Maritime Piracy and the Construction of Global Governance

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Development of East China Sea Resources” and “Law of the Sea Aspects of Indonesian National Legislation on Submarine Communication Cable,” to much broader tropics. These include at least one discussion on climate change.

The issue of maritime boundaries (as one hopes most readers of the Naval War College Review will know) is highly complex, and some of the more notable disputes of the present are so charged as to carry with them the potential to escalate into hostilities. Perhaps the contending claims over the Paracel and Spratly Islands are the best known of these disputes, but maritime disputes can be found in every ocean in the world. Set against a backdrop of continuing tensions in the South China Sea and the U.S. “pivot” to the Pacific, this work is especially timely. It is also varied. Not only is the Paracel-Spratly dispute addressed, but so are issues involving the United States and Mexico, and Canada and France.

The contributing authors are an impressive lot. They include senior government ministers, ambassadors, senior members of foreign ministries, and scholars of international maritime law. Unfortunately missing from the lineup are military or coast guard authorities, who would have brought yet another point of view to the discussion.

Not surprisingly, this work ranks high on rigorous scholarship, meticulousness of citation, and careful crafting of arguments. The tone, however, is legalistic, and in many cases the authors clearly expected from the audience familiarity with ongoing arguments and history that a lay reader might not possess.

One of the more surprising facets of this book is the optimism of the authors, taken together, about finding peaceful solutions to the issues. As Ian Townsend Gault points out, such techniques as zones of cooperation, while by no means perfect, may be more effective than they seem at first glance. Also, Rodman R. Bundy’s discussion on potential approaches to dispute resolution utilizing the services of a third party is illuminating.

Those with more than passing interest in these issues should definitely read this book. It is well written, organized, and delivered. It deserves a place on the bookshelf of any maritime-related business, government office, or law firm. Unfortunately, it is not likely to become a household item, because of its technical and legal focus, not to mention its cost.

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Piracy presents an extraordinary set of challenges to navies, law-enforcement agencies, jurists, shipowners, and seafarers, challenges that have generated a voluminous literature. Historical piracy has become a subject du jour, and there is even an evolving discipline of piracy studies.

Piracy also challenges international-relations theory. Most theoretical responses have been either neorealist or neoliberal, viewpoints that assume that both states are the central actors, acting rationally under unitary governments. Neorealism seeks to explain piracy (most studies have focused on Somali piracy without reference to the attacks

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that have occurred in Southeast Asia or off Nigeria) in terms of state failure, and counterpiracy as the maximization by states of their competitive advantage over other states in an international system where material capabilities are changing. For its part, neoliberalism argues that states seek to create norms and shape them through international institutions. These facilitate cooperation and enable states to act through them under international law, albeit for self-interested reasons. Exponents of this theory see United Nations action and UN Security Council resolutions as reflecting the aims and objectives of their sponsoring powers. It also explains why so many developmental initiatives have foundered within Somalia—because they seek to aid the creation of a Western-style liberal democracy rather than political arrangements that may align more closely with Somali political and clan structures.

However, the book under review also collects a number of essays articulating a third approach, called constructivism. That theory departs from state-centric, rationalist approaches to suggest that social processes, including norms other than international ones, as well as issues of identity, inform security interests across a range of players and shape their actions accordingly.

This collection focuses particularly on the topic of global governance, a construct that places particular emphasis on institutions and regimes (in this case security regimes) and implies that international institutions are actors in their own right. In this view, these actors have objectives that are often different from those of their member states and that in turn shape the behavior of those states and of nonstate actors. Interestingly, and rightly, it takes the view that because piracy occurs in a space outside territorially bounded state authority, maritime depredation asks profound questions about who exactly decides what is right and wrong, and why.

Several contributors make the point that differences between state responses to piracy reveal governance gaps in the interstate system, gaps that pirates have exploited—and states too, a point emphasizing the indissoluble connection between piracy and state action. The role of international law comes under particular scrutiny. Legal discourse has played a crucial role in framing the piracy problem in the modern era, arguably at the expense of political and economic approaches.

In the end, this important and useful book asks everyone with an interest or a role in piracy issues to confront questions that affect all users of the sea, military and civilian. Are we witnessing the end of an old regime, the reactivation of old legal mechanisms, or the development of a global governance regime based on international institutions? Moreover, where will this process end and will notions of universal jurisdiction, and perhaps global citizenship, spread out from their current enclaves and touch us all?

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As the subtitle suggests, the First World War, with its unintended consequences, unbridled imperial ambitions, and a