

The criticism of the case against the United States and of other similar cases is seen by the author as an 'anti-international' reaction (pp. 228–41).

Paulsson has a gift for presenting historical perspectives in a way which makes the reader appreciate the effects in modern doctrine and practice. The greatest merit of the book may be the insistence, underpinned by case law and doctrine, that there are universal standards of judicial process (*passim*) and that states are not free to ignore these standards by making unilateral declarations and formulating their own legislation, behaviour the author aptly classifies as 'neonationalistic' (pp. 228–31).

An intriguing argument is used to encourage small and weak states to take recourse to international adjudication; Paulsson emphasizes that such adjudications are not 'foreign' as we are all part of the international law-making processes (p. 29). This attitude may do some good in today's sensitive international society. The author thus shows a great understanding of the position of 'weaker states', a problem often avoided by other authors. This book is a model in terms of focus and disciplined presentation.

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**Law in the service of human dignity: essays in honour of Florentino Feliciano.** Edited by **Steve Charnovitz, Debra P. Steger and Peter Van den Bossche.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2005. 408pp. Index. £60.00. ISBN 0 521 85253 6.

This an anthology by some of Professor Feliciano's closest friends and colleagues (and some lesser-known people). There are 27 articles—which makes it impossible for a reviewer to comment on them all—divided into four parts. In Part I we find notes devoted to Feliciano's contributions to international law. Here, Michael Reisman, one of Feliciano's closest friends and associates, provides the first article on Feliciano's philosophy of the judicial function (pp. 3–13). Reisman reminds us of what Feliciano considered to be the qualities of the 'ideal' judge. Feliciano emphasized the importance of humility, learning, sensitivity to social values in the law and personal morality and integrity (pp. 4–5).

James Bacchus, the former chairman of the World Trade Organization (WTO) Appellate Body (as Feliciano had been), explains how Feliciano acquired his knowledge and Aristotelian way of thinking (pp. 14–21). Feliciano studied his father's five-foot shelf of 'great books'. Later, he encouraged others to learn from the classics, and especially Aristotle. In this more personal part of the book there is also a warm tribute from Rosalyn Higgins, now the president of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) (pp. 11–13).

Part II, which constitutes the bulk of the book (pp. 22–222), analyses the workings of the WTO. Some articles explain the mechanisms of the WTO, such as those by Julio Lacarte, a former member, (pp. 22–36) and John Jackson, a specialist in economic law at Georgetown University (pp. 29–43). Other articles written by present or former members or counsellors of the WTO Appellate Body concentrate on historical perspectives, for example the article by the late Said el-Naggar (pp. 58–75). Other scholars who have not served in the WTO system provide useful outside perspectives, for example Wang discusses possible future developments (pp. 222–37).

Part III discusses investment arbitration. The link with Feliciano is that he was an arbitrator at the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) and a well-known arbitrator in various other frameworks. The Francophone world is represented by Brigitte Stern, who has contributed a valuable article on the ICSID (pp. 246–60), and Laurence Boisson de Chazournes, who discusses the nature of WTO arbitration (pp. 181–201). Rudolf Dolzer also writes on investment and the ICSID (pp. 261–75) and an article by Sacerdoti (pp. 276–98) discusses arbitration under the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law.

The last part of the book is devoted to a very general heading: 'New challenges in international arbitration'. This does not fit the rest of the book well but there are some interesting articles on related subjects. Vicuna, the former president of the Administrative Tribunal of the World Bank, provides a survey of the contribution of administrative tribunals, Treves writes on the Tribunal for the Law of the Sea and Barbara Kwiatowski contributes an analysis of the *Cameroon v. Nigeria* case before the ICJ.

The scholar who buys this book expecting some discussion of the words in the title may be disappointed. A subtitle should perhaps have included the words WTO, investment arbitration and/or economic dispute settlement. There are some elucidating notes on the cover that the book will be of special interest to 'analysts of the World Trade Organization'. Furthermore, the calibre of the contributors varies greatly and some articles are extremely short and barely sketch what they set out to treat.

The merit of this book is the inside knowledge and prestigious standing of some of the contributors, especially those who have worked on the WTO Appellate Body. For anyone interested in the WTO and/or other economic adjudication processes this book makes excellent reading.

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## Foreign policy

**British foreign policy under New Labour, 1997–2005.** By Paul D. Williams, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. 212pp. Index. £50.00. ISBN 1 4039 1321 8.

'This book aims to provide a critical analysis of UK foreign policies under New Labour' (p. 4): critical in 'the Critical Theory tradition' in examining 'the constitutive role of ideas in UK foreign policy' and the 'discrepancy between words and deeds' (p. 5). Four main threads are identified as constituting New Labour's approach, and are often difficult to reconcile with each other: multilateralism, Atlanticism, neo-liberalism—'a strong although not unconditional support for neo-liberal principles of political economy'—and moralism, 'a commitment to pursue foreign policies based on more cosmopolitan (but unfortunately usually vague and unarticulated) foundations' (p. 6).

The chapters that follow examine three of Britain's 'key relationships', with the US, Europe and Africa, and five functional areas—foreign economic policy, defence (and the defence industry), international development policy, 'other people's wars' and Iraq. The critical focus on how closely words matched deeds works best in the section on the defence industry, where Williams contrasts early rhetoric on limiting the arms trade with continuing support for sales to doubtful regimes. It works least well on aid to Africa, with only a grudging acknowledgement of Labour's doubling of the aid budget, and the complaint that 'Labour's approach was reformist rather than revolutionary' (p. 152). He is harsh on Labour's record on humanitarian intervention, noting its preference for operating outside UN missions, pointing out that China has contributed more troops to UN peacekeeping forces than the UK, and condemning British non-intervention in Rwanda and Darfur. His critical bias leads him close to contradiction on Kosovo, asserting both that 'the UK played a subordinate role to the US' and that 'Blair's government did influence the shape of US foreign policy on ... the decision to threaten a ground invasion of Kosovo' (pp. 166 and 208).

There is more criticism than analysis in this book. Chapter after chapter lists what others (including this reviewer) have attacked New Labour's foreign policy for, with Mark Curtis the most frequently cited. But the reader is given little indication about how policy developed, or how far this was the outcome of Blair's personal moralism or of a broader government and party approach. We are told only that the 'frequent use of the military instrument abroad suggested that human factors and not just structures were crucial to understanding UK foreign policy' (p. 167). The disappointingly brief conclusions—six pages—come close to vulgar Marxism, highlighting the influence of UK firms and international bankers on Blair's government, while disregarding other domestic and international constraints. I found no reference to public opinion, to the domestic media, even to the Labour Party as a factor. The chapter on Europe has nothing on how the response of the French and German governments to British initiatives affected British policy, a passing reference to Italy, and no mention of Spain or the Netherlands. A critical analysis of how Blair came to have closer relations with Aznar and Berlusconi than with Schroeder and Kok would have explained aspects of Labour's foreign policy that are ignored here.

There is also too little about the evolution of Labour's foreign policy over the eight years covered. The chapter on Africa, for example, repeats the French government's resistance to cooperation with the British, but does not mention the joint Straw–Védrine tour of the region which reshaped the

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Review

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