

Title: Introduction: Unipolarity, state behavior, and systemic consequences

Author: G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno, and William C. Wohlforth

Abstract: The United States emerged from the 1990s as an unrivaled global power to become a “unipolar” state. This extraordinary imbalance has triggered global debate. Governments and peoples around the world are struggling to understand to how an American-centered unipolar system operates—and to respond to it. What is the character of domination in a unipolar distribution? To what extent can a unipolar state translate its formidable capabilities into meaningful influence? Will a unipolar world be built around rules and institutions or be based more on the unilateral exercise of unipolar power? Scholars too are asking these basic questions about unipolarity and international relations theory. The individual contributions develop hypotheses and explore the impact of unipolarity on the behavior of the dominant state, on the reactions of other states, and on the properties of the international system. Collectively, they find that unipolarity does have a profound impact on international politics. International relations under conditions of unipolarity force a rethinking of conventional and received understandings about the operation of the balance of power, the meaning of alliance partnerships, the logic of international economic cooperation, the relationship between power and legitimacy, and the behavior of satisfied and revisionist states.

Title: Unipolarity, status competition, and great power war

Author: William C. Wohlforth

Abstract: Most scholars hold that the consequences of unipolarity for great power conflict are indeterminate and that a power shift resulting in a return to bipolarity or multipolarity will not raise the specter of great power war. This article calls into question the core assumptions underlying the consensus: (1) that people are mainly motivated by the instrumental pursuit of tangible ends such as physical security and material prosperity and (2) that major powers' satisfaction with the status quo is relatively independent of the distribution of capabilities. In fact, it is known that people are motivated powerfully by a noninstrumental concern for relative status, and there is strong empirical evidence linking the salience of those concerns to distributions of resources. If the status of states depends in some measure on their relative capabilities and if states derive utility from status, then different distributions of capabilities may affect levels of satisfaction, just as different income distributions may affect levels of status competition in domestic settings. Building on research in psychology and sociology, the author argues that even capabilities distributions among major powers foster ambiguous status hierarchies, which generate more dissatisfaction and clashes over the status quo. And the more stratified the

distribution of capabilities, the less likely such status competition is. Unipolarity thus augurs for great power peace, and a shift back to bipolarity or multipolarity raises the probability of war even among great powers with little material cause to fight.

Title: legitimacy, hypocrisy, and the social structure of unipolarity why being a unipole isn't all it's cracked up to be

Author: Martha Finnemore

Abstract: Despite preponderant power, unipoles often do not get their way. Why? Scholars interested in polarity and the systemic structures determined by the distribution of power have largely focused on material power alone, but the structure of world politics is as much social as it is material. In this article the author explores three social mechanisms that limit unipolar power and shape its possible uses. The first involves legitimation. To exercise power effectively, unipoles must legitimate it and in the act of legitimating their power, it must be diffused since legitimation lies in the hands of others. The second involves institutionalization. A common way to legitimate power is to institutionalize it. Institutionalizing power in rational-legal authorities fundamentally transforms it, however. Once in place, institutions, laws, and rules have powers and internal logics of their own that unipoles find difficult to control. The third relates to hypocrisy. The social structures of legitimation and institutionalization do more than simply diffuse power away from the unipole; they create incentives for hypocrisy. Hypocrisy is a double-edged sword for unipoles. On the one hand, unrestrained hypocrisy by unipoles undermines the legitimacy of their power. On the other hand, judicious hypocrisy can provide crucial strategies for melding ideals and interests. Indeed, honoring social ideals or principles in the breach can have long-lasting political effects, as decades of U.S. hypocrisy about democratization and human rights suggest.

Title: Alliances in a unipolar world

Author: Stephen M. Walt

Abstract: Unipolarity is a novel condition in world politics, and its effects on international alliances have yet to receive sustained theoretical attention. Tracing its impact requires a careful distinction between the purely structural features common to any unipolar system and the unique characteristics of the current unipole (the United States) or the policies undertaken by particular U.S. leaders (such as George W. Bush). In general, the unipole will enjoy greater freedom of action and be less dependent on allied support, enabling it to rely more readily on ad hoc “coalitions of the willing.” Lesser powers will be concerned about the concentration of power held by the unipole, but they will also face larger barriers to concerted action to contain it. Hard balancing against the unipole will be unlikely—unless the unipole begins a major effort to expand—but lesser powers will engage in soft balancing to contain the latter’s influence. Medium powers may pursue alliances with others in order to reduce dependence on the

unipole, but weaker states are likely to ally with the unipole in order to use its power against local security challenges. Bandwagoning will remain rare even under unipolarity, but disputes over burden sharing and alliance leadership will continue. Weaker states will prefer multilateral arrangements that enhance their own influence, while the unipole will prefer bilateral or ad hoc coalitions of the willing that it can more readily dominate.

