



# THE Zambakari ADVISORY

July 13, 2022

**Call for Papers:** *The Eurasian Landmass and Great Power Competition*

**Due Date:** October 31, 2022

**The Zambakari Advisory is soliciting short articles of 3000-4000 words for its Spring 2023 Special Issue on the subject, “The Eurasian Landmass and Great Power Competition.”**

Russia’s invasion of Ukraine has entered its fifth month. The war in Ukraine is the largest military engagement in Europe since World War II.<sup>1</sup> Ukrainian cities lay in ruin from constant bombardments and missile strikes from Russian forces. By April 1 – just 35 days after the initial incursion across Ukraine’s eastern border – according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), more than 7.1 million of that country’s people have been displaced.<sup>2</sup> In May, the United Nations put the number of those who have fled their homes in Ukraine at more than 12 million.<sup>3</sup>

For some analysts, the war in Ukraine is part of a never-ending power struggle, and the U.S. should have contained Russia when it was most vulnerable – after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Some would argue, as General George Patton did, the U.S. had the chance near the end of World War II to drive Russia back to its original borders, rather than ceding Berlin).<sup>4</sup> Yet, some see the conflict in Ukraine as threatening the very structure of post-Cold War stability; the future of global

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<sup>1</sup> Dan Bilefsky, Richard Pérez-Peña, and Eric Nagourney, "The Roots of the Ukraine War: How the Crisis Developed," *New York Times (Online)*. Accessible from <https://www.nytimes.com/article/russia-ukraine-nato-europe.html> (2022).

<sup>2</sup> Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, "Country Profile: Ukraine," Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, <https://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/ukraine>.

<sup>3</sup> BBC, "How Many Ukrainian Refugees Are There and Where Have They Gone?," BBC, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60555472>.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Kagan, "The Price of Hegemony: Can America Learn to Use Its Power?" *Foreign Affairs*, May 13, 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-04-06/russia-ukraine-war-price-hegemony>.

order hinges on the outcome of that struggle.<sup>5</sup> For others, the new cold war has the potential to be far worse than the first.<sup>6</sup>

Separately, the U.S. and China – both sideline participants on opposite ends of the support spectrum – are in a deepening competition across economic, military and technological spheres, and both these conflicts are capable of reordering the world in ways we cannot yet predict. The reckless and preventable conflict in Ukraine has already produced worldwide consequences.<sup>7</sup>

While most of the world has been consumed with the images of the horrifying carnage that has been the result of the constant bombing of Ukrainian cities by Russian forces, little has been said or written about the strengthening alliance between Russia and China. American historian and educator Alfred McCoy says the two countries' kinship has never been stronger: "At the core of recent conflicts at both ends of Eurasia is an entente between China and Russia that the world hasn't seen since the Sino-Soviet alliance at the start of the Cold War."<sup>8</sup>

In 1904 the English geographer Halford Mackinder argued, "Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island; who rules the World-Island commands the World."<sup>9</sup> The rise of China poses a lethal threat to neoliberal ideology and U.S. primacy in the post-World War II global architecture of governance. China has emerged as the planet's greatest trading nation, one set to challenge the U.S. position politically, economically and militarily.<sup>10</sup> The 2021 Interim National Security Strategy Guidance reports, "China ... is the only competitor potentially capable of combining its economic,

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<sup>5</sup> Tanisha M. Fazal, "The Return of Conquest? Why the Future of Global Order Hinges on Ukraine," *Foreign Affairs*, May 13, 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-04-06/ukraine-russia-war-return-conquest>.

<sup>6</sup> Mary Elise Sarotte, "I'm a Cold War Historian. We're in a Frightening New Era," *New York Times*, March 1, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/01/opinion/russia-ukraine-cold-war.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Amir Handjani, "Ukraine War Is Causing a Commodities 'super Cycle' and Likely Global Food Crisis," *Responsible Statecraft*, March 16, 2022, <https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/03/16/ukraine-war-could-cause-a-global-food-crisis/>.

