

ADDRESS BY FIRST SEA LORD TO FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
SEAPOWERS SYMPOSIUM ON THURSDAY 4 OCTOBER 1979

THE PROTECTION OF NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL
RESOURCES AGAINST NATURE AND MAN

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, CHIEFS OF NAVAL STAFF, OTHER DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, (LADIES AND) GENTLEMEN. IT IS BOTH A GREAT HONOUR AND A GREAT PLEASURE TO BE INVITED TO ADDRESS YOU TODAY. I AM UNCERTAIN WHETHER IT IS AN ADVANTAGE TO SPEAK IN THE MORNING (WHEN YOUR AUDIENCE IS EXPECTED TO BE AWAKE AND THE SHAME IF THEY ARE NOT IS MAGNIFIED) OR IN THE AFTERNOON (WHEN IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT YOUR AUDIENCE MAY REQUIRE SLEEP BUT IT IS IMMENSELY GRATIFYING IF THEY ARE NOT). HOWEVER I AM FORTIFIED BY THE LECTURER WHO SOUGHT THE ADVICE OF A FAMOUS ORATOR ON THE ART OF PUBLIC SPEAKING. THE LATTER REPLIED: "SPEAK AS LONG AND AS OFTEN AS YOU WISH AND YOU WILL QUICKLY DEVELOP THAT NATURAL CONTEMPT FOR YOUR AUDIENCE WHICH EVERY BORE INSTINCTIVELY HAS".

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1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

2. GENERAL POINTS

THE TITLE WHICH I HAVE BEEN GIVEN IS A VERY BROAD AND GENERAL ONE AND THE PROBLEMS WHICH IT COVERS ARE SIMILARLY BROAD AND GENERAL. SO THERE IS A POSITIVE INDUCEMENT FOR ME TO BE WIDE RANGING. LET ME SAY, THEREFORE, AT THE OUTSET THAT I WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS GENERAL ISSUES WHICH, PROFESSIONALLY, ARE OF CONCERN TO ALL OF US. I SHALL STICK FAIRLY CLOSELY TO THE PROFESSIONAL ASPECTS; SOME OF THE POLITICAL ISSUES THAT ARISE ARE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE AND COMPLEXITY, BUT TIME ALONE WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR ME TO DO MORE THAN OUTLINE AREAS OF CONTROVERSY. I HAVE ALSO HAD TO RESIST ANOTHER TEMPTATION: I COULD CHEERFULLY, AND I THINK INTERESTINGLY, FILL MY ALLOTTED TIME BY TELLING YOU HOW THE ROYAL NAVY AND THE ROYAL AIR FORCE HAVE BEEN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS THAT ARISE IN THE NORTH SEA AND OTHER BRITISH OFFSHORE AREAS; IT IS A PRACTICAL AND DEMANDING EXAMPLE OF HOW TO COPE. THIS IS NOT THE OCCASION, ALTHOUGH I WOULD BE HAPPY TO TALK ABOUT OUR EXPERIENCE, SHOULD THE MATTER ARISE IN DISCUSSION.

LET ME START BY DEALING WITH THREE GENERAL POINTS THAT SEEM TO ME TO BE INTRINSIC TO THE GENERAL PROBLEMS THAT WE ALL FACE.

A. THE NATURE OF THE ENVIRONMENT

THE FIRST POINT IS SO OBVIOUS AND SO FUNDAMENTAL THAT SPECIALISTS IN MARITIME AFFAIRS TAKE IT FOR GRANTED - AND USUALLY NEGLECT TO MENTION IT. AS A CONSEQUENCE, ANY MORE GENERAL AUDIENCE FAILS TO BE AWARE OF ITS IMPORTANCE.

IT IS A SIMPLE POINT TO MAKE, THAT THE SEA IS A VERY DANGEROUS ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH TO WORK. IT PRESENTS A CONSTANTLY CHANGING PATTERN OF DEMANDS ON ALL OF US WHO USE IT. CONDITIONS CAN SHIFT AND ALTER WITH ALARMING RAPIDITY, AND EVEN IN GOOD CONDITIONS DANGER IS ALWAYS THERE - ON THE SEA, UNDER THE SEA, AND OVER THE SEA. IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD, THE ELEMENTAL FORCES OF NATURE CAN IMPOSE UPON US, REGULARLY BUT UNPREDICTABLY, STRUGGLES TO SURVIVE WHICH WE HAVE TO WIN IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO GO ON AND DO OUR JOBS.

