

BOOK REVIEW

Eurasia's maritime rise and global security: from the Indian Ocean to Pacific Asia and the Arctic, edited by Geoffrey F. Gresh, Gewerbstrasse, Switzerland, Palgrave MacMillan, 2018, pp. 288, 105 USD (hardcover), ISBN 978-3-319-71806-4

This book is a collection of 15 essays by 14 different authors and is divided into three parts, with each part being devoted to one of the three regions that have been detailed in the title (viz., the Indian Ocean, Pacific Asia, and the Arctic). The range of authors that have contributed to the book is indeed impressive and includes the Director of a NATO Parliamentary Assembly Committee, CEO's, professors, regulatory analysts, officers from the United States Navy and the US Marine Corps, partners, PhD candidates, and, a number of researchers. Despite this, the book has three shortcomings that are almost immediately evident. The first is the absence of a definition of what constitutes Eurasia. This makes the omission of any chapters dealing with the Mediterranean, the Baltic Sea, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, Central Asia, non-Arctic-Europe, Australia and Small Island Developing States (SIDS) particularly conspicuous. The second is the absence of any chapter assessing Eurasia's historical maritime traditions. Finally, none of the chapters appear to have addressed HADR, Maritime Domain Awareness, or the increasing interaction between the many extra-regional navies now crowding the Indian Ocean.

The subsequent paragraphs of this review aim to provide a brief summary of the contents of the book and the essays that it contains.

As stated by Admiral James Starvidis, USN (Retd), this book assesses the ancient continent's maritime habits in the twenty-first Century. The first chapter, by Professor Geoffrey Gresh, titled, "Why Maritime Eurasia(?)", proceeds to outline the scope, purpose and arrangement of the book, and establishes that the book's aim is to specifically examine Eurasia from a saltwater perspective and provide comprehensive analyses, integrating the essential aspects of climate change, military challenges, and economic challenges.

Part 1 of the book, which is dedicated to the Indian Ocean region, begins with Chapter 2, titled, "Strategic Maritime Chokepoints: Perspectives from the Global Shipping and Port Sectors", by Rockford Weitz. Weitz examines the Straits of Gibraltar, Malacca and the Suez Canal, and notes that while maritime chokepoints are strategically important to a nation, insofar as global shipping companies are concerned, they merely constitute a geographic reality. However, such chokepoints present a competitive advantage to maritime support services. While bunkering and the roles of port operators and shipbrokers have been thoroughly examined, only cursory mentions of the role played by freight forwarding, classification societies, insurance, financing, maritime law and maritime arbitration have been made here.

Chapter 3, "Chokepoints of the Western Indian Ocean: China's Maritime Silk Route, and the future of Regional Security", by Professor Geoffrey F Gresh, propounds that President Xi Jinping altered the root tenet of Deng Xiaoping's foreign policy which was to "hide your strength, bide your time, never take the lead" to one that now assumes a much more visible and assertive posture. China is currently the biggest oil importer in the world while concomitantly possessing the largest number of maritime vessels in the world and holding the distinction of being the world's largest shipbuilder, thus taking China's reach to a global level. Thus, while China's Maritime Silk Route Initiative is in its infancy, Gresh considers it to be only a matter of time before China evolves into a more transformative influence across the Arabian peninsula and the western Indian Ocean region.

Chapter 4, by Jelmer D. Iking, is an interesting one and dwells upon the economics of Somali counterpiracy from the perspective of international shipping companies. He believes that in the contemporary context, all land interventions to resolve piracy issues are either illegal or unethical. He also argues that the informal nature of Somalia's economy renders sanctions useless and acknowledges that while economic incentive schemes may work with time, they are not relevant to shipping companies, all of whom are in need of a far more immediate solution. The deployment of navies results in unsustainable costs for taxpayers without necessarily being able to comprehensively tackle the growing occurrence of piracy in these areas. Iking proceeds to analyse in detail alternative options such as re-routing, proceeding at higher speed, insurance, hardening (crew skills and physical barriers), and, private military security companies, and uses factual, mathematical and statistical data to show that resorting to any of these options would be a more sensible course of action for shipping companies as opposed to taking no action at all.

