

Political Parties and Party Systems 2014-01-09 11:32 AM

Is There a Uniform Nation Political Culture?

- Louis Hartz- US "fragment culture" distinguishes it from Europe
 - Colonial societies (like Canada) originated as fragments of the larger European society, and have remained marked through their history by the conditions of their origin
- Almond and Verba- Yes, but civic culture is a hybrid:
 - 1) Parochial: involved people who are not involved in the state at all- a distinct relationship to any political culture
 - 2) Subject: no development input to interests; they respond strongly to the states outputs, and do not see the state as having a meaningful relationship
 - 3) Participant: people who are interested in interacting with the state
 - modern democracy is a blend of all three
 - some found it to be an elitist culture
 - Robert Putnam- Social capital as:
 - 1) Networks of civic engagement
 - Organized society, people joining groups and creating networks
 - Putnam wants a society where people are engaged
 - 2) Norms of reciprocity
 - Engaged with human beings in a way that you are willing to reward trusting behavior
 - 3) Social trust
 - collapsed across America, but split Italy into two
 - Italian city states in the north were strongly characterized by their social capital and trust, south Italy had little trust
 - USA had high capital but low trust
 - Marx- maybe:
 - 1) class generates culture
 - ideas are created by the circumstances of our environment
 - culture is created by class
 - 2) dominant class is supported by hegemonic culture
 - culture is there to serve the dominant class
 - 3) will subordinate class consciousness prevail?
 - If the working class created its own culture and then they grew would their culture dominate?
 - 4) Gramsci: struggle primarily at level of ideas
 - there is a clash between hegemonic ideas and subordinate ideas
 - Today's Right/ Left Divide

- 1) the right defends the longstanding national values and practices
- 2) the left embraces diversity and accommodation
 - the left use to defend the world of the working class, has changed over the years

Modeling the Media's Impact

- Media influence undeniable
- Growing- with the decline of class and family (not the typical family anymore), proliferation of platforms and economic power of media conglomerates (companies)
- Does media manipulate us? Mirror us? Complex portrait of an active but not entirely uniform media
 - There are many different forms of media, it cannot be reduced down to a single unit
- Pluralist Model: an ideological marketplace enabling a wide open debate
 - The media allows us to present different positions and view points
 - Focuses on providing an opportunity of providing all perspectives
- Dominant- Ideology Model: A politically conservative force aligned with elite interests, pursuing compliance
 - The media is trying to convince us of certain things, certain people own the media and therefore they are able to shift our views
- Elites- values Model: acquires perspective of its senior professionals- bourgeois? Leftist intellectuals?
 - We need to focus more on who is in the media
 - Focuses on the personal of the media
- Market Model: reflects public view, trivializes politics
 - Media focuses on creating a profit and playing upon peoples emotions

Media, Democracy and Governance

- Independent standpoint (on behalf of the media) for political oversight and criticism
 - Although this is not always the case → there is bias due to the views of the media heads
- Independence undermined by increasingly concentrated ownership
 - Relationships with government can be too comfortable- Tony Blair and Rupert Murdoch
- Changing politics:

- A) overemphasis on leader over parties and policy
 - Leader presents themselves as the party, more about them and less about the party; media plays a big role
- B) helping to enhance executive party
- Political Bias: views that systematically favor the values or interests of one group over another as opposed to balanced or objective beliefs
- Media driven 'culture of contempt' and increasing political disenchantment
 - Media's tendency to say that scandal sells therefore there is a disengagement in politics
- Tendency to simplify and polarize issues
 - Takes complicated issues and simplifies them which can create bias and a lack of information
- 24/7 news leads to 24/7 government- reactions over reflection
 - has effect on the political process because it reduces thought
- Better at setting the political agenda than shaping public views- but 'power without responsibility'
 - Media is not elected and they are accountable to no one, they play a very influential role

New Media and Democracy

- New electronic communications are changing the face of elections and campaigns
 - Using the internet to gain support, changing where they place their resources
- Another hierarchy down? Citizens are getting easier and more direct access to political information and commentary
 - Citizens are gaining more information therefore parties do not have the power to shape and influence people's ideas
 - New media is much more focused around people communicating with each other
- New social media have supported and strengthened new and more effective social and political movements
- But e-democracy has been linked with a more privatized and consumerist form of citizenship
 - More technology means there is less face to face communication, therefore there is less social trust
- Cultural globalization: the process whereby information, commodities and images produced in one part of the world enter into a global flow that tends to 'flatten out' cultural differences between nations and regions

Executives in Context

- Legislature: makes laws, enact legislature
- Executive: implements and executes laws
- Judiciary: interprets laws, adjudicates

Executive Subordinate to Legislature?

