–domestic settings and adapted along lines that are dissimilar depending on the national context under consideration. German, Japanese, or MNCs from the United States, for example, have largely dissimilar risk minimisation strategies, and engage in vastly different types and methods of foreign direct investment (FDI). US MNCs, for example, tend to invest in the manufacturing and financial sector of the Japanese and German economies, while the Japanese tend to invest in the wholesale trade and banking sectors of the United States economy, and German MNCs tend to invest largely in manufacturing infrastructure in the US but very little in Japan (p. 119). Similarly, evidence also suggests that the characteristics of intra-firm trade is greatly dissimilar between Japanese, German and American MNCs, as are corporate modes of governance that tend to diverge along national lines. In short, national difference is endemic to the structure, functions, operations, and strategic practices of MNCs, with convergence little in evidence.

There is, of course, much more surveyed in this book and in such detail as to be highly commended. Doubtless, the book is destined to be standard classroom reading and will add substantially to the globalisation debate—hopefully tempering it with judicious reflection on the facts rather than rabid ideological belief.

There are problems with the book, however, perhaps only minor but nonetheless irritating. For example, why only a comparative assessment of three countries (USA, Germany, Japan)? Would the inclusion of data from the United Kingdom or France, for example, have changed the findings? And why so little reflection on the implications of the research findings? Chapter 6, for example, is remarkably brief, devoting only 11 pages to what should have been a triumphant march through the implications of the research findings for the globalisation debate and, more generally, for international relations theories, especially those that fall under the rubric of (neo)liberalism and realism. The authors, however, tend to be a little reticent to more fully address what their findings mean for neo-liberal images of world politics or, for that matter, corporate and business strategies. For me, it will take another volume to bring home to commentators, students, media types, and corporate executives that globalisation is often more imagined than real and the transformations it is supposedly bringing about in the world are less than first supposed.

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International Law and Australian Federalism

Brian R. Opeskin and Donald R. Rothwell (eds) (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997), xii + 379 pp.

The role of international law in the Australian legal system has increasingly become the subject of comment and debate in the 1990s. The reaction of the government to *Teoh's* case, the new treaty procedures providing for parliamentary and community consultation, and the High Court's decisions in *Mabo* and the *Kruger* ('stolen children') case, among others, have led to a greater awareness of the potential and also the problems posed by the relationship between the domestic and international legal systems. *International Law and Australian Federalism* adds to this debate by providing an edited collection of essays devoted to the role of international law in Australia. While the title suggests that

the focus will be on the difficulties encountered by a federal system of government in the international arena, in fact the scope of the collection is much wider.

Although not immediately obvious from the table of contents, the book is structured into a number of different parts (p. xiv). Chapters 1 and 2 provide a basic introduction by dealing with the challenges that federalism poses for the international legal order, and the relationship between international and domestic law. Brian Opeskin's introductory chapter establishes the background to the rest of the collection by indicating the difficulties faced by federal states in the international legal order. This is followed by Ivan Shearer's work which sets out the monism/dualism/harmonisation debate and compares Australian and English approaches to the transformation and incorporation question.

Chapters 3–6 examine the impact of international law on the three branches of government. Anne Twomey commences this section by examining the emergence of Australia in the international legal order in her chapter entitled 'International Law and the Executive'. Additionally, she makes reference to the recommendations of the Report of the Senate Legal and Constitutional References Committee, *Trick or Treaty?* (which have now been implemented). However, she expresses the view that the executive's power to enter into treaties should be further reformed to ensure greater accountability (p. 95). It is not surprising, given the title of the book, that the role of the legislative branch in the form of the external affairs power is dealt with by many of the authors. Don Rothwell provides a comprehensive analysis of s. 51 (xxix) and its role in the domestic implementation of treaties, customary international law, matters of international concern and also 'recommendations'. Despite detailed reference to the external affairs power in this chapter, Sir Anthony Mason and Geoffrey Lindell both return to this subject later in the collection. Bill Campbell complements this analysis of s. 51 (xxix) by examining the diverse range of factors which affect the implementation of treaties via domestic legislation (p. 132). This section leaves the reader with the impression that although the three branches of government have recognised the importance of international law in domestic law, they have not necessarily always acted on this potential.

