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Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet: The New Geopolitics of Energy

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BOOK REVIEWS

NEW INTERNATIONAL ENERGY ORDER

Klare, Michael T. *Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet: The New Geopolitics of Energy*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008. 352pp. \$26

In this timely volume, Michael Klare, author of thirteen books, including *Resource Wars* and *Blood and Oil*, provides in-depth projections of global demand and supply for all forms of energy, including petroleum, natural gas, coal, and uranium. A key theme is the confluence of two troubling trends. The first is the unprecedented height of future energy demand (one estimate foresees a 57 percent increase in global energy consumption by 2030). China and India are expected to account for nearly half of this increase. “Peak oil” is shorthand for the second trend. The world has been “seeking more” and “finding less.” “Easy oil” is displaced with higher-cost “tough oil,” found in unstable or inaccessible regions and therefore more difficult or expensive to extract. Other nonrenewable energy resources show a similar trend. Further, increasing carbon emissions make the use of more abundant coal resources problematic.

Klare assesses in detail the geopolitics of energy region by region, with a replay of “the Great Game,” as nations compete for access, power, and control.

Russia’s rise as “an energy juggernaut” under former president Vladimir Putin is particularly impressive. Putin concluded that energy was the key strategic factor in securing Russia’s economic security, and as such must be commanded by the state. Klare details how Putin successfully renationalized control of energy resources, with the value of Gazprom (the largest Russian extractor of natural gas in the world) rising from \$9 billion in 2000 to \$250–\$300 billion in 2006.

To avoid a replay of Cold War–like energy competition, Klare argues, cooperation between nations is necessary—and should begin between the United States and China, which will account for 39 percent of international energy consumption by 2030. Proposals he discusses include developing petroleum alternatives; increased industrial efficiency; climate-friendly coal; and collaborative efforts in these and other areas with Russia, Japan, India, and Europe. Klare’s comprehensive assessment of a “new international energy order” will be invaluable to strategists as they strive to better understand what is

driving nation-states and international relations today.

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Smith, Paul. *The Terrorism Ahead: Confronting Transnational Violence in the Twenty-first Century*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2007. 258pp. \$79.95

Paul Smith's *The Terrorism Ahead* is a superbly written blend of history, contemporary analysis, and personal reflection. It is the product of thorough research and study plus a decade's worth of vigorous debate with an international cast of students, colleagues (Smith is currently a professor at the Naval War College), counterterrorism practitioners, and academic specialists. The author's arguments thus merit serious and thoughtful consideration. As a participant in many of these debates (I am a former colleague of Smith's, and we did not always agree), I can attest to the "trials by fire" to which the ideas expressed in this book were subjected.

The Terrorism Ahead provides a comprehensive, balanced, yet succinct overview of the key contemporary debates in terrorism studies. Smith skillfully examines terrorism in its wider historical, geopolitical, and technological contexts. This contextualization of the global environment in which terrorism lives and evolves is the book's great strength, and what makes it a valuable contribution to the literature.

Chapter 2, "Historical Evolution," is one of the best one-stop short histories of terrorism in print. One might also single out chapter 8, where Smith tackles terrorism financing and associated

legal issues. The closing chapter presents a compelling analysis of the "root causes" debate and its implications for U.S. policy, plus a thought-provoking look at the future. In this chapter, Smith argues that five conditions will shape terrorism in the years ahead: demography, globalization, transnational crime, weak/failed states, and climate change. Smith is one of the few people working in terrorism studies to seriously consider the implications of climate change.

Throughout the work, Smith also explains how changes in communications, information, and weapons technologies have helped shape the conduct of terrorism. It would have been interesting, therefore, if he had added a discussion of emerging and predicted advances in technologies—such as nanotechnology and genetic engineering—that may provide future tools for terrorists.

All in all, *The Terrorism Ahead* is an engaging, comprehensive, and thoughtful consideration of the challenge of terrorism. It should find itself equally at home on the bookshelves of specialists, general readers, and students.

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Cordesman, Anthony. *Salvaging American Defense: The Challenge of Strategic Overstretch*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2007. 488pp. \$49.95

Anthony Cordesman, current holder of the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at the Center for International and Security Studies in Washington, D.C., is one of the most prolific defense analysts in the United States today. *Salvaging*