

perceiving human security as a process readily adapts to the approach of Foucault. He asserts that “security, as understood by Foucault, is not a broad element of political power to be exercised by the state, but a principle of political method and practice capable of various modes of combination with other principles and practices within the diverse government configuration” (110). This brings us back to a main idea woven throughout the chapters of the book—the notion that it is the social process and discourse rather than the outcome, which should be the focus for a more meaningful discussion of international law to take place.

Related to Human Rights is the explosion of non-governmental organizations that exist to promote Human Rights and other issues. “Chapter 7: Non-Government Organizations and Power” focuses on the emergence of global civil society and the profusion of non-government organizations that have been established in recent years. The author argues that the variety of interests represented by various non-government organizations and the influence of these in the international arena “reflect emerging roots of some form of international governance that recognizes the derivation of power from a host of non-state actors” (125). From a Foucauldian context of power, Hammer postulates that “[r]ather than examining non-governmental organizations pursuant to their link to the state (which tends to limit the scope and operation of the NGOs), it would be of greater benefit to consider the altered power arrangements that have resulted from the ongoing resistance offered by non-government organizations that have shifted the capacity to govern outside the realm of the state” (125).

Each of the seven chapters clearly explicates and reiterates the basic aim of the book, which is to consider issues pertaining to international law from a perspective that elucidates relations between the participating actors from a transformative context while at the same time highlighting the importance of discourse and the ensuing role of power and knowledge (130). This work urges a de-coupling of international law from the traditional Westphalian notions of state sovereignty, allowing for the interaction and influence of actors above and below the state level. By doing so, the author makes an important contribution to the discussion of a more accommodating framework of international law and international relations. He argues convincingly for a transgressive framework, suggesting that the focus should be on the fluidity emanating from on-going discourse rather than on a

more static outcome-based approach. As the author himself asserts, “it is important to provide notions that allow for a broader spectrum of views and ideas without summarily dismissing perceptions that are inherently contrary to what is understood to be the legitimate system” (133).

reviewed by GILLIAN H.L. GOH

Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World EDITED BY CHESTER A. CROCKER, FEN OSLER HAMPSON AND PAMELA AALL [Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007. xviii + 726 pp. Softcover]

In 1996, *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict* presented us with an exposition on the post-Cold War sources of international and intra-national conflicts. Analyzing issues of global security in a world which was just getting to grips with an invigorated era of globalization and its resulting phenomena, its focus was on the weaknesses of new post-Cold War societies and the violence in the Balkans, Africa and the Caribbean.

Five years later, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* provided a deeper discourse into a fractious and differentiated international society which had already been confronted with some of the fallacies and disillusionment of globalization's promises of integration and peace. More importantly, it brought third party or multi-track diplomacy to the forefront as diplomats and policymakers realized that third parties have a niche role to play in international conflict management. In globalization, international relations found both an opportunity as well as utility for dexterity in its affairs.

Unfortunately, *Turbulent Peace* was published before the terrorist attacks of September 11 and hence, does not reflect and record the paradigm shift in international relations and international law scholarship that took place since. As the third installment of this series by the United States Institute of Peace, *Leashing the Dogs of War* aims to do that and more. Clearly, this book had big shoes to fill. However, assembling, again, an outstanding repertoire of experiences from leading international relations practitioners and scholars, *Leashing the Dogs of War* does not disappoint.

It is an excellent textbook for the international law and/or international relations student

with an interest in international security and humanitarian law. An outstanding introduction to the various challenges to global security and diplomacy in the post-September 11 world order, its breadth also makes it a handy practitioner's guide. This book holds a particularly important significance for international lawyers as it provides he or she with precious and much craved for insight into how international actors, such as international organizations, non-governmental organizations, peace makers and reconstructing states alike, play a crucial part in the creation and change of the international security and humanitarian law.

Yet, this book also possesses sufficient depth in the right places (through 37 chapters spread over 6 parts) to render it a fairly rigorous and illuminating concerto of scholarly discourse. This book is organized, perhaps inadvertently, to distinguish 4 main elements of the conflict management process. For example, the latter 4 chapters are exclusively devoted to the use of force, diplomacy, institutions and governance as conflict management tools. This is, however, an artificial categorization as the reader soon realizes that discussion of all 4 elements often cross paths throughout the book, as they do in real life.

A lucid introduction by the editors in Part I outlines the challenges to conflict management post-September 11, in particular, the changing roles and importance of international institutions in conflict management. This introduction also identifies the fact that divergent opinion between nations on "*the problems and priorities of conflict management reduces the likelihood of coherent and effective international responses to security challenges*".

