

crime of aggression although there was the failure by the international community to hold Iraq criminally responsible for its invasion of Kuwait, and of course, no trials of Iraqis were held to explore issues of criminal responsibility.

The second chapter examines the significance of the 1948 Genocide Convention. One encounters a review of the case presented by Bosnia-Herzegovina against Yugoslavia before the ICJ that forced the Court to confront the question of state responsibility for criminal acts. The author emphasizes interpretation of Article IX of the convention, and the issue of intertemporal law and its impact on the concept.

Three pertinent documents appear as appendices: the text of the 1948 Genocide Convention, the draft articles 15 to 19 on state responsibility with respect to substantive and instrumental consequences of international crimes formulated by the Special Rapporteur, Arangio-Ruiz, in 1995, and the draft articles on state responsibility adopted by the drafting committee of the ILC on its second reading.

Jorgensen has presented deep and careful thought as well as prodigious research in the preparation of this book. She also writes with a clever and easy to absorb hand. To further assist the reader there are lists of abbreviations, the ILC's documents, an excellent bibliography, index to back track to specific areas for further reading and a table of cases referred to in the text. The topic is of great importance in the contemporary development of international criminal law.

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Peter W. Singer, **Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry** (Studies in Security Affairs), *Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003. Pp.368. \$39.95 (cloth). ISBN 0-8014-4114-5.*

In his book Peter W. Singer addresses a real lacuna in the academic literature – the privatization of national security. The author, a Brookings Institution scholar, observes that many countries, including the US, have begun to transfer essential security functions to private corporations or, as he calls them, privatized military firms (PMFs). This dense book is a welcome first step in the attempt to schematize a novel and growing phenomenon and to help us understand its wide-ranging implications.

The book is divided in three parts. The first part considers the government's role in the provision of security for its citizens and how the 'public-private dichotomy in the art of war, which was once solid fixed, is now under siege' (p.8). Historically speaking, this dichotomy was often blurred, as the chapter on 'privatized military history' aptly demonstrates. In early modern Europe, for example, it was mercenary armies, not the state, who held a virtual monopoly on the use of organized violence.

The difference between the sixteenth century mercenaries and today's PMFs is in the 'corporatization' of the latter (p.45). Thus most PMFs operate as profit-driven legal businesses, many of which are part of multinational corporations and/or are registered on stock exchanges for public trading. For Singer, PMFs came in response to the confluence of three factors: the end of the Cold War, the transformations in the nature of warfare, and the 'privatization revolution' of the 1990s.

In the second part of the book, Singer looks at the organization and operations of PMFs. He first discusses the structure of the privatized military industry, including the size and returns of the market, the characteristics of its employees and its clients and the future trends. This material in this section greatly supports the author's earlier claim that today's PMFs have no historical precedent. (This section should be of great interest to investment portfolio managers.)

To make the subsequent analysis of this phenomenon more wieldy, Singer offers a taxonomy of the PMFs. Using a clever tip-of-the-spear image, he suggests that PMFs can be divided into three groups: military provider (combat and command), military consultant (advisory and training), and military support (non-lethal aid and assistance) firms. The features of each are exemplified in three case studies.

Executive Outcomes (1989–99) stands as the most famous PMF and an epitome of a military provider firm. Its counterinsurgency operations in Angola and Sierra Leone remain legendary, both among war history aficionados and among critics who saw it as a resurrection of an apartheid-era South African military clique bent on exploiting the economic concessions offered by the desperate governments who hired it.

Virginia-based Military Professional Resources Incorporated (MPRI, founded in 1987) is given as an example of a successful military consulting firm. Singer credits MPRI for turning the tide of the Serbo-Croat war in 1995 and shows how a PMF can quickly expand around the globe. As it was a visit to MPRI's Bosnia office in 1996 that inspired Singer to begin research on PMFs, this chapter is particularly comprehensive and meticulous.

Brown and Root Services, a company that employs 20,000 and has gross annual revenues of \$6 billion, represents the third PMF type – military support firms. A part of the Halliburton holding, BRS can be regarded as the mainstay of the lucrative 'contingency contracting' business (pp.140–42).

The last part of the book deals with implications of military privatization. The most technical are the 'contractual dilemmas' inherent in the nature of PMF operations, namely what happens in the case of mergers, bankruptcies, foreign takeover etc. The author hints that some kind of regulation of the industry is necessary (p.154).

As for international politics, Singer ponders on the potential impact of the PMFs on the balance of power, alliance behaviour, the empowerment of non-state actors, and humanitarian interventions. Arguably the strongest chapter in the book looks at the effect of PMFs on the sensitive civil-military balance. That PMFs can greatly upset this balance is demonstrated in the example of Operation 'Contravene' in Papua New Guinea in 1997.

The operation in which the beleaguered Papuan government secretly outsourced its war against the rebels to Sandline International was spectacularly botched when the local military leaders found themselves to be marginalized and threatened. In a textbook heuristic case study, Singer proceeds to distil two sets of testable hypotheses on when PMFs are likely to influence civil-military relations (pp.198, 203).

The last chapter finds considerable ambiguity with regards to the moral hazards of the privatizations of public security. On the one hand, Singer argues that the lack of accountability is disconcerting given the nature of PMF operations (e.g. DynCorp's record in Bosnia, pp.222, 236). 'Just like in the rest of commerce,' says Singer, 'war is business where nice firms do not always finish first' (p.228). On the other hand, argues Singer, PMFs can serve the public interest by protecting society when the government fails to do so.

Three criticisms. First, in his search for adequate analytical tools to account for PMFs, Singer could have consulted the work on transnational relations and critical

security studies instead of relying on sterile state-centric theories (p.171). Second, his assertion that 'economic power is now hyperfungible and thus more threatening' (p.174) is an exaggeration. Power fungibility and its activation depend on a host of other factors, such as societal preferences and political institutions. Third, it is unclear whether PMFs are actually independent entities. Evidence presented by Singer suggests that US PMFs indeed 'follow the flag' (pp.122, 128, 206–8).

While it is entirely possible that PMFs may become more independent over time, the key question – 'what if it's all just a front?' (p.48) – remains widely open. Considering the dearth of reliable empirical evidence in this research field, all Singer's investigations are remarkably well documented. But the absence of comparable cases makes adjudication among competing arguments difficult and, in the end, turns any generalized inferences into mere speculation. Notwithstanding these remarks, *Corporate Warriors* is no doubt an authoritative account on a complex new issue and as such it deserves a broader audience. This book should stimulate much-needed further research on this topic.

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