In Chapter 5, the author, Sea Sovereign Thomas, examines the rise of the India-Japanese maritime partnership in a world order marked by China's rise and America's relative decline. By marshalling data to demonstrate that both nations have common national interests in sea lane security, Thomas illustrates how the Great Wall of Japan barricades the Pacific and the Great Wedge of India splits the Indian Ocean. He also explains how an enhanced Tokyo-New Delhi partnership creates a new geostrategic problem for Beijing – an “Indo-Pacific Dilemma” whereby China's naval actions in one ocean could potentially put its commerce at risk in another.

Jonathan Reiber explores cyberspace operations in Chapter 6. Observing that the internet underpins the data and processing of all global shipping, Reiber underscores the point that one vulnerable component could provide a pathway for the significant exploitation of the entire system. He states that Asia is lagging in terms of necessary investments to secure itself against cyberattacks and also suggests the implementation of initiatives such as the e-LORAN as an attempt to provide an alternative to compromised PNT (Positioning, Navigation and Timing) capabilities should GPS systems not function as desired. This chapter is one of the shorter ones in this book and is one that certainly needed to be more elaborate. For instance, the author seems satisfied with merely stating that much of the responsibility of cybersecurity presently falls on the shoulders of information communications and technology companies, infrastructure owners and operators; or that it is the private sector that owns and operates the majority of the infrastructure of this cyberspace. The suggestions made on possible regulatory solutions, given this reality, required much more detailing, with particular emphasis on the legal dimension, which is conspicuously absent.

The second part of the book covers Pacific Asia and opens with Chapter 7, which is authored by Sung Yoon Lee, and dwells upon Japan's maritime operations in the Korean war. Lee addresses Japan's relatively unknown contributions to the war in Korea, which set a precedent for future combined military operations, in concert with the USA, beyond its own territorial boundaries. Lee believes that in the long run, the extent of Japanese contributions in forging a new regional order in Northeast Asia will come to define the nature of Japan's relations with both Korea and China and assuage the residual antipathy arising from Imperial Japan's aggressive acts and Tokyo's atavistic whitewashing of the past.

Joseph A Gagliano deals with maritime security in the South China Sea in Chapter 8. Gagliano, while considering maritime security as a spectrum of national power in the maritime domain, envisages the spectrum spreading from human security to economic security and national security. He acknowledges that the grouping of these concerns under a single category of maritime security helps governments coordinate policy more efficiently. However, he also notes that factors such as China's power and assertiveness introduce uncertainty. States

without territorial disputes with a Great Power can distinguish between these missions more easily, enabling them to deploy law-enforcement forces for one and naval forces for the other, as can be seen, for instance, with the American distinction between and differential deployment of white-hulled coastguard vessels and grey-hulled naval warships. However, for States dealing with territorial disputes with a great power, this differentiation is often not possible. For example, maritime security boats assigned to rescue fishermen might suddenly find themselves being called to defend their nation's claimed borders against superior Chinese naval forces. One crucial development that remains entirely unexamined here is that of China's employment of lawfare and its maritime militia.

In Chapter 9, Zachary White examines the issue of the rising sea level in the Pearl River Delta, located in coastal southern China. Zachary observes that the text of the Paris Agreement fails to include a single mention of this sea level rise and draws attention to the fact that the thermal expansion of water is a much greater contributor to sea level rise than is the melting of polar ice. He also notes that rising sea levels are not distributed uniformly throughout the globe and that locations abutting the warmer waters found at lower latitudes tend to experience more of an increase in sea levels. He demonstrates how a rise in sea levels affects not just industry, but also wharves, ports and access to freshwater. While his analysis is quite detailed, a stark omission is his failure to link this case study across the Eurasian maritime mass so as to provide comparative perspectives. This narrows the focus of the chapter.

