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Title

FREEDOM FOR THE SEAS IN THE 21ST CENTURY : OCEAN GOVERNANCE

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9451s7pt>

Journal

Electronic Green Journal, 1(4)

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Publication Date

1995

DOI

10.5070/G31410230

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Jon M. Van Dyke, Durwoord Zaleke, and Grant Harrison, eds., FREEDOM FOR THE SEAS IN THE 21ST CENTURY : OCEAN GOVERNANCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL HARMONY. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1993. 504 pp. US\$27.50 paper ISBN: 1-55963-242-9. Recycled, acid-free paper.

Rarely can irony be expressed by a mere preposition, but that is what the editors of FREEDOM FOR THE SEAS have done in recasting the centuries-old phrase "freedom of the seas." The right of nations to exploit the high seas was already firmly seated in Western thought when Hugh Grotius published MARE LIBERUM in the 17th century. Three hundred years later, the principles of mass-production applied to ocean harvest have proved the world's oceans to be finite. Fish stocks are on the decline, and several species have been reduced to commercial extinction. Moreover, the lobbying power of an ever more desperate fishing industry continues to threaten what national protection laws still exist.

The problems of the high seas require more than national action, and it was in this spirit in 1990 that Greenpeace and three international peace institutes convened an ocean governance conference in Hawaii. The papers delivered at this meeting, collected in FREEDOM FOR THE SEAS, concern the legal aspects of open-ocean law. To some extent, this collection of papers presents scientific evidence of the threat to our oceans (Jackson Davis's excellent analysis of UNEP ocean pollution data is an example), but science was clearly not the focus of the meeting. The real focus of the 1990 meeting, legal and political issues, is reflected in its paper topics, which include: ocean governance (distant and recent history), factory fishing and drift nets, deep seabed mining, the status of island nations and indigenous peoples, and, finally, military activities.

It is interesting to note that among the key speakers at the meeting was Arvid Pardo. Pardo's address to the United Nations in 1967 helped spark the movement that would become the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea. Many of the writers in FREEDOM FOR THE SEAS cite this UN convention. Because a number of industrialized nations have refused to support the convention's article on deep seabed mining, ratification has been stalled. (Some provisions of the original convention have been included in other UN actions, such as the fisheries resolution passed this summer.) Even ungratified, the 1982 convention serves as a legal backbone for most efforts, in Pardo's words, "to establish a new legal order governing ocean space as a whole" (39).

The most unusual and enlightening chapters in the book are those which express the viewpoints of indigenous peoples. Maori lawyer Moana Jackson delivers an exposition on the indigenous Pacific philosophy that the sea is not a resource, but a responsibility. (He also contributes the preface to FREEDOM FOR THE SEAS.) Poka Laenui (Hayden Burgess) expands on that theme in his commentary on the Hawaiian creation myth. He contrasts the Western view of the oceans as a resource with the Hawaiian "Ke Kumu," that the ocean is the source of all life (94).

FREEDOM FOR THE SEAS very aptly defines the international legal issues surrounding ocean governance, most of which have never been adequately resolved. It is recommended as excellent background and bibliographic material for researchers of ocean governance policy and history, as well as for those interested in open-seas environmental issues.