Part II examines "Sources of Conflict and Challenges to Global Security" and leads off with general monographs by Jack S. Levy and Michael E. Brown. Levy introduces the reader to a changing nature and definition of warfare which proves that the traditional Clausewitz-ian definition of "war" is inadequate to address the fact that a great deal of contemporary warfare occurs within states and not between states. Hence, such a definition may not shed light on the existing sources of global conflict. In so doing, Levy promulgates a "levels of analysis" framework of classifying the causes of war—the individual, the national-state and the international system. In his chapter, Brown identifies new dangers to the global landscape caused by technological advancements in information technology and bio-technology. Brown adds such new challenges to pre-existing security

concerns, such as arms proliferations and instability in the developing world, to weave his vision of today's security landscape which he divides into military and non-military challenges, interstate, intrastate and transnational problems. Part II then continues to examine particular sources of global conflict, such as the global arms trade, terrorism, environmental and economic insecurity. This Part also includes a series of monographs which focus on the weakness of failed states. In 5 separate pieces, Robert I. Rothberg, Mohammed Ayoob, Charles King, Ted Robert Gurr, Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder unravel the complex interplay between historical weaknesses, structural flaws and socio-political and religious tensions that cause palpable tension in failed or failing states.

Part III is allocated for discussion on the "Uses and Limits of Force in Conflict Management". Lawrence Freedman spearheads discussion in this Part with a piece aptly entitled "Using Force for Peace in an Age of Terror" which examines the seeming paradigm shift from the 1990s use of force for humanitarian justifications to the post-September 11 justifications for use of force which centre around the need to combat global terrorism. Freedman argues that there is no substantive difference between these two justifications as the factors which influence military campaigns in both cases remain largely the same. "Coercive Diplomacy" by Robert J. Art and Patrick Cronin also adds a unique perspective to the discourse at this point by viewing use of force as another tool of diplomacy whereby both negotiation and coercion are used to change the behavior of an intransigent state. Through a case by case analysis of various conflicts from 1990 and 2003, Art and Cronin come to the conclusion that it is difficult to fight and yet talk about peace at the same time. Yet, reading this particular monograph, the practitioner may sense some *naïveté* as *realpolitik* determines that there are times where principled military action can play an important role in bringing an opposing party to the negotiating table and facilitating agreement.

Part IV, "Uses and Limits of Statecraft, Diplomacy, and Soft Power in Conflict Management" begins with a call from Chester A. Crocker for a return to use of comprehensive "grand strategy" to build stronger states and more stable regions instead of narrow agendas such as the global war on terrorism. However, Crocker fails to address the possibility that building and executing "grand strategies" between several parties is never an easy task.

Ultimately, narrow agendas are resorted to simply because they are the ones that are easiest to agree on between two or more interested parties. That being said, Part IV also boasts the latest installment of Joseph S. Nye Jr.'s thesis on "soft power" in "The Place of Soft Power in State-Based Conflict Management." "Soft power", as with existing concepts of power in international relations has always been seen as a way of advancing one's states' individual interests through cultural and social influences. Yet, as Prof. Nye applies his "soft power" thesis to conflict management in this chapter, he seeks to advocate the use "soft power" as an instrument of altruism in a slight expansion of his thesis. However, the fundamental tension remains whether application of "soft power" in conflict management will fall victim to its side effects. For instance, how the introduction of foreign and competing cultural and social influences will affect existing cultural and social structures in a reconstructing state. It should also be noted that Neil J. Kritz's chapter, on "The Rule of Law in Conflict Management" will be of particular interest to constitutional lawyers as well as international lawyers as it examines the importance of establishing a rule of law as part of the conflict management process.

In Part V, "Uses and Limits of Institutions in Conflict Management", Karen A. Minst and Margaret P. Karns on "The United Nations and Conflict Management: Relevant or Irrelevant?" start the discussion with a particularly chapter which addresses burning issues of United Nations reform such as the legitimacy of the Security Council. This chapter concludes with an emphatic show of support for the United Nations as the authors opine that it is the only truly global security institution and that it has shown that it can work. Paul F. Diehl then examines the role of regional organizations in conflict management, calling for greater regionalism. It then follows naturally that Diana Chigas, in her chapter, examines the capacities and limits of NGOs as conflict managers. Chigas provides her insight on existing literature on multi-tracked diplomacy produced by scholars such as William D. Davidson and Joseph Montville. Chigas takes the reader through the role of NGOs in the different tracks of diplomacy (and their variants) while unabashedly identifying where NGOs have limited their own effectiveness. International lawyers will take also interest in "War and Law: the Dilemmas of International Law and Coercive Enforcement" by Ruth Wedgwood. As one of the few decidedly international law chapters in this collection,

this chapter discusses the sources of the international law on use of force and the intricacies of an interpretation of international law based on the United Nations Charter where politics and law creation overtly clash and co-exist.