WE ACCEPT SUCH STRUGGLES AS AN UNDENIABLE FACT; INDEED, TO MEET AND OVERCOME THEM IS ONE OF THE GREAT CHALLENGES THAT HAVE DRAWN SO MANY MEN, AND WOMEN TOO, "TO GO ABOUT THEIR BUSINESS IN THE GREAT WATERS". AND ALTHOUGH WE NOW HAVE MANY MORE INSTRUMENTS AND TOOLS TO HELP US - FROM BETTER WEATHER FORECASTING TO ALL SORTS OF SHIP IMPROVEMENTS - THE STRUGGLES AND THE CHALLENGES REMAIN. THE SEA IS AN UNSTABLE, INFINITELY VARIABLE AND ESSENTIALLY HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT, WHOSE POWER WE NEGLECT AT OUR PERIL.

B. SKILLS

THAT BRINGS ME TO MY SECOND POINT. IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO USE THE SEA SUCCESSFULLY WE HAVE TO DEVELOP, AND THEN MAINTAIN, SKILLS OF A HIGH ORDER. AT ONE LEVEL, THIS MEANS THE ENGINEERING AND SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND COMPETENCE TO PRODUCE THE INSTRUMENTS THAT ENABLE US TO USE THE SEA'S RESOURCES: THE SHIPS, THE AIRCRAFT, THE INSTALLATIONS THAT ARE NOW SO VARIED IN TYPE AND FUNCTION, THE NAVIGATIONAL AND COMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT, THE LIFE-SAVING EQUIPMENT - THE LIST IS ALMOST ENDLESS, AND THE GROWING NUMBER OF USES TO WHICH THE SEA IS BEING PUT WILL MAKE IT EVEN LONGER YET. THE PACE OF CHANGE, INDEED, IS A MAJOR FACTOR IN ITSELF, THAT TESTS OUR CAPACITY TO INNOVATE SUCCESSFULLY.

BUT OVER AND BEYOND THESE MATERIAL SKILLS THERE ARE THE PERSONAL SKILLS THAT ARE NECESSARY. IT IS THE KNOWLEDGE AND THE TRAINING OF THE PEOPLE WHO USE THE SEA THAT SO OFTEN MAKE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MERE SURVIVAL AND SUCCESS; AND IT IS UPON THE TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PERSONNEL THAT ONE MIGHT REASONABLY BASE A JUDGEMENT ABOUT THE SUCCESS OF OUR ORGANISATIONS. NOWHERE IS THIS MORE TRUE THAN IN NAVIES, THOUGH IT IS GENERALLY TRUE FOR ALL MARITIME ORGANISATIONS. IN SPITE OF ALL THE WONDERFUL INVENTIONS AND EQUIPMENTS THAT WE NOW HAVE - AND ARE STILL PROMISED - THE COMPETENCE AND THE DEDICATION OF OUR PERSONNEL IS A TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT CONCERN, THAT WOULD NOT ONLY BE A VITAL ELEMENT IN ANY FORM OF COMBAT, BUT IS A NECESSARY AND PERSISTENT COMPONENT IN ACHIEVING AN ACCEPTABLE LEVEL OF DAY-TO-DAY EFFICIENCY AND SAFETY.

C. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SEA

MY THIRD GENERAL POINT IS THAT THE SEA IS BECOMING MORE IMPORTANT TO US ALL RATHER THAN LESS IMPORTANT. THE PASSAGE OF RESOURCES AND MATERIALS BY SEA TRANSPORT IS STILL OF TREMENDOUS SIGNIFICANCE - MOST OF WHAT IS IMPORTANT OTHER THAN PASSENGERS, POST, RACEHORSES AND DIAMONDS STILL GOES BY SHIP - AND IS A SOURCE OF TRADING REVENUE AS WELL AS A SOURCE OF SUPPLY. THE RESOURCES IN THE SEA, AND UNDER THE SEA, HAVE ASSUMED A NEW SALIENCE IN RECENT YEARS THAT IS NOT ONLY OF ENORMOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE IN ITSELF BUT HAS VERY WIDE, AND POSSIBLY FUNDAMENTAL, SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE WAYS IN WHICH THE SEAS ARE USED FOR ALL THE OTHER PURPOSES WHICH, HISTORICALLY, ARE MORE FAMILIAR TO US.

