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### Note to Readers

**United Nations University Press** publishes peer-reviewed works of high academic quality that address international policies and the issues facing the United Nations and its peoples and member states, particularly in the fields of peace and governance, development, the environment and sustainability. Most published titles are preceded by policy briefs which are geared towards presenting proposals in a condensed format to decision makers in both national and international settings with an interest in the aforementioned fields.

UNU Press is the publishing arm of United Nations University, an organ of the United Nations established by the General Assembly in 1972 to be an international community of scholars engaged in research, advanced training and the dissemination of knowledge related to the pressing global problems of human survival, development and welfare.

Complimentary policy briefs and sample chapters are readily available. For more information please visit [http://www.unu.edu/unupress](http://www.unu.edu/unupress).
Developing Countries and the WTO
Policy Approaches
EDITED BY GARY P. SAMPSON AND W. BRADNEE CHAMBERS

It is widely accepted that a well-functioning global trading system is a prerequisite for trade promotion and the development of developing countries. However, it is equally well recognised that the trading system has not worked to the advantage of many developing countries. In this regard, the Doha Development Agenda has failed.

Compared to just ten years ago, developing countries are much better informed with respect to trade negotiations. Also, they now comprise two-thirds of the membership of the WTO—an organisation based on consensus—giving them a new power and authority in future negotiations. For this reason, it is of critical importance for developing countries to have clear proposals for reform that are both ambitious and realistic. Only then can they constructively promote their interests in the coming years.

This book addresses the critical policy choices now facing developing countries with respect to trade policy. Experienced negotiators, scholars and trade officials from very different backgrounds offer policy prescriptions to secure a world trading system that will meet the needs of developing countries.

Gary P. Sampson is the John Gough Professor of International Trade at Melbourne Business School, Melbourne University, Australia, and Professor of International Economic Governance at the United Nations University Institute of Advanced Studies (UNU-IAS) in Yokohama, Japan. W. Bradnee Chambers is the Senior Programme Officer at the United Nations University Institute of Advanced Studies (UNU-IAS) in Yokohama, Japan.

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Part I: Market access

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The cotton initiative, Magda Shahin

The WTO non-agricultural market access negotiations: Opportunities and challenges for developing countries, Sam Laird

Trade in services and policy priorities for developing countries, Gary P. Sampson

Part II: Legal flexibility

Special and differential treatment: The need for a different approach, Constantine Michalopoulos

Special and differential treatment for developing countries in the World Trade Organization, Manickan Supperamaniam

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Developing countries and the reform of the WTO Dispute Settlement System: Expectations and realities, George Akpan

WTO negotiations on trade facilitation—Lessons for the future? New perspectives for and from the developing world, Nora Neufeld

ISBN: 978-92-808-1153-7; 346 pages; paper; US$32.00
April 2008
Well-functioning political parties are essential components of democracy. They organize voters, aggregate and articulate interests, craft policy alternatives, recruit and socialize new candidates for office, set policy-making agendas, integrate disparate groups and individuals into the democratic process, and provide the basis for coordinated electoral and legislative activity. But political parties in many developing democracies remain weak and underdeveloped, often being based around personal, ethnic or regional ties rather than national interests.

Today, with more states deciding their leaders through multiparty elections than ever before, many developing democracies seek to shape the development of political parties and party systems by regulating the way parties can form, organize and behave. Most of these ambitious initiatives and innovations emanate from new democracies rather than established Western examples. This volume examines this growing trend in conflict-prone societies towards promoting stable and inclusive political parties via political party regulation and engineering in developing democracies around the world.

Benjamin Reilly is Director of the Centre for Democratic Institutions and Professor of Political Science in the Crawford School of Economics and Government at the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. Per Nordlund, PhD, is Senior Programme Manager for International IDEA’s initiative on Research and Dialogue with Political Parties, Stockholm, Sweden.

Table of contents:

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- Party regulation and constitutionalization: A comparative overview, Ingrid van Biezen
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- Regulating minority parties in Central and South-Eastern Europe, Florian Bieber
- Political parties in conflict-prone societies in Latin America, Matthias Catón and Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla
- Party regulation in Central and Eastern Europe and Latin America: The effect on minority representation and the propensity for conflict, Jóhanna Kristín Birnir
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Conclusion, Per Nordlund
Making Choices about Hydrogen
Transport Issues for Developing Countries

EDITED BY LYNN K. MYTELKA AND GRANT BOYLE

This timely research discusses how developing countries can factor in competing arguments about the impending arrival of practical hydrogen fuel cell technology as they explore options for future policies.

Since the mid-1990s, the emergence of a hydrogen economy and the speed of its arrival have been vigorously debated. The debate has mainly been among policymakers and industrial or energy firms in the developed nations. Their policies, along with the technological competencies and competitive practices of related industries, have played a central role in shaping both the debate and the direction of technological change.

For developing countries the current debate highlights the uncertainties involved in making choices about hydrogen and fuel cells in transportation planning. Whether a hydrogen-based transportation system becomes viable sooner (by 2020) or later (2050 or beyond) is a key issue in their attempts to plan national energy, environment, and transportation policies.