Title: System maker and privilege taker u.s. power and the international political economy

Author: Michael Mastanduno

Abstract: There is striking consistency in the international economic *behavior* of the United States across the bipolar and unipolar eras. The United States has been simultaneously a system maker and privilege taker, and its ability to play that dual role has required the willing collaboration of foreign partners. U.S. *influence* over those partners, however, has changed in important ways. During the cold war the United States dominated international economic adjustment struggles. Its ability to prevail in those struggles after the cold war has been significantly compromised. The United States, notwithstanding its preponderant power, no longer enjoys the same type of security leverage it once possessed, and the very success of the U.S.-centered world economy has opened a greater range of international and domestic economic options for America's supporters. In the unipolar era the United States may continue to act its own way, but it can no longer count on getting its own way.

Title: Free hand abroad, divide and rule at home

Author: Jack Snyder, Robert Y. Shapiro, and Yaeli Bloc-Elkon

Abstract: Under unipolarity, the immediate costs and risks of war are more likely to *seem* manageable for a militarily dominant power like the U.S. This does not necessarily make the use of force cheap or wise, but it means that the costs and risks attendant on its use are comparatively indirect, long term, and thus highly subject to interpretation. Unipolarity, combined with the opportunity created by September 11, opened a space for interpretation that tempted a highly ideological foreign policy cohort to seize on international terrorism as an issue to transform the balance of power both in the international system and in American party politics. This cohort's response to the terrorist attack was grounded in ideological sincerity but also in the routine practice of wedge issue politics, which had been honed on domestic issues during three decades of partisan ideological polarization and then extended into foreign policy.

Title: Unipolarity: a structural perspective

Author: Robert Jervis

Abstract: In analyzing the current unipolar system, it is useful to begin with structure. No other state or plausible coalition can challenge the unipole's core security, but this does not mean that all its values are safe or that it can get everything that it wants. Contrary to what is often claimed, standard balance of power arguments do not imply that a coalition will form to challenge the unipole. Realism also indicates that rather than seeking to maintain the system, the unipole may seek further expansion. To understand the current system requires combining structural analysis with an appreciation of the particular characteristics of the current era, the United States, and its leaders. Doing so shows further incentives to change the system and highlights the role of nuclear proliferation in modifying existing arrangements.

World Focus
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Title: A Middle Power Role for Chile

Author: Abdul Nafey

Abstract: Chile is honing its foreign policy to play the role of catalyst for regional integration and Latin America's integration with the rest of the world. For Chile, the term 'region' means the whole of Latin America and not just South America. Chile being a middle power, it is in its perceived 'national interest' to work for rule-based multilateralism at the regional and international levels. The current Chilean diplomacy is to respect 'unity within diversity' i.e. that varied developmental experiments, leadership styles and integration processes should not mar regional cooperation. It is the imperative of collective regional development that is driving Bachelet's foreign policy towards neighbourhood, focussing on mutual confidence building measures and cooperation in the areas of economic exchanges, 'new migration' and energy and infrastructure development. The logic of 'open' regionalism, however, makes Chile look beyond integration within South America.

At the Hemispheric level, Chile has come to characterise the 'third way' of development, which has avoided both the recklessness of free-marketism and the hallowed promise of '21st century socialisms.' Domestic imperatives of sustaining a high economic growth rate, inclusive development and social cohesion, and embedding democratic practices by gradually weaning out authoritarian legacies are reinforcing Chile's middle power Liberal Internationalism under Bachelet. From around the mid-1990s, Chile began paying attention to the Asia-Pacific region, positioning itself as a bridge for Asian expansion into Latin America.

Title: Chile's Economic Transformation: Muddle or Model?

