

BOOK REVIEWS

The New Continentalism: Energy and Twenty-First Century Eurasian Geopolitics. By Kent E. Calder. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012. 416 pp. \$35 (paper).

Rarely does a book challenge both realist and liberal international relations theory while seemingly bolstering both at the same time. Kent Calder's *The New Continentalism* does exactly that by focusing on the intersection of energy and geopolitics in Eurasia. Calder argues that increasing energy interdependence between Eurasian petrostates (the Middle East, Central Asia, and Russia) and energy-insecure Asian consumers (China, India, Japan, and South Korea) is contributing to major shifts in international affairs. International relations scholars have long pointed to the impending decline of the United States and emergence of China as the next transformation in the international order. Calder has provided compelling insight into the mechanics of that shift with a much-needed emphasis on energy in structuring the international political economy. This book is not about China's rise, but its preeminent position on a Eurasian continent quickly becoming a powerful political-economic entity.

Energy is the force behind this "new continentalism" because of the high degree of resource complementarity on the continent. The massive reserves of hydrocarbons in the Middle East, Central Asia, and Russia along with rapid and continuing growth in China and India provide the impetus for regional cooperation. The declining US role in the region—particularly post-Iraq and Afghanistan—creates the space for a political-economic transformation, one guided by energy relations between Eurasian states. The challenge that Calder grapples with throughout the book is explaining these energy relations as resulting from more than market forces or globalization. Market forces are critical to understanding this growing continentalism, but they are indeterminate, and only tell part of the story about how Eurasia is being transformed.

The missing variable is geopolitics. Put simply, Calder argues that in the post-Cold War world geography is once again preeminent in international relations. Energy reserves in Eurasia are either landlocked or need to pass through narrow straits to reach external mar-

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