There are still many significant problems to solve. Dominant designs for the production, storage, and distribution of hydrogen have not been established, and the performance of today’s hydrogen proton exchange-membrane fuel cells is not competitive with that of the combustion engine. However, costs are coming down, and the efficiency and durability of hydrogen fuel cells are improving.

Lynn K. Mytelka is a Professorial Fellow at UNU-MERIT in Maastricht, where she is Director of the Hydrogen Fuel Cell Project, and a Distinguished Research Professor at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. She formerly served as Director of UNU-INTECH. Grant Boyle conducted policy research on energy and the environment at UNU-IAS in Yokohama, Japan, before serving as Associate Project Coordinator of the UNU Hydrogen Fuel Cell Project from 2004 through 2006. He is currently completing a law degree at Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto, Canada.

Contents overview:

Part I: Hydrogen and fuel cells—An ongoing debate
Contributors include: Lynn K. Mytelka, Hisashi Ishitani, Yasuko Baba, Steven G. Chalk, James F. Miller and Gabriel F. de Scheemaker

Part II: Making choices about hydrogen and fuel cells for sustainable transport
Contributors include: Grant Boyle, Paulo Teixeira de Sousa Jr, Evandro L. Dall’Oglio, Michèle Sato, José M. Marta, Rodrigo Aleixo Brito de Azevedo, Célio Spindola, R. S. O. Samuel, Ibrahim Abdel Gelil and Ágúst Valfells

Part III: Hydrogen fuel cells and the global automobile industry
Contributors include: Masaru Yarime, Hideaki Shiroyama, Yusuke Kuroki, Maureen Appel Molot, Fatimah Kari and Rajah Rasiah

Part IV: Strategies and roadmaps
Contributors include: Remco Hoogma, Kevin Fitzgibbons, Ming Pingwen, Lun Jingguang, Lynn Mytelka, A. O. Adegbulugbe, Adeola Adenikanju, Abiodun S. Momodu and Boni Mehlomakulu

ISBN: 978-92-808-1155-1; 412 pages; paper; US$36.00
October 2008
The Business of Sustainable Development in Africa
Human Rights, Partnerships, Alternative Business Models
EDITED BY RALPH HAMANN, STU WOOLMAN AND COURTENAY SPRAUGE

This book is on the role of business decision-makers in sustainable development. It is an important read for academics, managers, and all students of business with an interest in the human and humane face of modern commerce.

The strategies pursued by business managers and decisions they take may have far-reaching impacts, good or bad, on communities and the environment. Especially in countries with severe poverty and weak governance, this can give rise to serious dilemmas. This book argues that a strategic, values-based approach, coupled with a willingness to innovate and collaborate, can not only help companies deal with such challenges but may even turn them into opportunities. The overarching themes of human rights, cross-sector partnerships and alternative business models are each considered in an overview essay in Part 1 of the book, and they are illustrated with much contextual flavour in diverse case studies in Part 2.

Although, importantly, this book focuses almost entirely on Africa, the lessons of the case studies and critical essays retain their salience for how business is and should be conducted around the world. The combination of conceptual discussion and illustrative case studies make this an important contribution on the changing role of business in the world today.

Ralph Hamann is Senior Researcher in the Environmental Evaluation Unit at the University of Cape Town and Associate Professor Extraordinary at the Sustainability Institute, Stellenbosch University, South Africa. Stu Woolman is a public law consultant with Ashira (Pty) Ltd in Johannesburg, South Africa. Courtenay Sprague is a faculty member at the Graduate School of Business and a doctoral student in the Development Studies Department at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Contents overview:

Forewords, Ellen Kallinowsky, Derick de Jongh
Prologue: Purpose and scope of this book

Part I
Introducing corporate citizenship, Ralph Hamann
Truly enlightened self-interest: Business, human rights and the UN Global Compact, Stu Woolman
Partnerships and cross-sector collaboration, Ralph Hamann and Fleur Boulogne
Alternative approaches to reaching the bottom of the pyramid, Courtenay Sprague

Part II
Section 1
Consists of five case studies with contributions from: Jonathon Hanks, Paul Kapelus, Ralph Hamann, Ed O’Keefe, Josef Seitz, Bastian Birkenháger, Cláudio Bruzzi Boechat and Roberta Mokrejs Paro

Section 2
Consists of five case studies with contributions from: Oana Branzei, Melissa Peneycad, Ralph Hamann, Judy N. Muthuri, Oonagh Fitzgerald, James Ng’ombe, Odette Ramsingh and Kris Dobie

Section 3
Consists of six case studies with contributions from: Ricarda McFalls, Courtenay Sprague, Stu Woolman, Oana Branzei, Michael Valente, Kevin McKague and Martin Hall

“At last! A book focused on the vital subject of corporate citizenship and partnerships in Africa. Written by a diverse group of scholars and practitioners, the book achieves an excellent balance of theory and practice, and offers insightful African perspectives within a broader global context. The authors have drawn valuable lessons from both large companies and social enterprises, and from internal management challenges and more systemic collaborative efforts. This deserves a prominent place on the bookshelf of anyone who is interested in business, in international development, or in Africa.”

