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Maritime Security and Peacekeeping: A Framework for United Nations Operations

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roles in a polarized global environment with two superpowers. Concurrently, the Western allies and Soviet-bloc navies had to determine which technologically advanced weapons systems to adopt and whether to rely on submarine launched ballistic missiles or carrier-based aircraft for nuclear deterrence. For both superpowers, strategic planning pivoted on three concepts: an all-out nuclear exchange, a protracted conventional conflict, and a combination of both.

In subsequent chapters attention is given to isolated events. In these case studies, the authors examine joint air and sea operations in addition to the convoy and blockade. For example, World War II Arctic convoys successfully "demonstrated the ultimate futility of a submarine-based *guerre de course*," in that, as the author states, "the U-boat was a weapon of denial; unaided it was incapable of obtaining or exercising control."

These proceedings provide an excellent resource for comprehending the unique challenges faced by the world's navies in the twentieth century. Yet despite interesting and broad topics, this work contains two pervasive flaws. First, several of the chapters furnish only brief narratives instead of historical analysis. But the major drawback is the absence of a closing chapter to provide overall conclusions and present a working definition or theoretical premise of naval power derived from the historical studies. If discerningly read, however, this volume should be of interest to those who desire to understand the future potential applications of naval power by studying the successes and pitfalls of the past.

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Pugh, Michael, ed. *Maritime Security and Peacekeeping: A Framework for United Nations Operations*. New York: Manchester Univ. Press, 1995. 302pp. \$24.95

Life after the Cold War continues to provide fertile ground for analysts engaged in building "what if" scenarios. A fundamental realignment in thinking still predominates, and there are important security issues yet to face. Intelligent dialogue is required to prepare for this changing security environment, and Michael Pugh directly contributes to this effort. Pugh, in editing this analytical study of maritime security operations, has brought together a team of British professors and researchers (Jeremy Ginifer, Eric Grove, Frank Gregory, and Francoise J. Hampson) to develop a framework for integrating appropriate maritime security systems. In addition to editing the book, Pugh wrote four of the twelve chapters and coauthored four others.

The book focuses on key concepts and policy issues that will help assess the potential for using naval and maritime forces as instruments to promote international order. By broadening the focus from naval to maritime forces, the functions of police, coast guard, and customs are added to potential security regimes. The military roles of peacekeeping, naval diplomacy, peace building, deterrence, embargoes, and enforcement are all considered, along with such nonmilitary constabulary roles as drug interdiction and the prevention of terrorism and piracy.

This book provides a balanced view of the benefits and drawbacks of coalition security arrangements. Pugh correctly points out the costs of and impediments to building multinational security; still, the pressure to pursue it is mounting. President Clinton has charged the government, and peripherally the military community, to enhance U.S. security by promoting cooperative security measures, working to open foreign markets and spur global economic growth. Thus, the government's position largely lends support to the basic premise of the book.

Indeed, the U.S. Navy has been actively involved in building maritime security under the multinational rubric. Since 1990, multinational maritime interception forces, including warships and aircraft, have queried more than twenty-two thousand vessels and boarded more than ten thousand. A total of 573 ships have been diverted on suspicion of carrying prohibited cargoes; of these, seventy-six vessels have been turned over to UN member countries.

Building stronger multinational security is receiving more attention today as national military organizations downsize, and Pugh presents valid options for facing these challenges. Advocating neither the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Western European Union, nor the United Nations structure as "the" framework to follow, the authors use germane historical examples to illustrate how these organizations have built maritime security. They also stress that there may not be a single definitive maritime security system, because various geographic regions have different maritime security requirements.

Those who feel that the United States already pays a disproportionate share of

the UN budget will find comfort in the book's suggestions on limiting costs. Confidence-building measures and sharing with coalition members select portions of well established U.S. command and information systems are two ways Pugh has outlined.

A complete historical record of instances (found in the appendix) where maritime assets have been involved in peacekeeping efforts is a particular strength of the book, and the select bibliography is also a valuable research tool. Additionally, if such acronyms as UNIMOG, NUPI, ONUCA, or SOLAS are not a regular part of the reader's vocabulary, there is a handy list of acronyms at the beginning of the book.

This book, however, is not without its flaws. Some of the "bean counting" is either outdated or incorrect. For example, to say that these are eight prepositioning ships in the United States inventory is clearly off the mark (thirteen Maritime Prepositioning Ships were leased to the U.S. Navy alone, an enhancement ship has been contracted, and numerous Army War Reserve ships are in the inventory). Also, the book's tone is sometimes stilted. Such sentences as "significant evidence of the amelioration of international anarchy by the regulation of state behavior through international institutions, international law and functional interdependence," and, "At regional levels, too, the normative understandings between naval powers may be organic and more durable," force the reader to be patient. Still the fresh ideas provided here make the book an important addition to the growing body of literature on the maritime dimension of peace operations.

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