Part VI, "Uses and Limits of Governance in Conflict Management" is also a particularly interesting concluding part and begins with two questions. "Is Democracy the Answer" is the question posed by Marina Ottaway while Kimberly Marten asks "Is Stability the Answer?" which she answers emphatically yes. Ottaway revisits assumptions about the democratization of reconstructing states. In particular, she conducts an objective analysis of the successes and failures of coercive democratization in the post-Cold War period ending with a poignant reminder that there are no shortcuts to democracy. This provides the reader with a nice juxtaposition to the final chapter of the book by Fen Osler Hampson and David Mendeloff, "Intervention and the Nation-Building Debate". Hampson and Mendeloff admirably and, perhaps ambitiously, construct paradigms for what they term as "Fast-Track Democratized" states, "Slow Democratized" states and "Security First" states and the role of an intervening party in the state's nation building process and the conditions of its success.

Leashing the Dogs of War is a particular useful book for international lawyers who wish to gain a deeper insight into the political, social, economic and even cultural factors that shape international law on global security in particular doctrines on the use of force and humanitarian aid. For the aspiring international lawyer, this book is especially obliging in terms of identifying and elaborating on the various institutions and actors available in international conflict management where lawyers come in useful.

However, the strength of this collection is also its weakness. It is an excellent textbook and introductory practitioner's guide because of the diverse view points canvassed throughout as well as the distinct analytical frameworks used in the process. Some chapters are empirical while others are theoretical. Some are constructive while others are post-modern. It is for that reason that this book loses some of its scholarly flavour despite the pre-eminence of its contributors. Yet, because of this diversity, the reader is able to pit one contributor against another on any variety of issues. More importantly, the open-endedness of the collection allows the reader to formulate his or her own views with the benefit of a wide perspective. Ultimately, if the editors have intended for this

book to operate as a forum for broad debate and discussion between representative stakeholders and commentators in the conflict management process, they have succeeded resoundingly and I believe that we, as readers, are better off for it.

reviewed by JEREMY LEONG

A guide to Free Trade in Asean BY LOK HWEE CONG, CHRISTOPHER H. LIM AND NG LYN eds.
2007 CCH Asia Pte Limited

In his Foreword to the book, Mr Ong Keng Yong, who was at the time of publication the Secretary-General of ASEAN wrote:

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has come a long way since its formation in August 1967. In particular the launch of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) in 1992 has created a new economic dynamism in the region. [...] Given the new impetus towards the early realization of the ASEAN Economic Community, it will be useful to have a comprehensive reference book on AFTA.

Indeed, soon after the publication of the book, the ASEAN Charter was signed on 20 November 2007 and the ASEAN members also issued a Declaration on the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) which adopted the AEC Blueprint for the implementation of the AEC by 2015. The Declaration states that “[t]he AEC Blueprint will transform ASEAN into a single market and production base, a highly competitive economic region, a region of equitable economic development, and a region fully integrated into the global economy.”

However, while the ASEAN Charter and the AEC Blueprint have been adopted, much remains to be fleshed out and the trade agreements preceding the ASEAN Charter still remain as the operational trade rules of the emerging AEC.

It is thus timely that a reference book which collates all those trade agreements has been published. While most of these agreements are available for download from the ASEAN Secretariat’s website (www.aseansec.org), the organization of the texts and the chronological and contextual arrangement of the sections as well as the cross-referenced index in the book provide a better guide to a researcher initially

unfamiliar with ASEAN than what is otherwise available online.

However, what is noteworthy of the book are the overviews accompanying each section. In particular, Ms Lynn Chua Shu Xian’s introduction to the AEC provides the reader with a clear and concise discourse on the historical context, and the current institutions within the AEC. Her conclusion that ASEAN’s consensual decision-making process is necessary to preserve unity in ASEAN but also poses challenges that will have to be overcome by commitment from the political leaders captures the thoughts of most ASEAN scholars in a few pithy sentences.

The other introductions accompanying the sections on Trade in Goods, Trade in Services, Investments and the ASEAN Dispute Settlement Mechanism are also very helpful reference aids that organize and summarize the various ASEAN texts.

Despite some passing familiarity with the ASEAN documents, this reviewer had the occasion to refer to Mr Alan Ong Teck Keong’s summary of the 2004 ASEAN Protocol on the Enhanced Dispute Settlement Mechanism (2004 Protocol). This reviewer was asked by a member of the audience in a talk on ASEAN whether consensus was required for the adoption of a Panel Report. Unfortunately, age having eroded what little memory was once available, an answer to this query was not immediately apparent but a quick reference to the book, which this reviewer had serendipitously brought along to the talk, enabled this reviewer to sagely reply that a negative consensus rule was in operation in the 2004 Protocol pursuant to Article 9 of the 2004 Protocol.

The editors of the book are also to be congratulated for bringing together the commentators on the various topics whose experience and expertise, obviously obtained from negotiating, implementing or advising on the different texts, is plainly evident. It may be helpful in the future to also include a short biography of each of the commentators.

While the book is a good start particularly since no other such reference guides currently exist, nonetheless, like ASEAN and the AEC, this reviewer is hopeful that further evolution will occur. A chapter on the ASEAN Charter and the AEC Blueprint is probably the most immediate necessary update. It is therefore appropriate that the book has been published in a loose-leaf format.

reviewed by MICHAEL EWING-CHOW