— Jane Nelson, Director, Corporate Social Responsibility Initiative, JFK School of Government, Harvard University

ISBN: 978-92-808-1168-1; 384 pages; paper; US$37.00
November 2008
Institutionalizing Northeast Asia
Regional Steps towards Global Governance

EDITED BY MARTINA TIMMERMANN AND JITSUO TSUCHIYAMA

With the threat of a nuclear North Korea, constant tensions in the Taiwan Strait, and growing posturing over resource-rich territories, how can lasting peace, order, stability, and prosperity be achieved in Northeast Asia?

Globalization and China’s galloping economy have caused radically different economic growth rates, resulting in constant fluctuations in the balance of power among the nations of Northeast Asia. With new emerging threats to security as well as those posed by environmental degradation and disasters, the old concept of sovereign independence no longer offers satisfactory solutions for Northeast Asia. Alternatives are needed that provide more plausible answers to the region’s emerging challenges.

Institutionalizing Northeast Asia advances the notion of regional institutionalism as a counterweight to the principle of sovereignty. The contributors argue that cooperation through regional institution-building offers a better chance to deal with the growing intertwining of global issues and developments and the needs and interests at the regional and national levels. A stronger regional approach could also answer the demand for supra-territorial policy responses to such issues as trade, finance, the environment, human rights, and human security.

“This is a highly recommendable book, definitive as well as timely work on a most important subject.”
—Dr. Ra Jong-Yil, President of Woosuk University and South Korea’s former ambassador to Japan

Martina Timmermann is Vice President and Managing Director for International Projects of TIMA International GmbH. From 2004–2007, she served as UNU Director of Studies on Human Rights and Ethics in the Peace and Governance Programme in Tokyo, Japan and Bonn, Germany. Jitsuo Tsuchiyama is Vice President, Professor and former Dean of the School of International Politics, Economics and Communication at Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo, Japan.

Contents overview:
Introduction, Martina Timmermann
Part I: Institutionalization, regionalization and regionalism
Contributors include: Yoshinobu Yamamoto, Richard Higgott, Martina Timmermann and Baogang He
Part II: Institutionalizing Northeast Asia – Premises and prospects
Contributors include: Gilbert Rozman, Thomas Berger, Takashi Oshimura, Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, Shin-wha Lee, Seiichiro Takagi, Chiyuki Aoi, Tsutomu Kikuchi, Keisuke Iida, T. J. Pempel, John G. Weiss, Stuart Harris, Hiroshi Ohta, César de Prado, Tsuneo Akaha, Brian Ettkin, Brian L. Job and Paul M. Evans
Conclusion, Jitsuo Tsuchiyama

“This impressive volume brings together many leading experts to provide a collective portrait of the logic and future of Northeast Asian regional cooperation. The result is a wide-ranging exploration of the ways that the countries in this transforming part of the world are grappling with new forms of governance and order.”
—Prof. G. John Ikenberry, Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Princeton University

ISBN: 978-92-808-1156-8; 432 pages; paper; US$39.00
November 2008
The WTO and Global Governance
Future Directions

EDITED BY GARY P. SAMPSON

The World Trade Organisation (WTO) is mandated by governments to achieve full employment, a steady growth in real income, and higher standards of living for its 150-plus member countries. Its role is also to ensure the optimal use of the world’s resources in accordance with sustainable development. As a result, the WTO has greatly extended its reach into non-traditional areas of trade policy. This has taken place against the reality that the WTO is only part of a more global structure of international agreements with overlapping objectives and commitments, many of which now find their place on centre-stage at the WTO.

These commitments serve to shape domestic policy choices and constitute a principal feature of global governance. The WTO has a key role to play in determining the borderline between domestic policy choices and international commitments. While the extended reach of the WTO is lauded by some as one of the greatest achievements in international cooperation, others see it as anathema and an encroachment on national sovereignty.

What should be the role of the WTO in global governance? This book contains a variety of views of prominent people—all influential in their respective areas of international affairs—as to the proper role of the WTO in global governance. It explores the policy implications of WTO trade-related issues that overlap with other institutions and proposes future policy directions that could ensure coherent and consistent policies at the national and international levels.

Gary P. Sampson is the John Gough Professor of International Trade at Melbourne Business School, Melbourne University, and Professor of International Economic Governance at the United Nations University Institute of Advanced Studies (UNU-IAS) in Yokohama, Japan.