Author: R. Narayanan

Abstract: Over the last four decades, Chile has evolved from a slow-growing state-directed economy into a fast-growing market-oriented one, attesting to its success in implementing comprehensive neo-liberal economic reforms. At least three policy conclusions emerge from the delineation of Chile's economic transformation trajectory. First, what distinguishes Chile from the rest of the similarly placed countries in the region and elsewhere is that it had a head start in the reform process. Chile's reform process in the incipient first generation phase essentially comprised fiscal stability, trade liberalisation and inflation control. Second, Chile followed up the completion of the first generation of reforms with the second generation of reforms. It intensified the process and brought to the fore institutional innovations, including, among others, the pruning of supervisory and regulatory mechanisms and pension system reform. The third distinguishing feature of the Chilean experience is the importance that was attached to

other institutions – rule of law, legal mechanisms to eliminate corruption, effectiveness of government and, above all, political stability following the transition from military rule to civil administration.

Yet, in reviewing Chile's transformation, a residual question still remains unanswered: Are macroeconomic success and distributional equity mutually exclusive? Recent discourse underlines the need for good governance based on principles of rule of law, rights protection and regulatory frameworks that guarantee fair market competition and adequate checks and balances. These in turn lead to either better economic policies or better outcomes for the same set of policies. On both fronts, Chile seems to have made modest progress.

Title: Chile's International Trade Policy

Author: Jorge Heine

Abstract: Many attribute the enormous success of the Chilean economy – the best performing in the world outside Asia since 1990, with an average growth rate of 5.5% a year, and now invited to join the OECD, which it is expected to do later this year – to the market access FTAs have gained for Chilean exports. Chile has crafted its own approach to its development needs rather than picking ready-made “off-the-shelf” solutions. An incrementalist, iterative approach like the one followed by Chile, in terms of FTAs and its international trade policy more generally, has been shown to be a fruitful way of gaining market access and fostering domestic growth, whatever its theoretical shortcomings.

During this decade Chile's attention has been turned towards South Asia, especially India. Contrary to what many skeptics thought, the Chile-India PTA has been a win-win deal. Yet, its limited nature means that its expansion into a full-fledged FTA would be a welcome step.

Title: “TIGER MEETS JAGUAR”: Chilean Policy towards the Asia-Pacific Region

Author: Manfred Wilhelmy

Abstract: There is a broad consensus in Chile that the Asia-Pacific region has become a key geographic, economic and political area of focus within our foreign relations. Since the term of President Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994), Chilean diplomacy in the Pacific has stressed the political factors of stability, rule of law, resilience of public institutions and a low level of corruption in supporting Chile's aspiration to be seen as a suitable Latin American partner of East Asian powers.

Chile's choice of the bilateral approach has led to the conclusion of free trade (or preferential trade) agreements with 56 countries in the Americas, Europe and Asia. Vis-à-vis the major East Asian economies, Chile looks like an ASEAN country located on the other side of the world i.e. Chile's position recalls the “ASEAN+3” or “ASEAN+1+1+1” formula. However, Chile's relations with the Asia-Pacific region are affected by the so-called “tyranny of distance” and the Chilean presence is still minimal in many countries. The task of building a “country image” is the big challenge that has now begun to be tackled.

Title: Economic Relations with Asia and the Need for Strategic Partnership with India

Author: Prof. Yun-Tso Lee

Abstract: The present paper advances two hypotheses. Firstly, the emerging economies of Asia, which share the same principles, are in for long-term engagement and deepening of ties by Chile. Secondly, since the inception of the twenty-first century, Chile has turned towards South Asia too, especially towards India which has been named the “next frontier” of Chilean economic foreign policy. In the past seven years, as many as nine agreements have been signed between the two countries thanks to a major strengthening of bilateral relations in diverse areas. Chile and India have lots of economic complementarities that can be usefully exploited and augmented to meet the needs of their burgeoning consumer bases. Chile is a strategic market for several Indian products and enjoys an excellent country image.

Academic analysts in Chile hold the view that it is time to work out a strategic partnership through a bilateral free trade agreement and through greater cooperation in the areas of education and culture. In order to intensify the strategic partnership, it is proposed here that Chile should promote an integral, comprehensive and coherent strategy that would allow it to reinforce mutual economic and social benefits, and deepen political and institutional ties, so that Chile eventually becomes the platform for India’s entry into the rest of Latin America.