3. LET ME, FOR A MOMENT, DEVELOP THIS LAST POINT. WHAT IN ESSENCE HAS BEEN HAPPENING DURING THE LAST GENERATION IS THAT WE HAVE BEEN ENABLED, THROUGH MAN'S INVENTIVENESS, TO DEVELOP THE EXPLOITATION OF THE NATURAL RESOURCES THAT BIOLOGICAL AND GEOLOGICAL FORCES OF NATURE HAVE STORED UP FOR US. WE CAN NOW REACH SOME OF THEM, AND WE CAN NOW WIN SOME OF THEM; BUT WE ALSO HAVE TO DISTRIBUTE THEM, USE THEM - AND, INCREASINGLY, WE ARE BECOMING AWARE THAT WE MUST SAFEGUARD THEM. FISH, OIL AND GAS ARE THE THREE PRINCIPAL RESOURCES THAT ARE CURRENTLY IN THE FOREFRONT OF ALL OUR MINDS. EACH OF THEM POSES A DIVERSE RANGE OF COMMERCIAL, TECHNICAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF THEIR OWN; BUT THEY WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE ADDED TO WITHIN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. TECHNOLOGY WILL ENABLE US TO EXTEND OUR REACH TO THE LIMITS OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND BEYOND; AND THE DESIRES

OF ALL OUR PEOPLES FOR HIGHER AND MORE ASSURED STANDARDS OF LIVING WILL PUSH THE NEED TO USE THESE NEW SKILLS AS FAST AS POSSIBLE - PERHAPS EVEN FASTER THAN IS REALLY NECESSARY.

ONE OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS, THEREFORE, TO WHICH WE MUST ADDRESS OURSELVES OVER THE NEXT GENERATION IS THE PROTECTION OF THESE RESOURCES AGAINST WASTE: AGAINST MIS-USE.

4. I MENTIONED THE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES. ALTHOUGH THE CHANGE HAS ARISEN FROM A NUMBER OF CAUSES NOT ALL CONNECTED DIRECTLY WITH THE USE OF THE SEA, THE PATTERN OF SEA TRADING HAS ALTERED IN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT WAYS IN THE LAST TWO DECADES. AS THE PATTERN OF WORLD TRADE HAS CHANGED, THE INSTRUMENTS BY WHICH A GREAT PART OF THE TRADE IS CARRIED OUT HAVE ALSO ALTERED. NEW TYPES OF SHIP ARE ONE OF THE MOST OBVIOUS MANIFESTATIONS. THE VERY LARGE CRUDE CARRIERS ARE NOT THE ONLY EXAMPLE BUT THEY ARE, PERHAPS, THE MOST DRAMATIC. THEY HAVE VERY IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES, NOT ONLY FOR THE ECONOMICS OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY, BUT ALSO FOR THE EXTENSIVE, AND AWFUL, EFFECTS OF ACCIDENT AND LOSS: AND FOR THE NEED, TO WHICH I HAVE ALREADY REFERRED, TO INCORPORATE VERY HIGH STANDARDS OF SAFETY AND OPERATING EFFICIENCY.

BOTH THESE SETS OF CHANGES, THE NEW LEVELS OF EXPLOITATION AND THE NEW MEANS OF DISTRIBUTION, HAVE INCIDENTALLY GIVEN RISE TO DEMANDS FOR INVESTMENT CAPITAL OF A SIZE AND OF A SIGNIFICANCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WHICH, EVEN A FEW YEARS EARLIER, WOULD HAVE SEEMED INCREDIBLE. MONEY IS, APPARENTLY, ALMOST COMPLETELY SOLUBLE IN CERTAIN TYPES OF SALT WATER!

5. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MATERIALS WHICH ARE CARRIED BY SEA; THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESOURCES WHICH ARE EXTRACTED FROM THE SEA AND FROM THE OFFSHORE SEABED; AND THE CONCENTRATION OF INVESTMENT RESOURCES AND SKILLS, THAT HAS BEEN FOUND NECESSARY TO CONTRIVE ALL THESE ACTIVITIES; COMBINE TOGETHER TO GIVE BOTH AN ECONOMIC AND A POLITICAL PROMINENCE TO MARITIME AFFAIRS WHICH IS OF CONSIDERABLE SIGNIFICANCE TO US. FOR ONE OF THE CONSEQUENCES THAT WE ARE ALL VERY MUCH AWARE OF IS THAT THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF INDEPENDENT STATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, AND THE TECHNICAL ADVANCES IN MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND SKILLS, HAVE COMBINED WITH OTHER FACTORS LIKE THE MILITARY COMPETITION BETWEEN THE GREAT ALLIANCES TO PRODUCE A VERY LARGE NUMBER OF NAVIES WITH EFFECTIVE MILITARY CAPABILITIES. BY NO MEANS ALL OF THEM ARE "BLUE WATER NAVIES" WITH A LONG REACH; BUT A GREAT MANY HAVE AT LEAST THE POTENTIAL TO BE ABLE TO ENGAGE IN EFFECTIVE COMBAT EXCHANGES AND TO MOUNT CREDIBLE "SEA DENIAL" MISSIONS IN WATERS THAT ARE IMPORTANT TO THEM.

IN SHORT, THE SEA IS NOW IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO A LARGE NUMBER OF STATES - EITHER FOR WHAT IT BRINGS OR FOR WHAT IT PROMISES - FOR THEM TO WANT TO BE ABLE TO PROTECT WHAT THEY SEE AS THEIR INTERESTS OR TO CONTEST WHAT THEY FEAR MIGHT BE AN UNEQUAL DIVISION OF THE SPOILS. SO I WOULD SAY THAT A SECOND MAJOR PROBLEM IS THE INCREASED LIKELIHOOD THAT DISPUTES OVER MARITIME RESOURCES MAY INVOLVE THE USE OF FORCE.

6. THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN NOW USE THE SEAS BRINGS IN ITS TRAIN A WHOLE SERIES OF PROBLEMS; AND IT MAY BE USEFUL TO SPEND A LITTLE TIME ON THE PROBLEMS OF

MANAGEMENT, THAT ARISE AT BOTH THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVEL. IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, WE HAVE HAD TO DEVELOP A NEW PIECE OF JARGON TO TRY AND DESCRIBE THE PHENOMENON AS IT AFFECTS US. WE CALL IT "THE OFFSHORE TAPESTRY" IN AN ATTEMPT TO PUT THE ELEMENTS INTO A SINGLE CONTEXT. THE TAPESTRY INCLUDES THE PROBLEMS THAT WE HAVE TO DEAL WITH IN REGARD TO FISHERY PROTECTION AND CONSERVATION; THE REGULATION, FOR SAFETY PURPOSES, OF COMMERCIAL SHIPPING; THE PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF POLLUTION ARISING FROM OIL AND OTHER SPOILANTS; SEARCH-AND-RESCUE AND THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF SAFETY AT SEA; HYDROGRAPHIC SURVEYING; AND THE SECURITY OF OIL AND GAS INSTALLATIONS ONSHORE AND OFFSHORE. THIS IS A RICH MIXTURE OF IMPORTANT, AND DIFFICULT, PROBLEMS; BUT THE TAPESTRY ALSO TRIES TO BRING INTO A SENSIBLE RELATIONSHIP THE MULTITUDE OF NATIONAL AUTHORITIES THAT ARE CONCERNED WITH THE TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES THAT ARISE, AND THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES WITH WHICH WE ALSO HAVE TO DEAL.

I SEE, FROM A RECENT ARTICLE IN THE UNITED STATES NAVAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS, THAT THE UNITED STATES APPARENTLY HAS OVER 40 GOVERNMENT AGENCIES THAT HAVE OVERLAPPING RESPONSIBILITIES IN THIS SORT OF FIELD. IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, WE HAVE 23 (AT THE LAST COUNT); I AM NOT SURE WHETHER THIS IS BETTER, OR WORSE, BUT THE TWO EXAMPLES ARE, I SUSPECT, FAIRLY TYPICAL. BECAUSE OF THE WAY IN WHICH INSTITUTIONS HAVE GROWN UP, AND FUNCTIONS HAVE DEVELOPED, THERE IS NO PARTICULARLY STRONG CORRELATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY AND FIELD ACTIVITY. THE SAME IS TRUE AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL; THERE ARE WELL OVER 100 INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, INCLUDING INTER-

GOVERNMENTAL, NON-GOVERNMENTAL AND REGIONAL BODIES CONCERNED WITH VARIOUS ASPECTS OF MARINE ACTIVITIES. SOME OF THEM HAVE RATHER NARROW AND SPECIALIST CONCERNS, OTHERS COVER A WIDE RANGE.