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Introduction and overview: Future directions, Gary P. Sampson

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The WTO, global governance and policy options, Sylvia Ostry
Enhancing the role of the WTO in global governance, Bert Koenders

Part II: Non-trade-related issues
Governing at the trade-environment interface, Daniel C. Esty
Promoting policy coherence in the global governance of trade and employment, Juan Somavia
Placing human rights in the Geneva consensus, Louise Arbour and Shervin Majlessi
Pharmaceutical patents and access to medicines, Celso Amorim

Part III: The importance of development
The WTO, global governance and development, Supachai Panitchpakdi
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Aid for trade and global governance: An ITC perspective, Patricia R. Francis
The future of the WTO and free trade, Ted Turner

Part IV: Dispute settlement and governance
Some thoughts on the WTO dispute settlement procedure, Mitsuo Matsushita
The Political Interests of Gender Revisited
Redoing Theory and Research with a Feminist Face

EDITED BY ANNA G. JÓNASDÓTTIR AND KATHLEEN B. JONES

“In the last two decades,” Anna G. Jónasdóttir and Kathleen B. Jones write in their introduction to this important new anthology, “two trends have characterised approaches to the concept of gender in political studies ... one strategically centering gender in social and political analysis and the other deconstructing gender.” Tensions between these trends led to an impasse in feminist theory, generating a “crisis in how to think about what we can do about gender, identity, or representation in the ethical/political sense.” In this unique collection of theoretical and empirical research on gender and politics, the editors push past this impasse, assembling contributions from an impressive group of international scholars providing varied accounts of the political interests of gender. Investigating different institutional structures and discourses, contributors to this multidisciplinary collection illustrate concretely how to bridge the gap between discursive (post-structuralist, semiotic, philosophical, etc.) and socio-materialist accounts of gender relations and politics.

Structured around three conceptual guideposts—“politics,” “interests,” and “gender”—this anthology demonstrates the continued relevance of these concepts in the context of a theoretical and material landscape in flux. Offering fresh models for theoretical and empirical research, the first five chapters of the book provide a theoretical framework for the collection, while the following eight chapters shed light on key concepts through concrete case studies of such topics as human rights, women’s movements, gendered labor markets, international monetary policy, equality policy, and queer politics.

Anna G. Jónasdóttir is Professor of Gender Studies in the Center for Feminist Social Studies at Örebro University, Sweden. Kathleen B. Jones is Professor Emerita of Women’s Studies at San Diego State University, San Diego, USA.

Table of contents:
The political interests of gender revisited: reconstructing feminist theory and political research, Anna G. Jónasdóttir and Kathleen B. Jones
Out of epistemology: Feminist theory in the 1980s and beyond, Anna G. Jónasdóttir and Kathleen B. Jones
Feminist questions, Marx’s method, and the theorisation of ‘love power,’ Anna G. Jónasdóttir
Empowerment, development and women’s liberation, Ann Ferguson
To teach ‘the correct procedure for love’: Matrilineal cultures and the nation state, Maria-Barbara Watson-Franke
Confronting power and politics: A feminist theorizing of gender in Commonwealth Caribbean societies, Eudine Barriteau
Men, power and the problem of gender equality policy implementation, Ingrid Pincus
Explanations of internal sex segregation in a male dominated profession: The police force, Berit Åberg
Queer citizenship/queer representation: Politics out of bounds? Sue Dunlap and Kathleen B. Jones
Injecting a woman’s voice: Conservative women’s organizations, gender consciousness and the expression of women’s policy preferences, Ronnee Schreiber
Women in movement: Transformations in African political landscapes, Aili Mari Tripp
European Central Bank, monetary policy and the ‘social Europe,’ Brigitte Young
Private pain/public peace: Women’s rights as human rights and Amnesty International’s report on violence against women, Gillian Youngs

ISBN: 978-92-808-1160-5; 256 pages;
cloth; US$94.00
ISBN: 978-92-808-1161-2; 256 pages;
paper; US$36.00

December 2008
“Most refugees, driven from their homes due to violent conflict or persecution, are in situations of protracted forced displacement, deprived of basic human rights for years and sometimes even generations. This excellent volume considers the causes and impact of this crisis and exposes the consequences that we face—across the broad spectrum of human rights, politics and security—if we do not respond effectively and humanely. It also points to policy ideas and prescriptions that should be considered seriously in the future.”

—António Guterres, UN High Commissioner for Refugees

ISBN: 978-92-808-1158-2; 410 pages; paper; US$38.00
November 2008

Protracted Refugee Situations
Political, Human Rights and Security Implications

EDITED BY GIL LOESCHER, JAMES MILNER, EDWARD NEWMAN AND GARY TROELLER

Over two-thirds of the world’s refugees are trapped in protracted refugee situations, struggling to survive in camps and urban communities in remote and insecure parts of the world. The vast majority of these refugees have been in exile for many years or even generations.

This is an affront to the dignity of millions of people, deprived of a range of basic human rights, and a failure for the international refugee regime. In addition, protracted refugee situations can be a source—as well as a consequence—of instability and conflict, as a driving force of ongoing grievances, instability and insurgency.

Protracted refugee situations constitute a growing policy challenge for the international refugee protection regime and a conceptual challenge to conventional security studies. Humanitarian agencies—such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees—have been left to cope with caring for these forgotten populations and attempt to mitigate the negative implications of prolonged exile. These actions do not, however, constitute a durable solution for protracted refugee situations.

