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Sea Power: The History and Geopolitics of the World's Oceans

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each side can take concrete, sequential steps to reduce the threat they are perceived to pose and to increase opportunities for cooperation. These plans generally start out small, then grow in ambition. Many focus on measures that reduce the appearance of an aggressive U.S. militarized posture—for example, standing down AFRICOM or reducing the number of troops stationed on Okinawa. In recognition of the fact that the United States can afford some rebalancing, subsequent steps include expanding China's military commitments—for instance, to a joint antipiracy force for Aden or a trip-wire force based in North Korea. Meeting China halfway is not just a slogan. Goldstein understands that the Chinese (indeed, much of the world) view America's history as one of nearly continuous aggression, and they need to see retrenchment before they will trust the United States not to threaten their regime.

Written in 2014 and published in 2015, the book is still highly topical and informative about Chinese-U.S. relations, and the concept of cooperation spirals remains appealing. Readers will note, however, that we live in interesting times. The Philippines' position has undergone two dramatic shifts, first in prevailing in the South China Sea arbitration and then with the election of Rodrigo Duterte and the subsequent warming toward China. Likewise, the new U.S. president, Donald Trump, canceled the Trans-Pacific Partnership, announced a withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accord, and is taking a much more aggressive attitude toward Iran—each of which moots one of Goldstein's cooperation spirals. Finally, China's trillion-dollar commitment to the Belt and Road project

likewise signals a shift in ambition and interests. So, while Goldstein's insights and his concept for reconciliation remain powerful, policy makers today will need a new set of plans.

This remains an important book for anyone seeking to understand U.S.-Chinese relations, particularly those seeking peaceful solutions so as to avoid the so-called Thucydides trap.

MARK R. SHULMAN



Sea Power: The History and Geopolitics of the World's Oceans, by James Stavridis. New York: Penguin, 2017. 384 pages. \$28.

Admiral James Stavridis's maritime opus, *Sea Power*, is a tour de force that ranges across the global commons of the world's vast sea-lanes and both near-littoral and distant shores. With four decades of distinguished maritime service in the U.S. Navy, the admiral (now retired) is uniquely qualified to evaluate current geopolitical maritime realities. Stavridis brings that strategic perspective to his historical contextualization of how and why oceans have impacted seafaring and landlocked civilizations and nation-states differentially.

Stavridis is a prolific author, having first been published, early in his naval officer career, in U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*. As someone who has embodied that institution's motto to "dare to write, think, and speak to advance the understanding of sea power," he now fittingly serves as chair of the institute. As he does in that role, in *Sea Power* Stavridis continues to lead and shape the intellectual conversation surrounding sea power and the sea services.

These contributions to scholarly maritime and policy discourse run deep—but they are not silent. The lessons that *Sea Power* offers should echo around the globe, like pulses of sonar, ready to be received and analyzed by an internationally dispersed community of naval and military strategists in allied and competitor nation-states. In particular, the admiral's clear-eyed warnings and policy prescriptions regarding China, Russia, North Korea, Iran, and ISIS are sure to make waves on distant shores.

Sea Power is the most recent link in a chain of American maritime strategy that connects back to Alfred Thayer Mahan's seminal treatises of the 1890s. Stavridis revisits Mahan's underappreciated work *The Problem of Asia: Its Effect upon International Politics* through a twenty-first-century lens—its discussion of a persistent geopolitical choke point resonates today. In fact, Stavridis invokes Mahan to articulate an updated case for an American naval supremacy and strength that—when closely aligned with the efforts of allied nations—can ensure the U.S. Navy's ability to defend the homeland, project power, deter aggression, and maintain open sea-lanes for global commerce, communications, and freedom of navigation.

Notwithstanding *Sea Power's* ambitious subtitle—*The History and Geopolitics of the World's Oceans*—the book should be comfortably navigable by a broad range of readers, even those less familiar with naval history or maritime strategy. As he did in his earlier book *The Accidental Admiral: A Sailor Takes Command at NATO* (Naval Institute Press, 2014), the author writes with a dry wit and an engaging manner, highlighted by numerous historical insights and cultural references. Moreover, Stavridis's

autobiographical anecdotes draw from his fascinating, globe-spanning naval career that began with service as a surface warfare officer and culminated with a stint as Supreme Allied Commander Europe—the first Navy admiral in history to hold this command. The reader is treated to frequent, self-deprecating life lessons in leadership, including a vignette illustrating how a carton of cigarettes may have determined whether he ran his ship (and future) aground in Egyptian waters earlier in his career.

Dedicated “to all the sailors at sea,” *Sea Power*, like the works of Mahan, is destined to become required reading for midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy and the officer candidates in Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs before they embark on careers in the U.S. Navy. It is no accident that this admiral has been a mentor to many men and women who have served with him in the U.S. Navy “wherever the wind and waves have taken them,” buoyed by the wise counsel and leadership lessons evident in *Sea Power*.

PHILIP M. BILDEN



Outsourcing War: The Just War Tradition in the Age of Military Privatization, by Amy Eckert. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2016. 183 pages. \$39.95.

In what proves to be both an insightful and informative book, this latest publication on the just war tradition integrates the disciplines of applied ethics, international politics, and military strategy. As associate professor of political science at Metropolitan State University of Denver, Amy Eckert draws attention to the development of