- A) the different components gradually split off from undivided monarchical power
- B) legislative power grew through confinement of executive
- C) the executive is the one indispensable part of the state- 'cant live with it, cant rule without it'
- D) we have seen steady expansion in executive power over many decades

Bureaucratic vs. Political

- Bureaucratic executive: public officials, civil servants- usually appointed
 - A) their job is to advice and administer policy
 - B) subject to the requirements of political neutrality and loyalty to their ministers
- Political executive:
 - A) senior officials constituting 'government of the day'- politically chosen
 - B) setting priorities, resolving crisis, making decisions and overseeing implementations
- Imperfect distinction: implementers often help make policy
 - Canada: civil servants often make a significant contribution to policy making
 - US: president is the only elected official, all the cabinet ministers are appointed therefore there is more of an overlap between political and bureaucratic executives
- We use to have the idea that we were able to speak the truth to power, but recently we have a stigma that says not to speak out and embarrass the government

Structure and Function

- Montesquieu: 'this branch of government, having need of dispatch, is better administered by one than by many'- single individual best
 - There is a need for speed and we turn to executives that respond right away
 - Executives tend to be centralized around the leadership of a single individual
- Harvey. C. Mansfield

- Room for maneuver, especially in a crisis
- US: "energy in the executive"
- But-gives you
 - Abraham Lincoln's defense of the union against slavery (Good)
 - John Yoo defense of torture in associates with the war in Iraq, pre-emptive war, drone strikes and runaway surveillance (Bad)

Structure and Government 2

- Dual Executive
 - A) Head of State: an office of formal authority and has large symbolic importance
 - Examples: Queen, Governor General and appointed president
 - B) Head of Government: carries policy making and political responsibilities
 - Example: Prime Minister (Canada & Britain), Chancellor (Germany)
 - C) Executive President: combines these roles (United States)
- Multiple executive: cabinets, committees, civil servants, enforcement agencies (police force and armed forces)

Structure and Government 3

- Ceremonial Leadership:
 - usually head of states
 - very formal and ceremonial (international conferences, state occasions)
 - aim is to draw legitimacy for the regime
- Policy- making Leadership:
 - head of government tries to implement agenda
 - develop policies that meet the needs of society
- Popular Leadership:
 - executive is engaged in the task of popularizing the regime and gaining and building support
- Bureaucratic Leadership:
 - Task overseeing implementation of policy means that political executives have major bureaucratic and administrative responsibilities
- Crisis Leadership:
 - the executive is suppose to provide leadership in times of difficulty

Institutionalizing the Executive: Parliamentary System

- Political Executive: Prime Minister and cabinet
- Three essential features
 - 1) since the executive power is derived from the assembly and is closely linked to party politics, a separate head-of-state is required to fulfill ceremonial duties
 - 2) political executive is drawn from the assembly, therefore there is not a separation of the personnel between legislative and executive
 - 3) the executive is directly responsible to the assembly, they survive in government as long as they have the confidence of the assembly
- Parliamentarianism
 - A) single electoral process: there is only one election from ridings
 - B) fusion of executive and legislative power : the political executive are dependent upon sustaining majorities within the house of commons, which is made up of people who have won is particular constituencies
 - C) executive falls with loss of legislative majority, non-confidence motion
 - D) cabinet and Prime Minister are also legislative members
 - E) head of state dissolves legislature upon request of Prime Minister
 - D) Carrots and sticks to further influence legislature or legislative agenda: they use the resources that they have at their disposal to build support within the legislature

Institutionalizing the Executive: Presidential System

- Any tin-pot dictator can take the title 'president'
- Many indirectly elected presidents in parliamentary system- weakens head of state
- Constitution/ Non-executive Presidents: responsibilities confined largely to ceremonial duties
 - Example: India, Israel, Germany
- Executive Presidents: combine formal responsibilities of head-of-state with the political power of a chief executive
- Presidentialism
 - A) separate electoral mandate for president and legislature
 - B) legislative removal of president very rare- impeachment (Bill Clinton)
 - C) cabinet not composed of legislators- elected by the Prime Minister and need the support of the legislature

- D) President cannot dissolve legislature
- E) President governs, but checked by legislature she or he cannot effectively control

Institutionalizing the Executive: Differences and Implications

- Presidential: Clinton impeachment drama
- Parliamentary: non-confidence motion, move on (quick resolution)
- Presidential: debt ceiling crisis, government shutdown (slowness)
- Parliamentary: if majority, easier passage of legislation, big omnibus packages (there is speed)
- Presidential: 'leader of the free world' but can be domestically weak
- Parliamentary: significant and growing concentration of executive power
- Executive power is growing everywhere, but parliamentary constraints less powerful

Presidentialization

- Prime Ministerial Government: historical rise from 'first among equals' and collective responsibility to predominance within executive, key link to legislature
- Cabinet: collective unit with collective responsibility
- Prime Minister now dominates over the other members of the cabinet and executive
- Presidentialization: Prime Minister personalizes power, rises above legislature
- Heffernan: Today's parliamentary Prime Minister more powerful

Institutionalizing the Executive: Semi- Presidentialism

- Semi-Presidentialism
 - A) directly elected president
 - B) directly elected legislature
 - C) president appoints Prime Minister, other ministers on Prime Minister's recommendation
 - D) Prime Minister accountable to legislature
 - E) Prime Minister and president may specialize- domestic versus foreign affairs
 - F) May check each other, especially with 'cohabitation'
 - Hybrid system with both a Prime Minister and President