This volume, bringing together a collection of eminent scholars and practitioners, presents a range of analyses and cases of protracted refugee situations. It explores the sources, nature and consequences of these situations, and the record of the international community’s attempts to find durable solutions. On this basis, the volume presents new thinking to address protracted refugee situations which incorporates security and development—as well as humanitarian—actors and attempts to reconcile the policy difficulties which have obstructed progress for many years.

Gil Loescher is a visiting professor at the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, UK and Emeritus Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame, USA. James Milner is an assistant professor of political science at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. Edward Newman is a senior lecturer in the Department of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Birmingham, UK. Gary Troeller’s recent appointments include co-chair of the Inter-university Committee on International Migration and visiting lecturer in the Department of Political Science MIT, USA. He is a former senior official with UNHCR.

Contents overview:
Part I: Themes and challenges
Contributors include: Gil Loescher, James Milner, Edward Newman, Gary Troeller, Eric Morris, Stephen John Stedman, Elizabeth Ferris, Mark Mattner, Amy Slaughter, Jeff Crisp, Arafat Jamal and Alexander Betts

Part II: Case studies
Contributors include: Michael Dumper, Peter Kagwanja, Monica Juma, Tania Kaiser, Mahendra P. Lama, Gil Loescher, James Milner and Ewen Macleod

Part III: Policy conclusions and recommendations
Contributors include: Gil Loescher, James Milner, Edward Newman and Gary Troeller
The Currency Transaction Tax
Rate and Revenue Estimates

RODNEY SCHMIDT

The Currency Transaction Tax (CTT) is emerging as a leading new financial instrument for governments seeking to raise large amounts of global, independent, and stable monies. These funds are needed for international development and projects addressing global issues such as public health and climate change. Key questions in developing the CTT are: what should be its rate, how much money would it raise, and how would it affect foreign exchange markets?

In this study, Rodney Schmidt exploits the fact that the CTT, which has not yet been implemented, is functionally equivalent in foreign exchange markets to the bid-ask spread: both are transaction costs. The immediate effect of a CTT newly applied would be to increase bid-ask spreads. To see how the tax would operate in the market, then, he examines statistically the historical relationship between bid-ask spreads and the volume of foreign exchange transactions. Based on this relationship, his goal is to identify a tax rate that can raise a lot of money without disrupting the market. He finds that, at a rate of 0.5 basis points (0.005%), post-implementation changes in spreads and transaction volumes would be well within normal experience. A CTT of 0.5 basis points would raise at least US$33 billion each year.

The CTT is a feasible new source of revenue for development and other global projects. It is safe and easy to implement, and can immediately raise at least US$33 billion of global, independent, and stable revenue each year. The CTT therefore appears to be the most immediate and effective new source of financing sought by the Monterrey Conference on Financing for Development in 2002, and, since then, by the UN and the “Leading Group on Solidarity Levies to Fund Development.”

Rodney Schmidt is Principal Researcher for Finance and Debt at The North-South Institute in Ottawa, Canada. He received his PhD in Economics from the University of Toronto, and worked previously for the Department of Finance and the International Development Research Centre, both of the Government of Canada.

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Full Participation
A Comparative Study of Compulsory Voting

SARAH BIRCH

Full Participation is the first book-length study of compulsory voting to be published in the English language. About a quarter of all democracies in the contemporary world legally oblige their citizens to vote, making this an important aspect of electoral systems in many settings. Moreover, numerous commentators and policy-makers in voluntary voting states are coming to see mandatory attendance at the polls as an attractive option in the context of declining turnout. Yet we know relatively little about this practice beyond its effects on rates of electoral participation; there has been a dearth of systematic examination of the way in which compulsory voting shapes attitudes, behaviour and outcomes of the political process. This book seeks to fill that gap by providing a comprehensive description, analysis and evaluation of compulsory voting as it is practiced throughout the world.

Specifically, the study systematically examines the history of the institution, the normative arguments for and against it, and the influence it has on a range of political phenomena. These include electoral campaigns, political attitudes, electoral integrity and legitimacy, policy outcomes, and turnout. The book also considers the feasibility of introducing compulsory voting in a contemporary democracy, as well as variations on the institution designed to broaden its appeal.

Full participation will be of interest to a wide range of readers, from ordinary citizens who take an interest in public affairs to political commentators, policy-makers and academic researchers.

Sarah Birch is Reader in Politics at the University of Essex, UK.

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Normative arguments for and against compulsory voting
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Compulsory voting and electoral turnout
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Conclusion
**World Religions and Norms of War**

EDITED BY VESSELIN POPOVSKI, GREGORY M. REICHBERG AND NICHOLAS TURNER

Recent armed conflicts—domestic and international—have drawn fresh attention to age-old questions concerning when war can be justified, and what methods and targets are permissible during war. Over more than two millennia, the world’s leading religious traditions—Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam—have provided guidance in these contested domains. This volume examines how the religions have responded to pressing moral challenges such as offensive and defensive war, the protection of noncombatants, asymmetric tactics, terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction.

