

Book reviews

and game theory), the author argues that these theories continue to promote hegemonic masculinities (i.e., ideal types of citizen-warrior and bourgeois-rational). She argues that while post-positivist approaches are marginalized in mainstream IR (and may only end up reproducing hegemonic masculinities [p. 116]), such approaches may offer an answer to incorporating gender.

Hooper proceeds in utilizing a textual analysis of *The Economist* to illustrate how masculinity is valued over femininity, and reinforces the gendered aspect of the field of IR, both in politics and economics (the IR subfield of International Political Economy, or IPE). As she notes, 'In the pages of *The Economist*, popular culture meets the academic world of IR very clearly and explicitly. Moreover, it is a particular section of popular culture, the cultural iconography of elite males, that is most clearly represented' (pp. 121-2). The magazine's advertisements, editorials, and articles focus on areas considered masculine and are, in fact, dominated by men: politics, foreign policy, economics and business, and science and technology (p. 129). Interestingly, the magazine has recently published articles about women, yet, Hooper argues, this illustrates the assimilation of women readers, not the challenge to the perception of elite males.

Hooper further illustrates the link between IR, gender identity, and globalization of the 1980s and 1990s. In particular, the process of globalization has led to a 'softening of hegemonic masculinities in the West' and 'global capitalist restructuring' (p. 156). Globalization witnessed a transformation of hegemonic masculinity that incorporated informality and the "feminized" cooperative style of management' (touted as the Japanese business model) (pp. 184, 186). Thus, the process of globalization has led to the co-opting of aspects of 'feminine' gender identity.

Overall, this book contributes to the theoretical development of international relations and is important reading for those interested in the challenge of incorporating gender into the field, as proposed by feminist scholars such as Hooper. This book will engage scholars interested in issues of gender identity and globalization, apparent in popular culture as illustrated by *The Economist*.

Kristen P. Williams, Clark University, USA

International ethics

Human rights horizons: the pursuit of justice in a globalizing world. By Richard A. Falk. London, New York: Routledge. 2000. 270pp. Index. £45.00. ISBN 0 415 92512 6.

Richard A. Falk, the Albert G. Milbank Professor of International Law and Practice at Princeton University, has devoted his scholarship and life's work to the advancement of peace, economic well-being, social justice, ecological balance, and positive identity. There is probably no other voice in the field of International Relations who, over the past forty years, has more consistently and eloquently argued for a normative, ethical approach to global politics. Falk's vision of humane governance provides a direction out of the 'realist' quagmire of endless competition, mistrust, strife and death.

In *Human rights horizons: the pursuit of justice in a globalizing world*, Falk elaborates this vision through the 'promotion of human rights as an integral aspect of global politics and law' (p. 1). Falk skilfully focuses on some of the foundational human rights issues, including the borderline between the promotion of human rights and interventionist/coercive diplomacy; non-Western attitudes towards human rights; the challenge of genocidal politics; group versus individual human rights claims; the redress of past grievances; and the conundrum of the right to self-determination. Falk's lucid analysis of these issues helps to clarify the opportunities and pitfalls confronting human rights fulfilment in the twenty-first century.

Falk doesn't underestimate the difficulty of human rights enforcement and implementation. He argues for the need to find a balance between contradictory pressures, including: claims of peace against claims of justice; claims of aggregate economic growth against claims of equity and environmental protection; claims on behalf of current human consumption against claims of fairness to future generations (p. 21). The 'right to self-determination' is particularly difficult. Falk explores the complexity of this right (chapter 6, pp. 97-125) and notes that a maximalist implementation of this norm would challenge the prerogatives of some of the largest and most

International ethics

powerful states (e.g. the legally and morally compelling claims of Chechnya, Tibet and Kashmir against Russia, China, and India respectively), generating serious risk of major warfare. Yet if 'only small and weak states are expected to uphold the right of self-determination, the most fundamental claim that in law equals are treated equally becomes a mockery' (p. 3).