Chapters 7–8 analyse two areas where international law has been particularly influential, that is, its role in the development of domestic law and the exercise of an administrative discretion. This second issue receives attention from a few of the authors: Shearer includes reference to *Teoh's* case and the government's reaction in Chapter 2, while Professor Allars returns to the issue in Chapter 8. Allars also deals with the impact of international law on other grounds of judicial review, such as relevant considerations and unreasonableness, as well as statutory interpretation.

The editors state that the remaining chapters take a broad view of the issues. In this section Hilary Charlesworth returns to the theme of the federal balance when examining human rights and Australian federalism. In this chapter human rights are contrasted with the rights of the states, the concerns of federalism being viewed as a 'glib and unpersuasive excuse for Australia's failure to implement fully its human rights commitments' (p. 280). The essentially legal analysis provided by most of the authors can be contrasted with Professor Galligan and Ben Rimmer's chapter on 'The Political Dimensions of International Law in Australia'. James Crawford concludes by providing an historical perspective on Australian federalism and international law and the implications for the distribution and separation of powers.

While much has been written on the relationship between international law and domestic law, the value of *International Law and Australian Federalism* lies in the provision of a number of different aspects of the relationship in the one volume. Despite the title of the book, it is perhaps surprising there is no explicit chapter dealing with the role of the states in international relations, this being subsumed within other topics. Overall, *International Law and Australian Federalism* is a valuable addition to the library of lawyers, academics and students who wish to understand the different facets of an area of growing importance. The book is well set out, each chapter providing a comprehensive analysis of the law on a particular issue. A detailed bibliography is provided at the back for those who want to delve further into the impact of international law on the Australian legal system.

Innovation and Transformation in International Studies

Stephen Gill and James H. Mittelman (eds) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xxii + 294 pp.

This collection of 16 essays is one of the best places to familiarise oneself with critical theoretical practices in international relations (IR) theory and international political economy (IPE). While dealing with a diverse subject matter, all the essays have common themes of structural crisis in contemporary world order, historical transformation, and most importantly, theoretical innovation which can be partly understood in terms of emancipation. All the contributors adopt a self-conscious *critical* approach concerned with unmasking and explaining the 'underlying structures and social forces and discourses that constitute political and social life, while linking these to the idea of political emancipation' (p. xv). Many of them derive inspiration from the spirit and works of Robert W. and Jessie Cox's pioneering of an alternative conceptualisation of the world. The editors rightly justify 'yet another book questioning dominant international theoretical tradition' on five grounds. The essays widen the 'canon' of theorists considered apposite to international or global studies, adopt an historical approach to looking at the central theme of transformation, explicitly consider the question of theoretical innovation, attempt to link theoretical practices with the notion of emancipation, and lastly, show how Coxian ideas are linked to broader research agendas in critical theory relating to the practical problems of 'our' times. The stress is on meaning and purpose of 'theory', its role in understanding historical experiences, its potential for being innovative, and the question of what ought to be the key agenda in contemporary theory.

Structurally, the book is divided into four parts, each preceded by useful introductions. Part I contains essays which look along the historical, theoretical and practical dimensions of a relationship between innovation and transformation and consider how a critical approach might contribute towards a renewal and a remaking of global political and social theory. In his essay, Gill stresses the importance of rethinking ontology. He argues that critical innovation mandates the construction of an *alternative global problematic* and requires a comparative historical perspective. Augelli and Murphy provide an interesting examination of Sorel's concept of a motivating social myth, which they contend, provided underpinning for Gramsci's theoretical framework. Falk critically appreciates innovative aspects in works of three prominent thinkers of 'critical realism' in IR—Carr, Bull and Cox—and throws his lot in with Cox to explain current trends in world politics. At the same time he accuses these 'critical realist' tradition makers of being 'agnostic on structural transformation' and suggests an alternative vision of 'rooted utopianism' (pp. 54–55). Pasha's essay is important in the sense that it introduces perspectives drawn from writings of a non-Western thinker—Ibn Khaldun. He plays with Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*asabiyya*': 'the spirit and social movement that informs the forces that give concrete potential to the development of a form of state (or political association)' (p. 2). He argues that Ibn Khaldun reinforces non-positivist emphases on holistic thinking arising from an awareness of historical embeddedness (p. 57).