Written by an international team of distinguished specialists in their respective traditions, *World Religions and Norms of War* takes the reader on a unique journey through the evolution within the major world religions of attitudes and teachings related to the ethics of war. It systematically explores the historical roots and interpretations of norms within these traditions, linking them to the challenges of modern warfare. This combination of deep historical analysis and application to contemporary issues provides valuable insight, and even prompts us to rethink our understanding of the role and influence of religion in the state and politics.

**Vesselin Popovski** is Senior Academic Programme Officer and Director of Studies on International Order and Justice, Peace and Governance Programme, United Nations University, Tokyo, Japan. **Gregory M. Reichberg** is Senior Researcher and Programme Leader, Ethics, Norms and Identities Programme, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway. **Nicholas Turner** is Academic Programme Associate, Peace and Governance Programme, United Nations University, Tokyo, Japan.

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May 2009*
The Rise of Bilateralism
Comparing American, European and Asian Approaches to Preferential Trade Agreements

KENNETH HEYDON AND STEPHEN WOOLCOCK

As multilateral negotiations become increasingly complex and protracted, preferential trade agreements have become the centrepiece of trade diplomacy, pushing beyond tariffs into deep integration and beyond regionalism into a web of bilateral deals, raising concerns about coercion by bigger players.

This study examines American, European and Asian approaches to preferential trade agreements and their effect on trade, investment and economic welfare. It draws on the rich field of theoretical works, but also fills a gap in the literature by examining in detail the actual substance of agreements negotiated and envisaged.

With bilateralism in trade driven by foreign policy, environmental and social concerns, as well as market access objectives, the key question today is not preferential agreements or multilateralism, but how the various negotiating forums interact. This volume argues that preferential agreements can complement the multilateral system but only if that system is strong enough to continue to reduce barriers to trade and strengthen rules and so limit the distorting effects of bilateralism.

Kenneth Heydon is a visiting fellow at the London School of Economics and a former deputy director for trade at the OECD. Stephen Woolcock is a lecturer at the London School of Economics and an associate fellow at the United Nations University—Comparative Regional Integration Studies in Brugge, Belgium.

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  Key findings and looking ahead
The United Nations and Nuclear Orders

EDITED BY JANE BOULDEN, RAMESH THAKUR AND THOMAS G. WEISS
WITH A FOREWORD BY JAYANTHA DHANAPALA

Recent tensions surrounding the nuclear ambitions of North Korea and Iran, as well as the shocking revelations of A.Q. Khan’s atomic bazaar, have drawn attention to the role of the United Nations in addressing a host of nuclear challenges. Yet the world organization’s role has largely been absent from both scholarly and policy research. The United Nations and Nuclear Orders fills this void by shedding light on the past, present, and future roles of the UN in responding to the threats and challenges posed by nuclear weapons.

This book brings together a world-class team of authors to examine UN actors, tools and issues associated with the changing nature of the environment in which it operates; the ways in which it has and might respond to technological and political problems; and the questions and difficulties that arise for the world organization. Issues covered in the book include doctrinal questions on the use of force, the regional dynamics of nuclear proliferation, and the growing concern that the nuclear order established by the Non-Proliferation Treaty may collapse or simply be overtaken by events.

Jane Boulden holds a Canada Research Chair in International Relations and Security Studies at the Royal Military College of Canada. Ramesh Thakur, former UN Assistant Secretary-General, is Foundation Director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs and Distinguished Fellow of the Centre for International Governance Innovation in Waterloo, Canada. Thomas G. Weiss is Presidential Professor of Political Science at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York, USA and Director of the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies.

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Human Insecurity in East Asia

EDITED BY MICHIO UMEGAKI, LYNN THIESMEYER, AND ATSUSHI WATABE

Threats to human security do not necessarily take cataclysmic forms such as war or natural disaster. Nor does human insecurity exist solely within a suspended living environment like refugee camps. Often threats to human security are as subtle as a slow-rising tide, whose calamitous nature remains unknown till it breaks as a monstrous flood. The essays in this volume call attention to these less obvious threats to human security and how people and communities face them. Woven from the first-hand observations of life at various sites in East Asia, the narratives in these essays illuminate how uncanny the threats to human security can be.

East Asia, no stranger to regional wars or major natural disasters, is also known as the best performer in the United Nations poverty reduction program. The essays in this volume explore the interior of this dynamic and vibrant region and examine ordinary life as it illustrates the ubiquitous subtlety and obvious threats to safe and secure life.

Michio Umegaki is Professor of the Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University. Lynn Thiesmeyer is Professor of the Faculty of Environmental Information, Keio University. Atsushi Watabe is Research Fellow at the Institute for Global Environmental Strategies.