<sup>8</sup> Alfred McCoy, "The Geopolitics of the Ukraine War," *TomDispatch*, March 10, 2022, <https://tomdispatch.com/the-geopolitics-of-the-ukraine-war/>

<sup>9</sup> Halford John Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction*, NDU Press defense classic edition. ed. (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Knoema, "Gross Domestic Product Based on Purchasing-Power-Parity in Current Prices," Knoema, <https://knoema.com/atlas/ranks/GDP-based-on-PPP>.

diplomatic, military, and technological power to mount a sustained challenge to a stable and open international system.”<sup>11</sup>

In his book, *In the Shadows of the American Century: The Rise and Decline of US Global Power*, historian McCoy contends China’s ascension is different from that of previous great powers. It is not relying on building a blue-water navy like the British or a global aerospace armada akin to America’s. Instead, China is “using its cash reserves to reach deep within the world island to the heart of Eurasia in an attempt to thoroughly reshape the geopolitical fundamentals of global power, using a subtle strategy that has so far eluded Washington’s power elites.”<sup>12</sup>

Other questions find answers in a Cold War history lesson learned: Can the U.S. simultaneously wage a proxy war against Russia while checking the inevitable rise of the Red Dragon? What would happen if China joined Russia in a mutual front against the West? Are we seeing the end of the unipolarity moment and the illusion<sup>13</sup> that other countries can “simply take their assigned place in a U.S.-led international order?”<sup>14</sup>

What do you think?

**The Zambakari Advisory seeks your unique perspective. As a leading voice in your field, the views you have shaped, the ideas you have, and the frame of reference you can share with an international audience of like-minded luminaries is important. We would be proud to include your thoughts in our Spring 2023 Special Issue, “The Eurasian Landmass and Great Power Competition.”**

How will the war in Ukraine and a possible contest with China affect international relations and security? What will be the economic, political, social and military implications of a rising Russia and China? What are the short and long-term implications for the Atlantic and the Pacific macro-regions?

One of the most influential realists of his generation, political scientist John J. Mearsheimer contends the liberal international order has accelerated China’s rise and ultimately transformed the global

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<sup>11</sup> Jr. President Joseph R. Biden, "Interim National Security Strategic Guidance : Renewing America's Advantages " (Washington, DC: The White House. Accessible from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/NSC-1v2.pdf>, 2021).

<sup>12</sup> Alfred W. McCoy, *In the Shadows of the American Century: The Rise and Decline of Us Global Power*, Dispatch Books (Newburyport: Haymarket Books, 2017).

<sup>13</sup> Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment," *International security* 31, no. 2 (2006).

<sup>14</sup> Allison Graham, "The New Spheres of Influence," *Foreign affairs* (New York, N.Y.) (2020).

system from unipolar to multipolar.<sup>15</sup> Russia's instigation of the crisis in Ukraine has further reaffirmed the transition to a multipolar world.

Are we heading into multipolar world order? Are we prepared for such a shift? What are the implications of a multipolar world order? Borrowing from the playbook of author and Yale professor Dr. Nuno P. Monteiro, is a unipolar world peaceful, and, conversely, is a multipolar world peaceful? What are the most likely strategies in a multipolar setting, different from those on a unipolar stage?<sup>16</sup>

The rise of Eurasian powers raises questions of global and historic significance, everywhere on this planet.

Can a re-emerging Asia-centered ascension provide solutions to the problems left behind by European and American hegemony? With such a tectonic shift taking place in Eurasia, and as world affairs shift from West to East, what are the prospects and challenges presented by such political and economic movement. Could the current crisis in Eurasia be emblematic of the decline in Euro-American dominance over the landmass?

We ask what comes next? We ask what does the change look and feel like? Where does such a shift in polarity leave the U.S.? Where does such a shift leave Russia? China? Should the U.S. be focused on "checking" the rise of its competitors? *Can* the U.S. check the rise of the competition?

Are we witnessing the slow descent of Western powers and the ascension of Asian powers? Is the 120-year-old prediction of geopolitical and geostrategic icon Sir Halford Mackinder – the foretelling of a seismic shift in global power players – about to be realized: "that the empire of the world would be in sight?"