Falk calls on the US to take human rights seriously at home. Human rights discourse in the US maintains a 'dangerous, outmoded deference to the autonomy of market forces and...refuses to acknowledge that homelessness, permanent joblessness, urban squalor, drug culture, crime, and the commercialization of violence are more than mere law and order problems—they represent a human rights crisis' (p. 90). Instead, the US sees human rights as applying to others, especially those in the South. 'Intervention on behalf of human rights resembles the Mississippi river, it only flows from North to South' (p. 60).

Throughout the book, Falk calls our attention to non-Western attitudes towards human rights and the 'geopolitics of exclusion'. Islam, in particular, is frequently perceived in the West with stereotypes that validate hostile behaviour and create adversarial relations. The result is the exclusion of Islam from international organization and from the human rights community. Falk argues that this geopolitical exclusion of Islam is real and has resulted in negative world order consequences (p. 153). Falk urges the international community to address the reasonable grievances of Islam, 'conferring and safeguarding rights of participation based upon civilizational identity' (p. 162).

Despite these challenges, *Human rights horizons* is a hopeful book. Overall Falk sees a general weakening of the ideological and structural obstacles blocking international human rights claims, which represents a 'sea change in the international status of moral concerns' (p. 204). Falk's clearheaded and sophisticated analysis provides a direction for the pursuit of justice in a globalizing world.

William F. Felice, Eckerd College, USA

Human rights and global diversity. Edited by Simon Caney and Peter Jones. London, Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2001. 173pp. Index. £39.50. ISBN 0 7146 5134 6. Pb.: £17.50. ISBN 0 7146 8161 X.

This is an important book. It is seldom that one is able to say that about an edited collection, but the articles here clearly tackle one of the most intractable problems in contemporary international ethics, and point out several promising avenues which might lead to its solution. The intractable problem is: How in the international domain ought we to think about individual human rights given the fact that we live in a world of diverse ethical communities?

In seeking an answer to this question, it often seems as if we face a stark choice between a *cosmopolitan* position, which asserts that we live in a community of humankind (nowadays often referred to as a 'global civil society') within which all people have human rights, or a *communitarian* one, which asserts that in the first place all humans are members of particular political communities (such as nations or states). Those who espouse this latter position argue that individuals may only be said to possess individual rights insofar as they are constituted as rights-holders in political communities of one kind or another. For many, it has come to seem as if the debate between the cosmopolitan and communitarian positions has reached a stalemate. Several articles in this collection offer promising suggestions as to how we might avoid this stalemate.

Chris Brown in an opening chapter evaluates the claim that we now live in a global civil society. He outlines the contours of this slippery concept and then makes the communitarian case that civil society exists only insofar as it has been nurtured and supported by states. Those who support the values it embodies ought to focus their attention on protecting states that make civil society possible.

Peter Jones in his contribution challenges our customary understanding of human rights ethical traditions which suggests that we have to choose between a rights-based ethical order and alternatives which are opposed to it. He argues that we ought not to see the human rights ethics as offering a first-level ethic in direct competition with other such ethics. Instead, he puts forward an argument suggesting we should think of a rights-based order as a second-level ethic that



The paradigm that lost its way
MICHAEL MCCGWIRE

SOUTH-EAST ASIA:

NICHOLAS J. WHEELER AND TIM DUNNE
on the new humanitarian interventionism

PAUL DIBB
assesses Indonesia's key security role

DAVID MARTIN JONES AND MICHAEL L. R. SMITH
identify the failure of 'ASEANology'

Putin's Russia: the issues and the people
MARTIN NICHOLSON

Fox's Mexico: peace and the Zapatistas
NICHOLAS P. HIGGINS

Martin Wight and the role of religion in international relations
SCOTT M. THOMAS

All is not well in the English school
IAN HALL

The 'English patient' retaliates
BARRY BUZAN AND RICHARD LITTLE

The West's role in Russian reforms
DAVID WEDGWOOD BENN

Aid, intervention and conflict management: an NGO view
ANDREW RIGBY