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Unintended Consequences of Peacekeeping Operations
EDITED BY CHIYUKI AOI, CEDRIC DE CONING AND RAMESH THAKUR

This volume is one of the first attempts to improve our understanding of unintended consequences of peacekeeping operations by bringing together field experiences and academic analyses. The book investigates unintended consequences of peacekeeping operations on individuals and groups of individuals, on the host society and economy, and on the troop-contributing countries. It also analyses the degree to which the United Nations has tried to manage some of these side-effects, as well as the United Nations’ accountability in the context of the international legal framework. The aim of the book is not to discredit peace operations but rather to improve the way in which such operations are planned and managed.

312 pages; paper; US$34.00 2007

War in Our Time
Reflections on Iraq, Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction
RAMESH THAKUR

Uniquely in the 62-year history of the United Nations, Ramesh Thakur was given and exercised the latitude to write for public consumption on the contested topics of the day, making it clear that he was expressing his personal opinion. This book brings together a collection of Dr Thakur’s opinion articles from a number of newspapers around the world: The Australian, The Canberra Times, The Daily Yomiuri, The Globe and Mail, The Hindu, The International Herald Tribune and The Japan Times, plus one article from the UN Chronicle. The book’s three topics—the Iraq war, the war on terror and weapons of mass destruction—are among the most critical issues of our times.

210 pages; paper; US$20.00 2007

Reconstituting Korean Security
A Policy Primer
EDITED BY HAZEL SMITH

The classic national security concerns of nuclear proliferation and the production, sale and use of weapons of mass destruction cannot be addressed in the Korean peninsula without at the same time considering the implications and inter-relationship of what are these days known as the human security issues of food, poverty and, perhaps more controversially, freedom. East Asia and the world are more dangerous with the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) in possession of nuclear weapons. However, a comprehensive security analysis must identify many equally significant threats to regional security, such as the risk from industrial and nuclear accidents and the potential for transborder crime arising from the lack of legal and productive avenues for economic activity for North Korea’s poverty-stricken citizens. This book shows that, in Korea, soft security issues are as important as hard security matters and that the latter cannot be understood, or its dilemmas unravelled, without a clear engagement with the former.

302 pages; paper; US$34.00 2007
Recently Published

Atrocities and International Accountability
Beyond Transitional Justice
EDITED BY EDEL HUGHES, WILLIAM A. SCHABAS AND RAMESH THAKUR

Rebuilding societies where conflict has occurred is rarely a simple process; but where conflict has been accompanied by gross and systematic violations of human rights the procedure becomes fraught with controversy.

The traditional debate on ‘transitional justice’ sought to balance justice, truth, accountability, and peace and stability. The appearance of impunity for past crimes undermines confidence in new democratic structures and casts doubt upon commitments to human rights. Yet the need to consolidate peace sometimes resulted in reluctance on the part of authorities—both local and international—to confront suspected perpetrators of human rights violations, especially when they were a part of the peace process. Experience in many regions of the world therefore suggested a trade-off between peace and justice.

However, there is a growing consensus that some forms of justice and accountability are integral to—rather than in tension with—peace and stability. This volume considers whether we are truly going beyond the ‘transitional justice’ debate.

ISBN 978-92-808-1141-4
300 pages; paper; US$32.00 2007

Trafficking in Humans
Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions
EDITED BY SALLY CAMERON AND EDWARD NEWMAN

This volume aims to deepen understanding of the social, economic and political contexts of human trafficking: the recruitment and transportation of human beings through deception and coercion for the purposes of exploitation. Upon this basis, the volume considers whether an understanding of these underlying factors—what may be called ‘structural’—can inform policy discussion as well as strategic interventions regarding the fight against trafficking. Trafficking, generally, occurs from poorer to more prosperous countries and regions. However, it is not necessarily the poorest regions or communities which are most vulnerable to trafficking, and so the volume seeks to identify the factors which explain where and why vulnerability increases. At the same time, modern forms of transportation and communication have aided the movement of people and also enabled transnational organized crime groups and trafficking rings to exploit vulnerable people for profit.

The volume includes experts with great experience of trafficking issues and it also gives a voice to ‘critical’ views which argue that trafficking challenges are inseparable from broader debates about human rights and migration. Indeed, whilst the idea of protecting the human rights of victims is uppermost, protecting the human rights of people to seek a living and make decisions for themselves regarding migration is also important. The volume thus avoids simplifying those who have been trafficked as disempowered victims.

284 pages; paper; US$34.00 2008

National Interest and International Solidarity
Particular and Universal Ethics in International Life
EDITED BY JEAN-MARC COICAUD AND NICHOLAS J. WHEELER

Taking as its point of departure the perennial tension between particular and universal ethics in international society, this book seeks to explore and understand the motivations of actors in different international contexts where national interests and solidarity concerns intersect. Focusing on a range of regional cases, where it is not evident from a traditional national interest point of view why outside actors would choose to intervene, the book evaluates the respective weight of national interest and internationalist (solidarity) considerations.

Ultimately, while classical national interest considerations remain to this day a powerful motivation for power projection, the book shows how an enlightened conception of national interest can encompass solidarity concerns, and how such a balancing of the imperatives of both national interest and solidarity is the major challenge facing decision-makers.

