

inattentive. Lastly, there is at least one inaccuracy in the text: reference is made to the Egyptian leader 'Nasser's invitation to Turkey, in early 1951, to join a non-aligned pact' (p. 96), while in fact Nasser only assumed power in 1954.

In conclusion, whether or not one agrees with Bilgin's Critical Security perspective, *Regional Security in the Middle East* makes a valuable contribution by elaborating unheeded indigenous needs and perceptions of security in the Middle East; it has serious implications for US policies that '[confront] the symptoms rather than the cause' (p. 2) of insecurity in this region. Also, at a time when it seems that security in the Middle East is unthinkable due to the defunct Arab-Israeli peace process and the US invasion of Iraq, Bilgin's vision has a wide appeal for concerned academics and policy makers, whom the book openly invites to think creatively about a secure future for this conflict-torn region.

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DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENT

Lael Brainard, Carol Graham, Nigel Purvis, Steven Radelet and Gayle E. Smith, *The Other War: Global Poverty and the Millennium Challenge Account* (Washington: Centre for Global Development/Brookings Institution Press, 2003, 265 pp., \$19.95/£13.50 pbk., \$46.95/£34.00 hbk.).

William F. Felice, *The Global New Deal: Economic and Social Human Rights in World Politics* (New York, Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003, 278 pp., \$29.95/£22.99 pbk., \$82.50/£62.50 hbk.).

Inequality is a defining characteristic of global social and economic configurations. Darwin's 'survival of the fittest', rather than Smith's 'harmony of interests', best explains global capitalism and the processes, structures, and institutions that underpin it. Inequality, however, is a tricky concept to address, because those who are thriving in this unequal system are unlikely to relinquish their privileged position voluntarily. Those less able to compete are likely to suffer from lack of education, medical care, nutrition, sanitation, and housing, therefore limiting human potential and lowering life expectancy. Inequality between the sexes and races is likely to be more pronounced among the impoverished. Similarly, exposure to environmental degradation is likely to be more acute and prolonged in impoverished areas. Powerful groups within the

global economy, such as affluent consumers, states, and transnational companies have capitalised on these weaknesses through intention, neglect, or ignorance rather than remedy them.

The Other War and *The Global New Deal* seek to develop concrete policy prescriptions designed to counter the institutional inertia and failure to foster 'capabilities', which have condemned the world's underclass to languish. *The Other War* specifically discusses the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), which was formed as a response to President Bush's call for the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) at the UN Conference for Financing for Development in March 2002. More broadly, *The Other War* also highlights, in practical terms, the problems inherent in devising policies for international development aid. Potential institutional overlap between USAID and the MCC is also addressed because this may waste resources, undermine existing policies, or lead to 'Dutch Disease' as local economies are distorted. The relationship between the US Congress and Administration is also addressed. Given that Congress has 'the sole power to raise and support armies as well as to declare war [and] only Congress can authorise appropriate federal monies, including those for foreign aid' (p. 171) domestic and international power configurations influence the US foreign aid agenda considerably.

Historically, the US 'has for decades used foreign assistance as a political reward' (p. 152). USAID has been 'used to support local development efforts, but even for these programs recipient country designations often reflect foreign policy over and above need or performance criteria' (p. 153). In other words, reporting on the effective use of funds for development efforts has been weak or non-existent, because foreign policy has been the primary objective rather than qualitative or even quantitative development. Returns are measured in geopolitical outcomes rather than investment economics. The MCA, on the other hand, seeks to allocate development assistance on the basis of economic performance and good governance rather than whether recipients are 'political allies or strategic partners in the US war against terrorism [meaning that] the MCA would be protected from political interests and be the closest to a development purist's blueprint for aid that the United States has ever attempted' (p. 3).

The Other War is not a foreign policy book, nor is it overly concerned with theoretical models. Rather, it focuses on the pragmatics of how the MCC can best target development assistance, monitor performance, and create ongoing programmes rather than short term projects that will become self-sustaining over time. It explores the need for recipient countries to 'own' development programmes, rather than development assistance being donor-driven on political criteria. With this in mind sections of *The Other World*, such as Chapter Three, 'Who Should Qualify?', are somewhat technical. To qualify for MCC assistance, recipient countries must meet a broad range of indicators based on ruling justly, investing in people, and economic freedoms (p. 42-55). They must also comply with certain standards of data reporting and GDP per capita. Therefore, *The Other World* is orientated towards the demands and contradictions in practical policy rather than a normative approach.