Chapter 10, by Stephen A Lambo, titled "The Great Convergence: Maritime Supremacy, Energy Primacy, and the Oceanic Coalition in Asia", is the longest and amongst the best chapters in the book. Lambo commences by examining Europe (post World War II), where recovering States allowed themselves to become existentially dependent on hydrocarbons imported from the USA. In exchange for stable supplies of primary energy resources procured through open markets, these States relinquished their right to self-security and ended up delegating their sovereignty to the USA. By affiliating themselves with American maritime power and international governance, a global oceanic coalition was formed, albeit one without a name, treaty or charter; a coalition of the willing, not the coerced. He explains the consequences of the US response to the 1973 OPEC Oil Embargo which, *inter alia*, resulted in Japan pioneering 'supertankers' or Very Large Crude Carriers (VLCC) and singlehandedly building the global market in seaborne LNG. America's actions resulted in a paradoxical situation where it continued to guarantee global maritime security for all, while simultaneously, US allies and trading partners were drawn into economic relationships with energy producing States whose own actions often had negative political consequences for the international order that the US was promoting. The recent return of the US to a position of global energy primacy in 2015 enables Asian economies to keep moving up the industrial value chain. This also clashes with the continentalist dreams of Russia and China to reduce American power and influence through a Eurasian counter-hegemonistic bloc of transit States and energy dependents mapped by Russian pipelines and Chinese long-distance trains.

Part 3 of the book on the Arctic commences with Chapter 11 by Scott G Borgerson. Scott draws attention to the positive fact that the loss of half the area of the Arctic sea ice has spurred countries to work out their differences peacefully rather than hardening positions. Scott provides a bird's-eye view of the mining and drilling, power, fishing and energy prospects of the region, in addition to the navigational possibilities made possible by the melting of the ice. He drives home the point that barring some exceptions, (such as the dynamic between USA and Canada), a shared interest in profit can override the instinct to compete for territory.

Chapter 12, by Derek Kane O'Leary, concerns the "Public and National Imagination of the Arctic". He demonstrates how the US has never been a meaningfully Arctic nation as it is the mainland continent that has defined American politics, economy and identity and continues to

do so. Russia has inherited a historical orientation towards its vast Arctic fringe. Canada, likewise has a 'whole of government' approach to the Arctic, which transcends political parties and is a lasting element of Canadian policy.

Chapter 13 by Elliot Creem on "Arctic Fisheries Management" has, as its core concern, the manner in which Arctic commercial fishing should be governed, whether through a multitude of Regional Fisheries Management Organisations or a single global agreement covering all Arctic fisheries. The author notes that the Arctic littoral nations have determined, through the 2008 Ilulissat Declaration, that Arctic States will build on existing institutions rather than ratify a new, comprehensive international treaty. However, the chapter fails to address one extremely important aspect: the ongoing United Nations initiative to regulate biodiversity in areas beyond national jurisdiction, a process that has important implications for the Arctic as well.

Chapter 14, by Ethan Corbin, addresses security competition in the Arctic. Until recently, NATO member States stressed that NATO had no real role above the Arctic Circle. However, this has now started changing with Russia's renewed investment in its Arctic military capabilities, from newly equipped bases to increased regional anti-access/area denial capabilities, and, a massive investment in its Northern Fleet's strategic and tactical capabilities. The lack of an enforcement mechanism by the existing international organisations and forums impairs proper regional management. Further, and perhaps most importantly, no multilateral forum currently exists for the regulation of Arctic security issues.

The final chapter of the book by Aaron L. Strong, "Tackling Greenhouse Gas Emissions (GHG) from the International Maritime Industry", analyses how the adoption of the Energy Efficiency Design Index (EEDI) and the Ship Energy Efficiency Management Plan (SEEMP) fails to significantly reduce GHG emissions in the shipping industry. The failure to take advantage of the economic efficiencies of market-based emission trading mechanisms and the failure to improve the efficiency of the current fleet of ships is attributed to the IMO's unwillingness to make sure that the shipping industry is regulated within the IMO and not from the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change).

Overall, the book is a valuable compilation of scholarship on thought-provoking maritime issues. As such, it reflects a substantive addition to the growing repository of knowledge about the complexities of the maritime domain and the relevance of 'Maritime Eurasia'.

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