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On: 06 October 2012, At: 03:37

Publisher: Routledge

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Cambridge Review of International Affairs

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ccam20>

Can globalization promote human rights?

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Version of record first published: 05 Oct 2012.

To cite this article: Nicole Janz (2012): Can globalization promote human rights?, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 25:3, 482-484

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2012.706927>

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up more closely with literatures on network governance, resilience or even corporatism. Also, some of the conceptual and methodological discussions could have been pushed further. The question arises, for example, to what extent the new security role of multinational companies such as Maersk or Procter & Gamble contrasts with that of local businesses or non-business civil society actors. Similarly, the concluding normative discussion about the democratic implications of the supervision state deserves longer treatment, and the question of how governments themselves adjust and respond—in a third step so to say—to companies' uses of the new governmental risk narratives is sufficiently important to warrant further examination as well. However, these issues do not diminish the book's strong contribution to the ongoing debate on contemporary risk politics. With its accessible examination of the recruitment of private actors for national security and its thorough problematization of the emergent new public-private partnerships, the book is a highly recommended reading for critical security scholars and all those interested in the ongoing reconfiguration of governmental authority.

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Rhoda E Howard-Hassmann, *Can globalization promote human rights?*, University Park, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010, ISBN13 9780271037394 (pbk), 200 pp

While there is general consensus about several political determinants of human rights, such as conflict, population size and democracy level, the role of globalization is still disputed. On the one hand, transnational corporations (TNCs)—and their investments—have been criticized for abusing cheap labour, exploiting local resources and supporting repressive regimes in the developing world. On the other hand, globalization can bring new technologies, jobs and economic growth, which can improve overall living standards and foster human rights protection.

In the past, the scholarly debate on these issues has often suffered from vague assumptions and conflicting empirical results. Rhoda Howard-Hassmann's *Can globalization promote human rights?* is a valuable contribution to the debate because it strives to disentangle both mechanisms and arguments. With great attention to detail, the author shows that there are 'no simple ways to predict globalization's probable effects on human rights' (3).

After describing how globalization and neoliberal capitalism have transformed the world, one chapter each is devoted to discussing two complex, opposing

models: first, the positive impact of long-term foreign direct investment on human rights and, second, the negative impact of 'hot money' short-term investments.

The first ideal-type model (chapter 4), about the positive effects of foreign direct investment (FDI) on human rights, is roughly based on the historical development of Western Europe and North America. In this model, TNCs and their productive investments improve the rule of law, create employment and, in the long run, foster the establishment of a middle class, which then demands the protection of civil rights and political freedoms. More specifically, workers in the modern, industrialized sectors organize in trade unions and push for better wages and unemployment benefits. At the same time, employees and corporations pay taxes, which leads to higher government revenues and capacities to fulfil social and economic rights.

The analysis of the second model (chapter 5) draws lessons from the 1997 Asian economic meltdown and discusses how 'get-rich-quick financial transactions' (50) can have negative effects on human rights. Here, TNCs invest only for the short term and are ready to withdraw their capital should a crisis occur. The model builds on this logic, showing mainly the negative consequences of capital flight and disinvestment: a decline of job opportunities, lower tax revenues and government spending capacity, a decline of the middle class and general distrust within society. Through different channels, this leads to less political freedoms granted to citizens (civil and political rights), as well as less expenditures on health care, education, and so on (social and economic rights).

The two models are complex and provide more theoretical depth than previous articles on the topic. The author shows persuasively how two different aspects of globalization (FDI versus 'hot money') can impact human rights in a positive and negative way. Especially valuable are figures 4.1 and 5.1, which both show extensive systemic links between globalization, the rule of law, education, jobs, civil society and many more factors that can have a positive or negative outcome on human rights.

Within the two models, the book differentiates between the effects of globalization on civil and political rights versus economic, social and cultural rights. This is crucial because the right to free speech or free press (civil and political rights), for example, might have different determinants than the right to health or education (economic and social rights). In previous work on FDI and human rights this distinction has not always been made.

To advance theory further, however, it would have been useful to investigate within each model the opposite effects of globalization with equal scrutiny. For example, it has long been disputed whether FDI has positive or negative effects, but model 1 only discusses positive effects. Model 2 uses capital flight as the basis for negative effects, even though short-term investment does not necessarily always come with immediate disinvestment, and could have positive effects as well.

The final chapters discuss other, broader aspects of human rights protection in a globalized world, such as the role of human rights law, corporate social responsibility and voluntary standards, for instance in the mining industry. The author also puts emphasis on the role of civil society in driving human rights protection. Ultimately, the book states, democracies are the solution for better human rights protection.

While the final chapters contribute to the general discussion about governance and human rights, what is most valuable are the theoretical models with their

systematic account of possible impacts of globalization on human rights. They are an inspiring basis for empirical work on FDI and its effects, since the exact links between globalization and human rights are still not established. Future empirical research can build on the book in three main ways. First, future studies need to follow the author's suggestion to make a distinction between civil and political rights versus social and economic rights. Second, the two different models show that foreign investment is a heterogeneous phenomenon and that long-term investment can have different effects than short-term cash flows. This heterogeneity could, third, be taken further by disaggregating FDI into industry sectors to examine its various effects on human rights. By building a theoretical framework for such empirical research, the author provides an important contribution to the fields of human rights, development and international political economy.

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Henry Kissinger, *On China*, New York, Penguin Press, 2011, ISBN10 15 94202710, ISBN13 9781594,202711 (hbk), 608 pp

There are few contemporary issues more pressing than America's relationship with China. In a work equal parts memoir, historical analysis and policy agenda, Henry Kissinger's new book, *On China*, provides a balanced and practical analytical framework for understanding the often cryptic nature of Sino-US relations. Drawing on his extensive experience in the world of American foreign policy making, Kissinger sets out to compare and contrast the 'conceptual way' (xv) the United States and China approach problems of 'peace, war, and international order' (xv). The author argues that the 'recent and ancient history' (3) of a rapidly rising China has consistently shaped its foreign policy and attitude towards the West, and that any attempt to understand China's contemporary diplomacy must begin with a 'basic appreciation of the traditional context' (3). Although for Kissinger both the US and China exist within the same realist, geopolitical universe, the decisions and interests of each are informed and shaped by fundamentally different values and traditions of cultural and strategic thought. Arguing that a relationship based on 'genuine strategic trust' (513) is nonetheless still possible, the author recommends forming a 'Pacific Community' (527) rooted in collective participation rather than confrontational blocs.

Importantly, Kissinger is not only an historian, but also a maker of history. This is one of his greatest strengths as an author, allowing him to move beyond the merely academic to provide real insights into the world view of the Chinese