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## Japan in Global Ocean Politics

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navy plus every general and admiral over a certain rank were included, the *DAMB* would have become a work in size comparable to the 128-volume *War of the Rebellion* and would, thus, be rendered useless as an easy to use reference book. Before making the final decision as to who to include in the *DAMB*, the editors consulted "nearly fifty leading American military historians" and drew up twenty-five lists of entries before the final decision was made. Because the editors decision to include or not to include a person was subjective, in the end nobody would be completely satisfied with the final list of entries. But this in no way should detract from the value of the book.

The *DAMB* is a masterpiece of historical editing and scholarship, and will be the standard work of its type for years to come. The skill of its editors and the scholarship of its contributors cannot be praised too highly—*The Dictionary of American Military Biography* is truly a job well done.

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Akaha, Tsunco. *Japan in Global Ocean Politics*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1985. 224pp. \$19

From the first United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in 1958, to the signing of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea in 1982, profound changes took place in global attitudes

toward the law of the sea. The most important of these has been the trend away from narrow territorial waters and open access to the oceans, toward national enclosure by means of broader territorial waters and exclusive economic zones protecting fishing and mineral rights. A more recent trend, but one that heavily influenced the latter UNCLOS sessions, has been toward international management of ocean resources. Nations less capable of exploiting ocean resources—Third World and landlocked countries—have pressed for international control as a means of sharing in the ocean's bounty and increasing their own capability to exploit that bounty.

These trends have been viewed with concern, even alarm, by the maritime nations that have prospered under the freedom of the seas regime. Possessing substantial fishing fleets, shipping industries, and investments in offshore oil and gas production, the maritime nations sought to preserve their access to ocean resources and their autonomy in defining national ocean policies. These interests were heightened as the value of ocean resources increased and rapid advances in marine technology increased the availability of ocean resources.

As Tsunco Akaha well illustrates, Japan had a vital stake in the outcome of the UNCLOS negotiations and in attempting to preserve the principle of open access against the accelerating trend toward national closure of the oceans. Japan is crucially dependent upon free access to the oceans

for fishing, shipping, and energy resources. Widespread recognition in Japan of this dependence did not, however, allow the Japanese Government to easily adapt its policies to the rapid changes in global ocean politics. Indeed, the salience of the issues to Japan's economic survival pushed the Japanese Government into a pattern of defending the open access regime until it became clear that only adaptation to the new international perspectives would preserve Japan's access to the oceans.

Akaha studies Japan's ocean policies from 1958 to 1977, when Japan extended its territorial seas from three to twelve miles and established a 200-mile fishery zone. The focus is predominantly on the fisheries issue in ocean politics for the important reason that this issue towered over all other ocean issues in Japanese politics. Although he does set the evolution of Japanese ocean policies in the international context of the negotiations, his primary interest is in the domestic political forces and the decision-making process that shaped Japan's policies.

In Japan, powerful, vocal political interests and a governmental policy-making process lacking centralized policy coordination combined to inhibit the innovation in ocean policy needed to adapt to the trends in global ocean politics. Policy decisions consisted of incremental adjustments made in response to immediate pressures when none of the previous policies had proved adequate to forestall erosion of Japanese interests.

According to Akaha, the nature of

the decisionmaking process itself, as well as political pressures, shaped Japan's ocean policy, precluding comprehensive policy analysis and enhancing the impact of political forces resistant to change. This perspective on the evolution of Japan's ocean policy is well supported by the documentation Akaha provides and goes far toward explaining Japanese behavior in negotiations that threatened a *status quo* Japan seeks to protect.

Akaha's study is well-researched and his major conclusions are reasonable and insightful. This is not, however, a book for the general reader. It will mainly interest the student of Japanese fisheries and ocean policy. For those seriously interested in either the Japanese foreign policy decisionmaking process or the comparative study of national approaches to the law of the sea, this book would be a valuable case study for comparison with other studies. The only significant weakness of Akaha's study is that the decisionmaking process he uncovers in ocean policy is not compared with or set in the context of Japanese decisionmaking in other areas of foreign policy and economic policy. There is a well-developed body of research and theory on Japanese governmental decisionmaking to which this study could have made an important contribution, but which Akaha largely ignores.

Akaha makes few observations on security and defense issues arising from the law of the sea talks, largely because such issues played a minor

role in the evolution of Japanese ocean policy. In discussing the debates in Japan on navigation rights, Akaha does provide insight into Japanese views on the straits transit issue—important for understanding Japan's policy concerning the strategic Tsushima, Tsugaru and La Perouse Straits. Akaha also brings out Japanese perspectives on the application of the "three non-nuclear principles" in Japan's territorial waters, an issue of importance in Japanese-American security relations.

In summary, the scope of Akaha's study of Japanese ocean policy is too narrow for the general reader or the reader primarily interested in Japanese defense policy, but the book is highly recommended for those interested in Japanese ocean politics or Japanese governmental decision-making.

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Westing, Arthur H., ed. *Global Resources & International Conflict*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. 280pp. \$29.95

Untold volumes have been written on the causes of war. Most of these books explore the complexities and machinations of international relations and power politics, but few consider the more obvious factors at the heart of a nation's survival. *Global Resources & International Conflict* explores one of the most basic and enduring sources of world instability

and conflict—the scarcity of resources and the competition for their control.

Produced under the auspices of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, this book is an outgrowth of a symposium convened with the U.N. Environmental Programme. Through a series of essays written by authorities from the U.S.S.R., Sweden, Norway, Canada, Britain and the United States, it analyzes the significance of oil, minerals, fresh waters, ocean fisheries, food crops and the human population.

The study focuses on the relationship of man to natural resources: his absolute need for them and his frequent dependence on his neighbors for access. The interborder relationships that ensue range from cordial and mutually beneficial to belligerent and subversive, and this study examines those critical dependencies that would most likely lead to conflict.

Although man's requirement and quest for resources represents a well-known and often-discussed theme, supporting data in the study provides fresh insight into the seriousness and complexities of the issues. The statistics, history and ongoing negotiations that are presented in the analysis of each resource are instructive in considering catalytic forces that may lead to conflict. The study clearly conveys the increasing potential for conflict in a world where the demand for scarce resources is growing rapidly due to unmanageable population growth and rapid increases in human aspirations.