Title: Partial Scope Agreement between Chile and India: An Assessment

Author: Sebastián Dávalos Bachelet & Yun-Tso Lee

Abstract: The main objectives of the Partial Scope Agreement between Chile and India are to promote, by means of trade expansion, the harmonious development of economic relations between Chile and India, provide conditions for fair competitiveness in Chilean-Indian trade, take into consideration the principle of reciprocity in the implementation of the agreement and thus, by means of the removal of obstacles to trade, contribute to the development and harmonious expansion of international trade. The new objective of Chilean commercial policy was to create trade ties with complementary economies and diversify the destination of national exports. India represents an attractive destination not only for exports but also for foreign investment. The trade balance is favourable to Chile; besides, given the fact that the two countries have complementary economies, there is enormous potential for growth thanks to the agreement. The negotiation of an FTA between Chile and India seems to be the perfect tool to deepen the current economic relationship. It is time to consolidate Chile as a platform of investments and entrance of Asia into Latin America.

Title: Towards Social Change: Chile’s Innovative Approaches and Strategies

Author: Priti Singh

Abstract: Chile's progress during the last two decades in evolving an appropriate policy framework and needed institutional changes, all with a view to accelerate growth and at the same time reap the benefits from the ongoing globalisation process have been remarkable. Even more important, what distinguishes Chile from other developing countries is its initiation since 1990 under the aegis of the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia governments a new set of policy measures based on innovative strategies to deal with critical societal issues such as abject poverty, income inequality and social exclusion.

Title: Smithian and Schumpeterian Growth in Chile: Entrepreneurship Revisited

Author: Prof. Juan Pablo Couyoumdjian

Abstract: During the mid-1970s, Chile started a process of radical reforms that laid the foundations of a free-market economy in the country. Openness to foreign trade has usually been identified as a crucial element of these reforms. But one should also keep in mind that these reforms had an important institutional basis.

In Chile, the institutions of a free-market economy have fostered the development of human ingenuity and resourcefulness, in short, of an entrepreneurial spirit, which has led to high economic growth in the last two decades or so. However, some setbacks have occurred and several weaknesses that affect the development of entrepreneurship still exist in the country. These issues may have led to a deceleration of the rate of economic growth in the country in the last decade. Thus, these factors represent the main challenges the Chilean economy will face in the next few years.

Title: Democracy and Equity in Chile

Author: Satya R. Pattnayak

Abstract: The effectiveness of the Chilean transition from dictatorship to democracy has been widely studied. Critics generally cite the undue influence of the Chilean military in the formative years of the Concertación and the successive civilian government's unwillingness or inability to deal with the issues of human rights violations and abuses, besides the perennial problem of redistribution, both of which were left unattended during the military dictatorship. But as sympathizers point out, the first two presidencies of Patricio Aylwin and Eduardo Frei had to deal with the presence of many authoritarian features within the state apparatus, which reduced their effectiveness. For example, the unusually high number of appointee senators in the Senate acted as a regular stumbling bloc to many of the proposed progressive legislations by the civilian governments. These included initiatives to ensure a greater redistribution of income and participation by organized labor. Understandably, therefore, the first two governments after 1989 adopted a more cautious approach to achieving the goals of redistribution.

Title: Chile and Chindia

Author: Vishnu Priya

Abstract: Scholarly analyses explain the economic growth of Latin American-Caribbean (LAC) region over the past 7-8 years largely in terms of the rising consumption of regional exports by the world's two fastest growing economies namely, China and India. In particular, resource export economies of LAC region have benefited rather well from Asia's economic dynamism; others, with capability to export light manufactures and value-added products have not fared bad either. Significantly, the rise in Latin American imports from Asia is also, by and large, accounted for by China and India. Given the evolving pattern and flow of assistance and investment from China and India, scholars are interpreting the development as marking a structural shift in Latin America's traditionally closer ties with US and Europe. Asia, more precisely China and India, have arrived and this may have long-term implications for development and democracy in the LAC region.