ISBN 978-92-808-1147-6
300 pages; paper; US$36.00 2008
Institutions and the Interplay of Biosafety and Trade

Edited by Oran R. Young, W. Bradnee Chambers, Joy A. Kim and Claudia Ten Have

International institutions and the consequences of their interplay are emerging as a major agenda item for research and policy. As governments enter into an ever-increasing number of international agreements, questions arise about the overlap of issues, jurisdiction and membership. Of particular interest to practitioners and analysts is how this mélange of institutions at the international level intersects and interrelates to influence and affect the content, operation, performance and effectiveness of a specific institution, as well as the functioning of the overall global governance context. Biosafety, which is an issue that is relevant to numerous institutions, offers an excellent case study for exploring and applying interplay in practical terms.

200 pages; paper; US$30.00 2008

Interlinkages and the Effectiveness of Multilateral Environmental Agreements

W. Bradnee Chambers

In recent years there has been growing awareness that a major reason for the worsening global environment is the failure to create adequate institutional responses to fully address the scope, magnitude and complexity of environmental problems. Much of the criticism directed at the global institutions has focused on the necessity for greater coordination and synergism among environmental institutions, policies and legal instruments, and the need for approaches that take better account of the inter-relationships between ecological and societal systems. This book seeks to fill the gap in knowledge and policy-making that exists, particularly in international law. In the course of doing so, it examines the essence of the assumptions made about interlinkages and multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs), provides a framework for measuring the effectiveness of MEAs and shows how the effectiveness of MEAs can be improved by interlinkages. Moreover, it demonstrates how MEAs that cooperate with treaties outside the environment in other sectors of sustainable development can improve their effectiveness.

ISBN 978-92-808-1149-0
252 pages; paper; US$34.00 2008

No Entry Without Strategy

Building the Rule of Law under UN Transitional Administration

Carolyn Bull

For international actors seeking to consolidate peace and democracy in disrupted states, the importance of establishing the rule of law is now well-recognised. Yet this goal has proven frustratingly elusive. UN peace operations have struggled to ensure lasting security against violence and to build legitimate structures to redress disputes peacefully. It has proven even harder to instill principles of governance that promote accountability to the law, protect against abuse and generate trust in the state.

In championing such goals, UN state-building missions have pitched against the odds. Beyond the complicated tasks of reforming laws, judiciaries and police forces, UN actors have confronted a fundamental dilemma: if embedding the rule of law rests on complex political and social transformations regarding conflict, power and the state, can external actors make a difference?

This book investigates the challenges faced by UN transitional administrations in establishing the rule of law in Cambodia, Kosovo and East Timor. In so doing, it explores conceptual understandings of the UN’s state-building agenda and speaks to broader questions about the role of external actors in disrupted states.

360 pages; paper; US$35.00 2008
Climate Change in Asia
Perspectives on the Future Climate Regime
EDITED BY YASUKO KAMEYAMA, AGUS P. SARI, MOEKTI H. SOEJACHMOEN AND NORICHIKA KANIE

Looking beyond the Kyoto Protocol’s first containment period, an intense and growing international debate over the future climate change regime has emerged. Countries in Asia have particularly high stakes in this regime given the region’s high population, growing greenhouse gas emissions, burgeoning economies and vulnerabilities to the impact of climate change. Limited capacity, however, has hampered the participation of many Asian countries in the international debate.

This book is the result of a two-year study of domestic institutional processes in Asia to address climate change issues, national circumstances that impede countries from fully participating in the international debate and elements of a plausible climate regime from an Asian perspective. It serves to identify the institutional dimensions of climate change and, importantly, identifies linkages between climate change and sustainable development.

ISBN 978-92-808-1152-0
260 pages; paper; US$34.00 2008

International Water Security
Domestic Threats and Opportunities
EDITED BY NEVELINA I. PACHOVA, MIKIYASU NAKAYAMA AND LIBOR JANSKY

Water is essential for all aspects of life. Managing water is a challenging task, particularly in shared water basins that host more than half of the world’s population. National sovereignty and security considerations have long constrained the reasonable, equitable and sustainable utilization of international water courses. With post-Cold War democratization and globalization on the rise, domestic actors have an increasingly important role to play in national decision-making and traditional foreign policy debates.

This volume explores both these threats and opportunities through the presentation of case studies that analyze the multi-faceted and dynamic nature of the interplay between domestic and international water security.

308 pages; paper; US$35.00 2008

Institutional Change and Economic Development
EDITED BY HA-JOON CHANG

The issue of institutional development has come to prominence during the last decade or so. During this period, even the IMF and the World Bank, which used to treat institutions as mere ‘details’, have come to emphasize the role of institutions in economic development. However, there are still some important knowledge gaps that need to be filled before we can say that we have a good grip on the issue of institutions and economic development, both theoretically and at the policy level. This book is an attempt to fill these gaps.

While arguing there is no set formula for institutional development, this book will assist developing countries to improve their institutions by providing sophisticated theoretical discussions and helpful policy ideas based on real-life cases.

330 pages; paper; US$38.00 2007
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