7. NOW ON THE FACE OF THINGS THIS ALL LOOKS VERY UNTIDY; BUT I HAVE TO SAY THAT, AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL AT LEAST, I THINK ONE COULD ARGUE THAT THE MULTIPLICITY OF AGENCIES IS NOT NECESSARILY A BAD THING. IN TERMS OF DAY-TO-DAY EFFICIENCY, AND IN THE ORDINARY COURSE OF EVENTS, MANY OF THE TASKS WHICH HAVE TO BE DONE CALL FOR SPECIALIST AND CONCENTRATED ATTENTION AND DO NOT POSITIVELY NEED ANY GREAT SUPERSTRUCTURE OF CONTROL. BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE NUMBER OF AGENCIES INVOLVED, IN ITSELF AND AS A MATTER OF GOOD MANAGEMENT LOGIC, IMPOSES A CLEAR REQUIREMENT FOR A SYSTEMATIC, WELL-REHEARSED AND WELL-UNDERSTOOD METHOD OF COMBINING THE SKILLS OF SUCH AGENCIES WHEN COORDINATED ACTIVITY IS REQUIRED IN AN EMERGENCY. IN THE UNITED KINGDOM WE HAVE LEARNED THAT LESSON THE HARD WAY, EVEN BEFORE THE TORREY CANYON, AND WE MUST NOT FORGET IT. THERE IS A COROLLARY, TOO, WHICH IS MORE DEBATABLE, AND CERTAINLY MORE DIFFICULT IN THE SENSE THAT IT IS A GENERAL PROBLEM THAT AFFECTS THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT AS A WHOLE. COORDINATION OF ACTIVITY IN THE FACE OF A CLEARLY IDENTIFIED CRISIS IS RELATIVELY EASY TO ACHIEVE, BECAUSE THE CRISIS ITSELF IS THERE TO BE DEALT WITH. THE COORDINATION OF POLICY, SO THAT ALL THE VARIOUS BODIES ARE WORKING TOWARDS COMPATIBLE AND LINKED OBJECTIVES IN THEIR DAY-TO-DAY AFFAIRS, IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO COME BY. IT REQUIRES, FIRST, THE ELUCIDATION OF A NATIONAL SET OF AIMS, WHICH MAY BE A VERY DIFFICULT THING TO DO; AND THEN IT REQUIRES THE IDENTIFICATION OF SEPARATE SETS OF AGENCY

GOALS, AND THE PROVISION OF RESOURCES TO ACHIEVE THEM. ON GENERAL PRINCIPLE, IT ALL SOUNDS LIKE A GOOD IDEA, AND WOULD BE QUITE USEFUL; BUT I AM BY NO MEANS SURE WHETHER IT WOULD MATERIALLY ENHANCE OUR GENERAL ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS THAT ARE ACTUALLY LIKELY TO ARISE.

8. AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL, HOWEVER, THERE IS A DIFFERENT SORT OF NEED TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT.

THE EXPLOITATION OF THE RESOURCES OF THE SEA HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE NUMBER OF INDEPENDENT STATES HAS GROWN CONSIDERABLY; WHILE MANY OF THEM ARE VERY POOR, MANY TOO HAVE IMPORTANT MATERIAL RESOURCES, OFF-SHORE AS WELL AS IN THEIR HINTERLANDS, THAT GIVE THEM A STRONG INTEREST TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EXPLOITATIONS WHICH TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENTS HAVE MADE POSSIBLE. THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES HAVE NEEDS AND INTERESTS TOO WHICH MAKE THE SEARCH FOR SECURE SOURCES OF RAW MATERIALS, NOW AND IN THE FUTURE, IMPORTANT AND IN SOME CASES CRUCIAL TO THEIR CONTINUED PROSPERITY. HOWEVER YOU CARE TO EPITOMISE THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM, BY CALLING IT A NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE OR WHATEVER, THERE IS NO DENYING ITS TREMENDOUS SIGNIFICANCE FOR US ALL.

9. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE NEED FOR A GENERALLY AGREED SET OF RULES OR UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT HOW THE SEAS SHOULD BE USED ASSUMES A NEW LEVEL OF IMPORTANCE. AND ALTHOUGH THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE LAW OF THE SEA (UNCLOS) HAVE NOT SO FAR PROVIDED US WITH ANY DEFINITIVE OR EXTENSIVE RESULTS, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IT IS PLAINLY NECESSARY TO CONTINUE THE ATTEMPT TO GET AGREEMENTS. UNCLOS WILL NOT SOLVE EVERYTHING

BY ANY MEANS, BUT A FAILURE TO GET A REASONABLE SOLUTION WITHIN THE LIMITATIONS OF THIS FORUM WILL ADDITIONALLY COMPLICATE ALL SORTS OF ISSUES, THAT WOULD MATERIALLY AFFECT ANY INDIVIDUAL STATE'S ABILITY TO MAINTAIN AN ORDERLY, AND STABLE, PATTERN IN ITS MARITIME AFFAIRS. I OUGHT TO ADD, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN AN AGREED UNCLOS TREATY WILL LEAVE US WITH A LOT OF DIFFICULTIES TO RESOLVE. THE CONCEPT AND THE DEFINITION OF AN EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE WILL STILL LEAVE COASTAL STATES WITH THE FREEDOM TO BALANCE WHAT THEY SEE AS THEIR NEEDS FOR AN EXTENDED JURISDICTION AGAINST THE WIDER NEEDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THERE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE TO BE A GOOD DEAL OF REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION ABOUT THE BEST WAYS OF RELATING AND RECONCILING COMPETING NATIONAL INTERESTS; BUT THE PRIOR EXISTENCE OF A TREATY MIGHT JUST REDUCE THE POSSIBILITY THAT NEGOTIATION WOULD SPILL OVER INTO DEMONSTRATIONS OF FORCE.

10. WE RUN SOMETHING OF A RISK, OF COURSE, THAT IN SEEKING SUCH WIDE AGREEMENTS, WE SHALL IN THE END BE FACED WITH AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THE OPEN AND FLEXIBLE CHARACTER OF THE SEA AS A HIGHWAY WILL BE RESTRICTED. A RECENT STUDY ON "THE FUTURE OF UNITED STATES NAVAL POWER" DESCRIBES THIS POSSIBILITY: "THE HERETOFORE PREDICTABLE AND BENIGN OCEAN LEGAL ENVIRONMENT SEEMS HEADED FOR A FUTURE OF "UNFAMILIAR TEXTURE"". I THINK IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO BE SURE JUST HOW THICK OR UNACCEPTABLY HEAVY THIS TEXTURE WILL TURN OUT IN PRACTICE TO BE; BUT IT DOES SEEM LIKELY THAT THE SHIFT TOWARDS NEW STANDARDS AND PRACTICES WILL HAVE SOME GENERAL CONSEQUENCES THAT ARE ALREADY PREDICTABLE. THE FIRST, WHICH I HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED, IS A FLURRY OF DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY, TO SPECIFY PARTICULAR NEEDS AND CIRCUMSTANCES THAT ARE NOT DETAILED IN ANY GENERAL SETTLEMENT. IF THERE IS NO GENERAL SETTLEMENT, THE FLURRY WILL BECOME AN AVALANCHE. THE SECOND

CONSEQUENCE IS, I THINK, FAIRLY OBVIOUS, TOO. THERE WILL BE AN URGENT NEED FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL STATE TO REASSESS WHAT THE NEW SITUATION - EITHER GENERAL AGREEMENT OR THE PROSPECT OF ANARCHY - WILL MEAN FOR ITS OWN POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES, WITH INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE NAVAL FORCES OF ALL THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED.

TO THE EXTENT THAT ALL THIS IMPLIES THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SEA IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS BEEN REALISED RATHER LATE IN THE DAY, I THINK THAT THESE POSSIBILITIES ONLY SERVE TO ILLUSTRATE MY CONTENTION THAT THE UNCLOS NEGOTIATIONS ARE VERY IMPORTANT; CERTAINLY IMPORTANT ENOUGH FOR US TO TRY TO PROCURE AN OUTCOME WITH WHICH WE CAN ALL REASONABLY LIVE, AND WORK. FOR I THINK WE SHARE A COMMON INTEREST IN ACCEPTING THAT THE SEAS, AND THE SEABED BEYOND THE LIMITS OF A REASONABLE NATIONAL JURISDICTION, ARE "THE COMMON HERITAGE OF MANKIND"; AND I HOPE THAT WE ALL SHARE A COMMON RESOLVE TO PLAY OUR PARTS IN ENSURING THAT THIS WORTHY CONCEPTION IS SAFELY AND REASONABLY MAINTAINED, AND NOT ABUSED.