Essays in Part II consider aspects of the reconfiguration and reconceptualisation of political economy in the age of globalisation by exposing its productive, ecological and social aspects. Bernard stresses the innovative strength of Polanyi's approach, while Helleiner discusses how Braudel's ideas may lead to innovative theoretical practices in political economy. Harrod argues that disciplinary specialisation and compartmentalisation often act as a constraint to theoretical innovation. One of the more stimulating essays is by van der Pijl, who explores the possibility of an imagined community of the progressive counter-movements as a response to transnational class formation. Apart from other things, he examines the impact of transformations in political economy and their effect on socio-political life; the question of the sustainability of present world order structures; and also the interface between technological changes and patterns of accumulation and legitimation.

Part III explores social and political movements that represent, in varying respects, moments of transformation, innovation and in some cases, emancipation. Each chapter critiques a certain type of theoretical-practical orthodoxy. Rupert critiques the orthodoxy of corporate liberal internationalism; Cheru the orthodoxy of the Bretton woods financial organisations' neo-classical approach to third world development; Persaud criticises the new racist realism of the right; Peterson critiques the dominant masculinist forms of representation and the forms of state they embody. Particularly

fascinating is Persaud's essay where he shows how Fanon's ideas of 'constitutive antagonisms' of global power relations are relevant even today for providing 'strategic counter-hegemony'. He points out how 'In International Relations realist theorising has served as a form of power/knowledge, thus "disciplining" theoretical practices in the field' (p. 170). Also interesting is Peterson's essay which looks at two related questions: why gender is so invisible in IR accounts; and how rendering gender visible, as attempted by feminist scholarship, can alter our understanding of today's crisis. She sees the contemporary structural transformation as a 'crisis of masculinity' (p. 199).

The concluding Part IV provides a series of reflections on aspects of the emerging world order at the turn of the century. Using a dialectical approach, Sakamoto considers the possibilities for globalisation of democracy. Rosenau develops what he calls a 'fragmentive ontology'. Strange argues for the need to pose new problems and questions to understand world order. The concluding chapter by Mittelman calls for 'a return to classical social theory to provide a perspective on today and tomorrow' (p. 203). He calls for a reconstruction of international relations theory based upon a trialectic between Marx, Weber and Cox. He identifies points of potential methodological confusion as well as some new directions in theory construction. He mentions determinism, dualism, Western centrism, reification and scientism as five 'common traps and confusions in thinking about future global order' (p. 249).

Given the valuable role feminist theories play in providing a critical edge to alternative understandings of international theory and practice, the book should have had more than one 'token' chapter on the theme. Also intriguing was the silence of the essayists regarding other major critical strands emerging in IR theoretical practices informed by constructivism as well as post-structuralism. Though I personally harbour scepticism regarding notions of Emancipation, I found the essays convincingly argued and reflexively authored. The book is recommended to all those students of global politics who refuse to take the dominant realist and liberal (with all their myriad forms) traditions as the *given* truth.

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Reimagining the Future: towards democratic governance—A report of the Global Governance Reform Project

Joseph A. Camilleri, Kamal Malhotra and Majid Tehranian (Bundoora, Australia: Department of Politics, La Trobe University, 2000), xxiii + 101 pp.

