Association for the Study of Law, Culture, and the Humanities. He is the author or editor of more than thirty books, including Law's Violence; The Killing State; Pain, Death, and the Law; and When the State Kills: Capital Punishment and the American Condition.

Alex Scott-Samuel, MB, ChB, MCommH, FFPHM, is Senior Lecturer in Public Health in the Department of Public Health at the University of Liverpool. He teaches health promotion and does research on social inequalities in health and health impact assessment. He was the founding editor of Radical Community Medicine (now Critical Public Health).

Amy Sepinwall, M.A., holds a masters degree in philosophy from McGill

University. She is a doctoral student in the Philosophy Department at Georgetown University and a law student at Yale Law School.

Clifford Shearing, Ph.D., is a professor in the Research School of Social Science at the Australian National University, where he co-directs Security 21, an international center for security and justice. He is also a professor in the School of Government at the University of the Western Cape (South Africa), where he directs the Community Peace Programme.

Soheil Soliman, M.P.H., received his master's degree from the University of Michigan School of Public Health in 2002 and is enrolled as a Ph.D. student in health policy.

Jon S. Vernick, J.D., M.P.H., is Associate Professor at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health; Co-Director of the Johns Hopkins Center for Gun Policy and Research; and Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University Law Center.

Helen Watchirs, Ph.D., LL.B., is a postdoctoral fellow at the Regulatory Institutions Network of the Law Program, within the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University. She holds a Jonathan Mann Health and Human Rights Scholarship from the AIDS Trust of Australia. Over the last 20 years, she has been a legal/human rights advisor and consultant to the Australian government and the United Nations.

Letter to the Editor

Dear Madam: Jacobson and Soliman's analysis of the public health effects of tobacco and firearm litigation is an important work because it does attempt to verify the efficacy of the use of lawsuits as a means of improving public health. However, their analysis did not go far enough ("Litigation as Public Health Policy: Theory or Reality?," JLME, Summer 2002).

All policy changes have benefits and costs. A proper analysis of the (potential) benefits of any law or judicial ruling should examine the net benefits, rather than the gross benefits. In other words, a cost-benefit analysis or, perhaps more appropriately in the public health policy field, a risk-benefit analysis is necessary to accurately assess the impact of a change in public policy.

Though the authors did examine various criticisms concerning the legitimacy of using litigation to shape public policy, they ignored an equally important point: Even if litigation is a legitimate means of policy change, it

may impose direct and indirect harms on society equal to or greater than its resulting benefits. My article (Burnett, "Suing Gun Manufacturers: Hazardous to Our Health," Texas Review of Law and Politics, 5 (2001): 433–94) cited by Jacobson and Soliman made precisely this point.

Litigation requires money and other resources. Every dollar spent and every attorney and related staff dedicated to lawsuits filed by states or municipalities are unavailable for other worthwhile social goals - including more direct investments in public health and/or safety. Engaging in litigation to improve public health is like playing the lottery to pay one's medical bills. Play enough times and it may pay off, but the odds are long and the bills go unpaid in the meantime. In light of the master agreement signed by the tobacco industry, it may seem that these suits paid big, but, as the authors point out, the public health benefits are, so far, modest at best.

The firearms industry is a much

smaller target than the tobacco industry, so even if municipal lawsuits against firearm manufacturers ultimately succeed, the pay-off will be miniscule compared to the millions of dollars spent pursuing the litigation. After extensive discovery, one municipality, Boston, dropped its lawsuit against firearm manufacturers based on just such considerations. By then, however, Boston had already spent several hundred thousand dollars on the litigation. One should consider whether money spent pursuing these lawsuits might produce better public safety and health results if it were directed at the outset to fund additional police or to increase public funding of prenatal care programs, drug treatment programs, or increasing staff persons and improving equipment at public health clinics, hospitals, and emergency rooms.

H. Sterling Burnett, Ph.D.
Senior Fellow
National Center for Policy Analysis