11. LET ME TURN NOW TO A PARTICULAR PART OF MY TOPIC THAT RAISES SOME INTERESTING PROFESSIONAL POINTS: I MEAN THE PROTECTION OF MARITIME RESOURCES AGAINST MAN. I HAVE TOUCHED, AT A GENERAL LEVEL, ON THE NEED TO CONSERVE AND PROPERLY MANAGE THE SEA'S RESOURCES AGAINST MAN'S DEMANDS, AND I SHOULD LIKE TO EMPHASISE THE POINT THAT IN MY VIEW THIS REMAINS, OVER THE LONG TERM, PERHAPS THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF ALL. I HAVE ALSO MENTIONED THE NEED FOR HIGH STANDARDS OF OPERATING EFFICIENCY,

AND I DO NOT THINK I NEED SAY VERY MUCH MORE ON THIS TOPIC THAN TO EMPHASISE THAT WHATEVER RESTRICTIONS THERE MAY BE IN THE FUTURE TO NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM BECAUSE OF LEGAL ENACTMENTS, THERE ARE ALREADY A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF AREAS IN THE WORLD WHERE IN PRACTICE, OFFSHORE INSTALLATIONS AND FIXED CONSTRUCTIONS MAKE SAFE SHIP HANDLING A VERY SENSITIVE AND IMPORTANT ISSUE. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT MAKE SOME OF THESE INSTALLATIONS VERY LARGE AND IMPRESSIVE INDEED. IN THE NORTH SEA, FOR EXAMPLE, ONE CONCRETE PLATFORM DISPLACES OVER 600,000 TONS: OTHER STRUCTURES HAVE A TOTAL HEIGHT OF SOME 900 FEET, AND HAVE TO WITHSTAND 100 FOOT WAVES AND 150 MPH WINDS. THEY FUNCTION IN AREAS WHERE 270 DAYS OF THE YEAR ARE OFFICIALLY CLASSIFIED AS BAD WEATHER, AND THEY REQUIRE TO BE SERVICED BY A CONSTANT STREAM OF SUPPORT SHIPS AND AIRCRAFT. THEY TAKE A LOT OF LOOKING AFTER, AND THERE ARE A LOT OF THEM AROUND - THE NORTH SEA IS ONLY AN EXAMPLE.

12. THERE MUST ALWAYS BE A POSSIBILITY THEREFORE THAT THEY COULD BE DAMAGED, BY STORM OR ACCIDENT, OR EVEN BY DELIBERATE ACTION; AND THE NEED TO BE ABLE TO TAKE QUICK REMEDIAL ACTION, TO SAVE LIFE AND CONTAIN THE CONSEQUENCES OF ANY POLLUTANT DAMAGE IS AN OBVIOUS ONE. THIS IS ONE OF THE AREAS IN WHICH NOT ONLY ADEQUATE RESOURCES BUT ADEQUATE AND WELL COORDINATED PLANNING IS NECESSARY.

WE ALSO HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE POSSIBILITY THAT ONE OF THESE INSTALLATIONS MIGHT BE SEIZED BY FORCE. HERE LET ME MAKE ONE OR TWO DISTINCTIONS ABOUT THE SORT OF PROBLEMS THAT MIGHT ARISE. YOU WOULD NOT, I THINK, EXPECT ME TO GO INTO DETAIL ABOUT POSSIBLE TACTICAL MODES OF RESPONSE. FROM THE CONTROL POINT OF