It is not commonplace to recognise the need for transnational and global authority structures and the reinvention of the institutions of democracy, but it is clear that there is a widespread recognition—in widely differing political circles—of a series of gross disjunctures between the essentially nationally-rooted *de jure* institutions of governance and the reality of economic, social, political, cultural and ecological processes that simultaneously structure and de-structure the lives of people both above and below the nation-state. *Reimagining the Future* is a summary report of the Global Governance Reform Project sponsored by an Australian university department, a Thai-based transnational research NGO, and a Japanese-funded Hawaii-based peace research institute.

The three authors bring together the result of work by an unusually broad and distinguished group of worldwide collaborators, focussing on three areas of needed reform: 'democratizing global governance, 'governance of global financial flows', and 'global peace and security'. In each case, there is a brief analysis leading to a set of concrete proposals for reform of global and regional multilateral institutions that aim to generate, within a relatively brief time frame, a series of interlinked changes that are both radical and, if not evidently politically feasible immediately, not completely utopian.

In barely a hundred pages *Reimagining the Future* more than achieves its clear agenda-setting task. It is written in clear and articulate prose, making it equally suitable in classroom discussions of globalization, global governance and democratic renovation, and in its even more important likely objective of stimulating informed public debate. Agenda-setting projects of this quality, whatever the

character of the particular analysis used and concrete proposals presented, have the admirable effect of establishing and reinforcing confidence in hope. It provides assurance that it is possible to disentangle the multi-layered and imbricated causes of global economic and political insecurity, and to propose comprehensible and comprehensive democratic reforms.

One of the book's virtues is its political-economy starting point: *de facto* global governance—though not global government—is already a reality as a result of the globalization of capital. This is understood as both a conscious corporate project, and as a longer-term economic and technological dynamic, which has resulted in a *de facto* system of global governance made up of a more or less *ad hoc*, unlegitimated, multi-layered system of inter-state treaties, international governmental organizations, transnational corporations, international non-government organizations of many stripes (from the Davos Foundation and the Trilateral Commission to Greenpeace and Amnesty International), and international criminal syndicates. The task, for the authors, is to provide a working blueprint of a *de jure* system of global governance. But, contrary to what Stephen Gill termed 'the new constitutionalism' epitomised by the failed project to establish the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, the authors' blueprint aims to provide *de jure* institutions of global governance with democratic foundations and to further the empowerment of global civil society.

In a brief and very clear summary the authors set out their recommendations on reforming the United Nations as a step towards global democratic governance, UN-level surveillance, regulation and taxation of global financial flows, and detailed proposals for reform and development of UN peace-keeping and peace-enforcing capacities. Any summary here would be necessarily incomplete. Suffice it to say that in each area there is a large number of proposals, all firmly institutional in character, and all worthy of consideration in the ongoing debate over UN reform.

Inevitably, with a large number of major institutional initiatives being recommended in a few pages, there are few which are more than outlined, let alone explicated and defended in full. (This is especially disconcerting in the first section on reform of UN governance.) That is in the character of agenda-setting. Equally the analysis underpinning the proposals is, again inevitably, presented in places in too summary a fashion. There are places where it may be possible to say that the proposals are unevenly developed (for example, the peace and security proposals are more detailed than the others) or where aspects of even current debates have not been alluded to (for example, no reference is made to the re-emerging calls for the UN's need for an independent strategic satellite intelligence capacity). But these are small beer.

This book—and the project from which it has been derived—is a good example of middle-range theorizing resulting in timely proposals for institutional changes that can be readily understood. It does not aim to explore the praxeological nuances of cosmopolitan citizenship and transnational political community in the manner of Andrew Linklater. Nor does it have the depth of vision of some of David Held's more extensive discussions of democratic global governance. For the most part this is not a bad thing—by and large the objectives are too different. It is only in the area of 'Democratizing global governance' that one feels that the authors' sights have been set a little too low. Concerned here to maintain a balance of democratic ambition and more or less contemporary practicability, the authors' admirable proposals including Security Council expansion and restructuring, and the introduction of a directly elected (with one vote-one value and electorates of 3–4 million) Peoples' Assembly, could have been supplemented by indications of another, deeper layer of global and regional democratic institution building, such as Held and others have outlined.

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