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Title: Preemption in the Bush Doctrine: A Reappraisal

Author: Hakan Tunç

Abstract: This article argues that the elevation of preemption to a cardinal status in the Bush Doctrine following September 11, 2001 resulted from a larger strategic consideration—to convince rogue states to discontinue their weapons of mass destruction programs and their sponsorship of terrorism. Dismantling the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq as a demonstration of preemptive action was seen as necessary to ensure the forceful and credible conveyance of this message to other rogue states, especially Iran and North Korea. I call this strategic logic behind publicizing preemption, "demonstrative compellence." Because the logic of preemption in the Bush Doctrine relied heavily on the Iraq war and its demonstrative force, it has little relevance to the future conduct of U.S. foreign policy and should not be described as revolutionary.

Title: Constituting Interests and Identities in a Two-Level Game: Understanding the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Dam Conflict

Author: Stephen Deets

Abstract: This paper uses the conflict between Hungary and Slovakia over the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Dam to examine two foreign policy issues. The first is how states determine their interests and how perception of gains and losses arise and change. The second is the reality that international norms are rarely clear and often conflict, making answering questions of whether states have "internalized" or are abiding by norms problematic. This case is a good vehicle for addressing these questions as the dam dispute began during the communist period and has continued through the political and economic transitions to European Union membership. It also was the focus of a groundbreaking International Court of Justice case on the application of ecological necessity to treaty obligations. Fleshing out the model of a two-level game with insights from other theoretical perspectives, this article argues the key to this stalemate is the interrelated process through which state identity and understandings of vital interests change, creating frames in each state around different international norms.

Title: Legislative Foundations of U.S.–Taiwan Relations: A New Look at the Congressional Taiwan Caucus

Author: Scott L. Kastner and Douglas B. Grob

Abstract: Taiwan remains central to peace and stability in U.S.–China relations, and to prospects for democracy and prosperity in the Far East. The Taiwan Relations Act assigns to the U.S. Congress a greater role in the formulation of U.S. policy toward Taiwan than it exercises in other areas of foreign policy. Within the U.S. House of Representatives, the only organization that is explicitly supportive of a robust U.S.–Taiwan relationship is the Congressional Taiwan Caucus. Yet there exists, to our knowledge, no systematic empirical study of the correlates of Caucus membership. Few studies systematically analyze the factors that impel Members of Congress publicly to take positions that favor Taiwan. This paper addresses that gap with respect to the 109th Congress (2005–2006). We develop a method of analyzing Caucus membership and show that it yields new empirical findings about the micro-foundations of Taiwan policy making in Congress. Unlike previous studies, our unit of analysis is not the legislature, nor the legislative chamber, nor the parties within the chamber. We drill down further, collecting data at the level of the individual Member. For the 109th Congress, we find evidence that (1) Caucus membership is related in identifiable and quantifiable ways to left/right ideology, district demographics, personal interest and individual-level engagement with human rights. (2) Party has no independent effect on the likelihood of Caucus membership, but it does condition other factors. Put simply, Republicans and Democrats join the Caucus for different reasons. Election-induced changes in the composition of Congress may influence U.S. policy toward Taiwan. The findings presented here enhance our understanding of and ability to anticipate the nature of that influence.

Title: U. S. Senators' Support for Israel Examined Through Sponsorship/Cosponsorship Decisions, 1993–2002: The Influence of Elite and Constituent Factors

Author: Beth A. Rosenson, Elizabeth A. Oldmixon and Kenneth D. Wald

Abstract: This paper explores Senate policy-making toward Israel from 1993–2002. Previous scholarship suggests that congressional policymaking toward Israel is heavily influenced by the ethnic and religious identification of both legislators and their constituents, not simply by legislators' abstract perceptions of the national interest. Other literature de-emphasizes the likelihood that constituent interests will affect Congressional foreign policy making. We test for an impact of both elite and constituent characteristics on Congressional support for Israel, using sponsorship–cosponsorship decisions in the 103rd–107th Congresses. Israel's strongest supporters in this period are shown to be Jewish, conservative, Republican, and evangelical senators. Notably, elite characteristics (partisanship, ideology, and religion) matter more than constituency factors, with the exception of the Jewish population in senators' home states. While Jewish and conservative senators have long been vocal supporters of Israel, evangelical and Republican senators have not historically taken such a strong pro-Israel stance; hence they are relatively new additions to the active pro-Israel coalition. Thus the pro-Israel coalition shows both continuity and change as it has broadened to include new partners.

However, we suggest that this coalition is not necessarily stable and may undergo further evolution in the future.