VIEW, THE DESTRUCTION OF ANY OFFSHORE INSTALLATION IS, PERHAPS PARADOXICALLY, THE SIMPLEST EXTREME SITUATION WITH WHICH TO DEAL; SEARCH, RESCUE AND REPAIR ARE IMMEDIATE LOCAL TASKS, AND DETERMINATION OF CAUSE THE OBVIOUS COMMAND TASK. DETERMINATION OF RESPONSE IS A BIT LESS SIMPLE! THE NEXT MOST SIMPLE CATEGORY TO IDENTIFY IS THE MULTIPLE OCCUPATION (OR, INDEED, DESTRUCTION) BY THE ARMED FORCES OF ANOTHER STATE. IT IS NOT AN EASY SITUATION TO DEAL WITH; BUT IT IS SIMPLE TO CATEGORISE BECAUSE - PRESUMABLY - IT IS AN ACTION WHICH HAS A DISCOVERABLE PURPOSE. IT WOULD COME, I THINK, FAIRLY HIGH UP ANY LADDER OF ESCALATING MILITARY ACTION BETWEEN STATES. THE LEAST SIMPLE CATEGORY OF ACTION WOULD BE A DEMONSTRATIVE OCCUPATION BY A NON-GOVERNMENTAL GROUP OF ACTIVISTS - WHO MIGHT BE VIOLENT OR NON-VIOLENT IN THEIR PHILOSOPHY. TO DEAL WITH THEM EFFECTIVELY CREATES RISKS OF LOSS OF LIFE AND DAMAGE AND, OF COURSE, AS WE HAVE SEEN IN OTHER, SOMEWHAT ANALOGOUS EXAMPLES, USUALLY PROVIDES A RANGE OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF PROPAGANDA FOR THEIR CAUSE. IT IS A DIFFICULT SITUATION TO DEAL WITH EXPEDITIOUSLY AND EFFECTIVELY, BECAUSE THE CONCEPTS OF RATIONALITY AND PURPOSE THAT THE TWO SIDES IN THE ACTIVITY HAVE ARE HIGHLY LIKELY NOT TO BE COMPATIBLE. HI-JACKING, LIKE TERRORISM, HAS A LOGIC OF ITS OWN; AND CALLS FOR THE TYPE OF RESPONSE WHICH EMPHASISES FLEXIBILITY OF PLANNING AND A SENSITIVITY TO THE PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES OF EACH SEPARATE INCIDENT. THE BEST WAY TO DEAL WITH IT REMAINS, IN MY VIEW, THE CAREFUL, METHODICAL PRECAUTIONS, OF SURVEILLANCE, PATROL, INTELLIGENCE, GOOD COMMUNICATIONS AND SWIFT REACTION, THAT WILL ENSURE, SO FAR AS WE CAN, THAT IT DOES NOT TAKE PLACE. BUT, AS I AM SURE I NEED NOT STRESS BEFORE THIS AUDIENCE, THIS CALLS FOR THE ALLOCATION OF FAIRLY SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCES, WHICH HAVE TO BE CONVENIENTLY LOCATED

AND CONSTANTLY EXERCISED. IT IS A LEGITIMATE, AND EVEN SIGNIFICANT, MISSION FOR THE ARMED FORCES OF A STATE; BUT IT DIVERGES, SLIGHTLY, FROM THE PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS WHICH WE TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTE TO DEFENCE FORCES, AND IN THAT SENSE COULD BE A COMPETITOR FOR RESOURCES, AGAINST MORE TRADITIONAL TASKS.

13. I THINK I HAVE SAID ENOUGH TO SUPPORT THE CONTENTION, BY WAY OF SUMMARY, THAT THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXPLOITING AND DEVELOPING THE POTENTIALITY OF THE SEA, BOTH AS A TRANSPORT MEDIUM AND AS A RESOURCE BASE, ARE CREATING NEW BASES FOR CONCERN: NEW REQUIREMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF COOPERATION AND NEW RISKS OF CONFLICT. THE HAZARDS OF NATURE ARE, IN ONE SENSE, FAMILIAR; THEY PRESENT CHALLENGES WHICH ARE QUANTITATIVELY DIFFERENT BUT, IN ESSENCE, THEY ARE ONLY ENHANCED VERSIONS OF THE CHALLENGES AND DANGERS WHICH THE SEA HAS ALWAYS PRESENTED. THE MAN-MADE HAZARDS ARE, HOWEVER, QUALITATIVELY NEW AND MANY OF THEM COME BACK, IN THE END, TO PROBLEMS THAT, BEING OF THE TRIBE OF MAN, WE CREATE FOR OURSELVES.

QUIS CUSTODIET IPSOS CUSTODES? - WHO WILL WATCH THE WATCHERS?