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Ocean Governance: Strategies and Approaches for the 21st Century

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political well-being. It allows him to establish, somewhat analytically, that "the areas that lie principally outside the growing global economy" are the areas where most of the internal violence takes place. It is the emerging global world and the traditional nonplayers that are causing the majority of discontent.

Snow asks how the world's strongest countries (or as Snow labels them, "the First Tier") will deal with these unstable countries at the bottom of his Second Tier. Removing a Soviet-type interest in these countries for the United States to counter leaves the United States "with hardly any interests on which to exert its energies." It leaves the nation facing a dichotomy—it remains confused about how to deal with crises on a strategic level. But "how many simultaneous Chechnyas, Bosnias, and Somalias is the system willing to tolerate?" Whether or not First Tier nations will attempt to moderate or influence the lower tiers' internal violence, a thorough understanding of the dynamics of that violence is required.

Snow appropriately conveys these dynamics with this intriguing and unique book. *Uncivil Wars* is a must for all strategists—political and military. In short, it may be the best book to help one gain a better understanding of how contemporary wars may affect the security of the larger global system, as well as the role of the United States in the post-Cold War era.

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Mensah, Thomas A., ed. *Ocean Governance: Strategies and Approaches for the 21st Century*. Honolulu, HI.: Law of the Sea Institute, 1996. 628pp. (No price given) (Order from BookMasters, Inc., P.O. Box 2139, Mansfield, Ohio, 44905.)

During the week of 11 July 1994 the Law of the Sea Institute sponsored its twenty-eighth annual conference. Its objective was to identify the principal elements of functional oceans governance for the twenty-first century. This daunting task involved in-depth analyses of the fundamental issues, risks, and concerns looming on the horizon, including boundary disputes, allocation of living and nonliving resources, environmental degradation, climatic modification, and transit and jurisdictional rights. The topical discussions were viewed through a geopolitical thematic lens, examining oceans management from global, regional, national, and local perspectives. The conferees were a distinguished gathering of ocean law, policy, and technical experts from government, business, and academia. The diversity of the participants lent singular credibility to the meeting, but most importantly it precipitated a candid and productive dialogue concerning the most appropriate means of managing mankind's last great resource. In addition to their peerless credentials, the participants' variegated geographic and political orientation made the conference a truly world-class assemblage.

This treatise is a compilation of the formal presentations, speeches, and panel and roundtable discussions that took place over the course of the

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conference. It was edited for publication by Professor Thomas Mensah, director of the Law of the Sea Institute, professor of law at the University of Hawaii and former Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations International Maritime Organization. Mensah is a subject-matter expert and is eminently qualified for the task of organizing the material contained in this book.

The conference coincided with the most historic period in contemporary ocean law and policy matters; later that month the General Assembly of the United Nations was scheduled to adopt the Supplemental Agreement relating to the Implementation of Part XI of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982. Furthermore, on 16 November the Convention itself entered into force, heralding what purported to be a new era in qualitative ocean governance. These somewhat euphoric events served as a backdrop while the conference delved into the realities of administering a twenty-first century marine environment under a twentieth-century political framework. In the main, the authors recognized that the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is by far the most comprehensive international agreement yet of widespread ratification relative to the use of the oceans. However, the book also tends to suggest that parochial nation-state policies and agendas, which in large part were the stimulus for the Convention, have not been eradicated, and in some degree may have been encouraged by the jurisdictional reach facilitated by the agreement. The fact that nation-states appear to view

themselves as in perpetual competition for a declining resource casts substantial doubt on whether the global or regional methodologies contemplated by the panel members can ever supersede the nationalistic "me-first" disposition that currently predominates. The manner in which the book is organized and the specific issues are articulated by individual authors (for example, William T. Burke in "State Practice, New Ocean Uses, and Ocean Governance under UNCLOS," and "National Interest and Collective Security in the Ocean Regime" by Scott Allen) permits the reader to understand how jurisdictionalism, as developed and implemented by state practice, may be particularly problematic for the development of a true internationalistic conservation and management system. Notwithstanding this fact, the essential thrust of the text appears to assert that despite the jurisdictional preferences provided by the Convention, inspired by Cold War dogma and national self-interest, only a holistic approach can provide the integrated administration required for the vast oceans resource.

One of the highlights of the treatise is L.D.M. Nelson's treatment of the Supplemental Agreement. It provides a comprehensive overview of the issues involved in the deep seabed mining consultations, one that is informative, intelligible, and easy to read. The Panel IV discussions regarding the maritime regions of northeast and south Asia were notable for their potential national security implications. Although the article on northeast Asia focused on regional environmentalism, it also examined the political "integrative and disintegrative"

forces, that is, common needs and concerns, divided countries, and the deep-seated distrust which distinguish this volatile area. The idea that a regional comprehensive security regime could enhance environmental protection but also portend well for United States security interests is very insightful. The piece on south Asia was equally distinctive in its frank analysis of an area that is of great importance to the strategic maritime interests of the United States. The author depicts a geographic, economic, and military disparity between the nations of the region that reflects a significant regional fragility in an area that encompasses important sea lines of communication and maritime approaches.

As a whole this work is extremely thought-provoking. It opens a window into the next century relative to the numerous issues in oceans governance facing the international community. Its critical examination of the multidimensional aspect (local subsidiaries, nationalism, regionalism, and globalism) involved in seeking an effectively integrated yet efficient management approach to the marine environment lays the foundation for further substantive policy developments.

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Payne, Keith B. *Deterrence in the Second Nuclear Age*. Lexington, Ky.: The Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1996. 160pp. \$26.95

This relatively short book provides an excellent overview of the history and

future of deterrence, which was the focus of considerable and spirited debate during the Cold War. Today it continues to be a major issue as the United States faces a variety of threats from different nations whose interests are inimical to its own.

Payne raises the unsettling question of whether the American policy of deterrence vis-à-vis the Soviet Union during the Cold War can be accepted as the reason for the preservation of peace (albeit an uneasy one). His position is that no matter which policy approach is selected (warfighting, mutual assured deterrence, or minimum deterrence) it remains uncertain whether any of them could really work. From that basis, and since we cannot know conclusively that deterrence worked in the past, it is impossible to know if it will work against "rogue" states in the future.

It is the author's view that a required element for any deterrence program is enough information to permit a deterring state to believe the opponent is rational in its decision making, and to know its values and its culture. The United States possessed that kind of information about the Soviets. However, the nation cannot assume that it will have the same kind of insight into other nations, many of which are third-rate powers that have acquired nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons and will inevitably acquire a means to deliver them. The belief that Saddam Hussein would act in a rational manner is cited by the author as one of several historical examples in which faulty expectations have led to disaster.

It is suggested that the United States develop a lot of intelligence about all of its potential enemies, including