**Submission Guidelines:** Your paper should be between 3,000-4,000 words in length, written in English, and have the following sections: (1) title page (author's name, affiliation, email address); (2) abstract (150-200 words); (3) keywords (5 keywords); (4) main text using Times New Roman font, 12-point, double-line spaced. Citation styles can be American Psychological Association (APA), Modern Language Association (MLA), Chicago (Chicago Author-Date)/Turabian. Footnotes are allowed for additional explanation and notes only, not citations. All references should use in-text citation style (author's last name, the year of publication and page number if necessary). For every in-text citation in the paper, there must be a corresponding entry in the reference list at the end of the manuscript. Appendices, table(s) with caption(s) (on individual pages); figure(s) with figure caption(s) inserted in the text.

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<sup>15</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, "Bound to fail: The rise and fall of the liberal international order," *International security* 43, no. 4 (2019): 7-50. <https://direct.mit.edu/isec/article/43/4/7/12221/Bound-to-Fail-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-the-Liberal>.

<sup>16</sup> Nuno P. Monteiro, *Theory of Unipolar Politics*, Cambridge Studies in International Relations ; 132 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

## About The Zambakari Advisory

The Zambakari Advisory provides sustainable solutions to complex problems facing societies around the world in the areas of peace, security and economic development through in-depth research. The Advisory collects and analyzes data and strategic intelligence to equip industry senior leadership with tools and insights to help them operate in increasingly complex environments. By leveraging the knowledge and talents of local and international subject matter experts, The Advisory delivers incisive, invigorating and tailored solutions that address the specific needs of our clients.

Founded in 2015 by Dr. Christopher Zambakari, The Advisory mission is to provide consulting and advisory services that strengthen the goals of individuals, businesses and organizations. The enterprise maintains a growing distribution list, including 11,000 subscribers and 19,000 followers on social media. Two topical, industry-related blogs are presented monthly in addition to short analyses, reports and articles that have appeared in leading peer-reviewed journals.

The Advisory's work has been featured in Routledge's collection of the "Most Read African Studies Articles" since 2013 and ranked in the Top 10 percent of readership by the Social Science Research Network since 2016. The Advisory collaborates with a large network of field experts and consultants, located in 47 countries around the world.

For more information please visit The Advisory at <http://www.zambakari.org/>.

## Past Special Issues

Zambakari, Christopher, Matthew Edwards, and Stephen Des Georges, eds. *Peacemaking and Peace Agreements in South Sudan with an Introduction by Christopher Zambakari* Vol. 1, Spring Special Issue. Phoenix, Arizona: The Zambakari Advisory, 2019.

Fisher, Louis, Andrew J. Bacevich, Rajan Menon, Graham Fuller, and Jon Schwarz. *The Kurdish Crisis in the Middle East with an Introduction by Christopher Zambakari*. Winter Special Issue. Edited by Zambakari Christopher, Matthew Edwards, Steve Des Georges and Laura Ostapuk. Vol. 1, Phoenix, Arizona: The Zambakari Advisory, 2020.

Zambakari, Christopher, Matthew Edwards, Stephen Des Georges, Estève Giraud, Yesenia Leon, and Aditya Dalal (Cover Photo), eds. *The Future and Implementation of the R-Arcss in South Sudan with an Introduction by Christopher Zambakari* Vol. 2, Spring Special Issue. Phoenix, Arizona: The Zambakari Advisory, 2020.

Sui, Celine, Matthew Edwards, Lina Benabdallah, Ibrahim Magara, Hubert Kinkoh, Daniel N. Mlambo, Victor H. Mlambo, *et al.* *Courting Africa: Asian Powers and the New Scramble for the Continent with an Introduction by Christopher Zambakari*. Summer Special Issue. Edited by Zambakari Christopher, Matthew Edwards, Stephen Des Georges and Giada Mannino Vol. 3, Phoenix, Arizona: The Zambakari Advisory, 2020.

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