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Maritime Border Diplomacy

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construction of coastal forts and of a fleet of inshore gunboats to fight Britain's global navy, and the successful U.S. amphibious campaign against Japan's island bastions in World War II.

Erickson's key question is, How successful is China's ASBM system? He concludes that a functioning ASBM has been developed by Beijing but that final operating capacity remains a work in progress. Erickson highlights a crucial weakness in China's efforts to deploy such a complex system of systems when he describes the "tremendously complex and difficult process" of ensuring "extremely close coordination" among several branches and agencies in a Chinese bureaucracy notable for lacking that attribute.

The ASBM-warhead issue is not satisfactorily addressed in the literature. Why would a U.S. commander assume that an incoming ballistic missile is armed with a conventional warhead and not a nuclear one? Employing ASBMs poses a possibly insuperable danger of escalation from conventional to nuclear warfare. As Erickson points out in his conclusion, "PLA sources reveal overconfidence in China's ability to control escalation, which is itself an extraordinary danger."

The author's conclusion that an aircraft carrier group "would have a large electromagnetic signature" ignores the progress made in the 1980s in operating under dramatically reduced electronic emissions conditions. Also, the author errs if he attributes to China a unique policy of "asymmetry" in the development of weapons designed to counter U.S. military strengths. Any intelligent military does that. I also question the author's conclusion that the United States is "on the 'wrong end of physics'" with respect to matching China

militarily, in view of his inability to describe countermeasures presently under development or in force.

However, these are minor criticisms of a thoughtful evaluation of current Chinese efforts to defend the homeland and exert control over the waters Beijing believes vital to national-security interests. Also impressive is Erickson's appreciation of the possibility of "deeply destabilizing" strategic effects of successful Chinese maritime control strategies on the Asian political situation—that is, a successful ASBM will not simply be a tactical weapon. This is a book that every naval officer and civilian analyst must read.

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Nordquist, Myron H., and John Norton Moore, eds. *Maritime Border Diplomacy*. Boston, Mass.: Martinus Nijhoff, 2012. 366pp. \$146.98

In 2011 the thirty-fifth annual conference on the law of the sea and oceans policy was held in Bali, Indonesia. The conference attracted (as it always does) an impressive array of presenters and attendees. The editors offer with this work a compilation of the papers presented. Perhaps because they made no concessions to make the presentations "accessible," the result is something of a rarity—a compilation that remains interesting and useful. Each of the seven sections has much to recommend it. All are potentially useful, and the "Dispute Settlement Mechanisms" section is especially well presented.

This collection is a fascinating spectrum of topics ranging from specific cases, such as the "2008 China-Japan Agreement on Cooperation for the

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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Struett, Michael J., Jon D. Carlson, and Mark T. Nance, eds. *Maritime Piracy and the Construction of Global Governance*. New York: Routledge, 2013. 226pp. \$29

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