The Global New Deal is also interested in the technical challenges of addressing the maldistribution of global resources. However, Felice's text, while conscious of avoiding utopian demands for equality, adopts a human rights approach. Felice follows Sen, in that human rights are seen in terms of capability building. Felice introduces his agenda clearly from the outset of his book. He aims to outline to students, in whom he has identified 'cynicism and despair', (p. 1) the means to counter an economic and political system dominated by corporate power. While *The Other World* seeks to outline pragmatic approaches to effective development aid through the meaningful application of MCA resources, *The Global New Deal* explores how human well-being and human rights are undermined by the economic and political structure of the global political economy and how, in practical terms, this can be remedied. As Roosevelt sought to advocate a New Deal to overcome 'market failure, to provide for public goods and to protect the most vulnerable' (p. 207) for the US in the 1930s, Felice seeks to develop a New Deal on an international scale for contemporary times.

The Global New Deal is 'student friendly' in form. The questions addressed in each chapter are introduced clearly, and there are useful boxes detailing key information. Yet, *The Global New Deal* is a sophisticated and succinct text. Felice's elaboration of inequality centres on the relationship between the global political economy and economic and social human rights with an institutional focus on the UN. ECOSOC is condemned as 'ineffective', (p. 209) and the UNDP is subject to inadequate tinkering (p. 209) rather than capable of 'strong, bold action' (p. 209) in the face of 'needless suffering around the world' (p. 209). To counter the static inertia of the UN, Felice suggests a UN Economic and Security Council similar to the existing Security Council to replace ECOSOC and shift the focus of international security away from international peace and towards international economic relations.

Subsequent chapters examine how issues related to the environment, race, gender, and military spending all inhibit the development of capabilities of the poor. Yet, distinctions such as race and gender are not necessarily clear cut. For instance, Felice notes that 'race, most certainly, cannot be understood simply in terms of skin color' (p. 128). Rather, racial discrimination is more about the exercise of power than it is about colour: 'differences in power give one group the ability to declare the less powerful group "inferior"' (p. 129). Felice also notes that, while 'most of the people of the world who experience a life of severe destitution are people of color' (p. 129), colour alone does not determine who will suffer. Gender also must be taken into account: most US citizens living in poverty are white, but these are mostly women and children. Multiple variables of social vulnerability can result in poverty; but the common denominator is lack of power or the ability to alter outcomes.

Chapter Seven of *The Global New Deal* critiques military spending. Felice challenges the American notion, which has dictated US defence financing since World War II, that the military budget can stimulate economy prosperity. Felice argues that the key purpose of economic activity is to create material well-being via consumer goods and

services. As military activity does not contribute to material well-being, it represents an economic cost and 'when defence activities take scarce resources, including research and development funds, from private investment, long-term growth is impeded' (p.193). This logic applies internationally, and Felice cites 'social neglect' on a global scale with the poor being hit hardest as militarism 'diverts scarce resources away from productive investment' (p. 196). He argues that under such conditions concepts of economic and social human rights become meaningless.

To conclude, the strength of both of the reviewed texts is that they avoid utopian or theoretically abstract interventions into the debate on global inequality. Instead, they offer concrete prescriptions on countering the technical problems of development aid policy and pragmatically address complex threats to human rights. Bleeding heart rhetoric does little to educate readers, improve policy, or enhance the prospects of the poor; these books successfully avoid that trap.

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Robyn Eckersley, *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2004, 331pp., \$26.00/16.95 pbk., \$62.00/£39.95 hbk.)

Michael R. Mason, *The New Accountability: Environmental Responsibility Across Borders* (London: Earthscan, 2005, 205pp., £19.99 pbk., £65.00 hbk.).

Robyn Eckersley's *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty* and Michael Mason's *The New Accountability: Environmental Responsibility Across Borders* provide timely explorations of the problematic relationship between liberal democratic state-society relations and environmental degradation. The underlying argument is that, in the light of the spatial and temporal dislocation and indeterminacy of environmental damage, the core assumptions of liberal democratic politics and sovereign statehood call for re-examination. In part, this involves a critical re-evaluation of those structures of governance and public spaces within which solutions to environmental problems are sought domestically and globally. To this end, Eckersley and Mason draw attention to the limits of democratic accountability in contemporary international relations and provide recommendations for the development of more environmentally sustainable, socially just, and democratic forms of politics in their respective works. Attesting to the various manifestations, multiple responses, and the political nature of the 'environmental crisis',