Assemblies

Origins and Evolution

- Roots in royal courts: duties include offering judgment in important cases, meet powerful nobles
- Gradually more settled and consistent (13th/14th onwards)
 - A) consultations on war, trade, taxation, with..
 - B) leading representatives of
 - Corporate groups
 - Territories
- Initiative for medieval representation
 - A) lay with the crown
 - Also
 - B) lays with the support of Roman notion that 'what concerns all should be approved by all'
 - Led to
 - C) compacts like the Magna Carta
- Overtime modern democracy came to emphasize representative bodies in legislative role
 - A) James Madison: "in representative government, the legislative power necessarily predominates"
 - B) Britain: Parliamentary sovereignty

The Legislative Function?

- This is no longer clearly the case- hence, Heywood prefers to call legislatures 'assemblies'
 - A) assemblies share legislative responsibility
 - B) executive roles: decree, veto, legislative proposals
 - C) assemblies confined by constitutional law
 - D) limited power of amendment, rejection
- A challenge to the separation powers
- Legislative Role varies by system:
 - A) presidential: US congress experiences
 - Substantial independence from executive- check and balance
 - Weak party discipline
 - B) parliamentary: house of commons experience
 - Fusion with executive
 - Strong party discipline

Other Functions

- Representation- 'standing in' for the people

- Scrutiny and oversight (of executive)- tools: question period, special inquires and reports, committees
- Recruitment and training- especially in parliamentary system (voting or joining parties)
- Legitimacy- mobilizing consent (parliamentary debates, politicians engage in order to fit with the needs of society), securing regime

Assembly Structure

- Unicameralism: streamlined democracy
 - only have one chamber like the house of commons
 - this offers an opportunity to unitize parliament
- Bicameralism: Having different levels of chambers because only one chamber is a dangerous thing
 - A) an upper chamber can be a place for the privileged
 - B) an upper chamber is a check on the executive
 - C) gives an opportunity to represent the same society differently- regional representation in an upper chamber
- DANGER: Bicameralism can lead to legislative fragmentation
- Committees: outdo assemblies as site for deliberation, consultation and decision making

Where Do Things Now Stand?

- No longer clear that a good government requires a strong assembly- may lead to immobilism and political stalemate
- But legislative power in decline due to
 - A) emergence of discipline parties
 - B) growth of 'big' government
 - C) organizational weakness of assemblies
 - D) rise of interest group and media power

Constitutional Law and The Judiciary 2014

March 18th

A Law- Governed State

- The rule of law: substitutes a 'government of laws' for a 'government of men'
- Types of Law:
 - A) common law- customs, traditions, precedents (judge-made law)
 - B) civil law- written legal codes (judge- administered law)
- Statue Law: legislatively enacted law, law passed and enacted by a legislature
- Relationship of Statue to Constitution:
 - 1) common law
 - A) statue can operate within common law context or
 - B) can lead to parliamentary sovereignty
 - 2) civil law- statues are subordinate to codified constitutional law

What is a Constitution?

- A body of meta-norms (higher norms), higher order legal rules, and principles that specify how all other legal norms are to be produced, applied, enforced and interpreted" (Alec Stone Sweet)

Purpose of Constitution

- Empowering states: creates and enabling states
 - A state is not a state until it creates a constitution and it gives states the proper power that they need to govern
- Establishing values and goals: fundamental, unifying- may derive from custom 'higher law,' constitutional convention, referendum
- Provide governments with stability: mapping power within the state- institution, processes
- Protecting freedom: transferring power from a governing individual or group to a set of rules- impersonal, equal
 - A) constraining power holders
 - Locke: helped create a constitution to try and constrain monarchies
 - B) confining the privileged
 - Deprives the privilege of the ability to make power serve their interest
 - C) clarifying rights (negative? Also positive?)
- Legitimizing regimes: commitment to values and legal- rationality

Do Constitutions Matter?

- Constitutionalism: A political community's commitment to respect constitutional principles, limiting and fragmenting power
- Constitutional Effectiveness
 - A) bounded by culture and values of society
 - B) No defense against tyranny
 - C) can be self-sustained- checks and balances

The Constitutional Experience

- Constitutions emerge after rupture: war, independence, regime change
- Enormous growth of especially written, codified constitutions with decolonization, third wave democratization, USSR collapse
- Constitutions last on average 52 years
 - A) American success: general, flexible
 - B) British Success: Open-ended, adaptable

The Judiciary

- Authoritarian or illiberal regimes: often limited or no judicial independence
- Liberal Democracies: Prize judicial independence
- But
 - A) external bias- appointment process and
 - B) Internal bias- culture and values of judiciary
- Judicial review: supreme court, constitutional courts

The State from Above and Below

- State: domestic order vs. international anarchy
- Multi-level governance
 - A) how is the space within the state institutionally structured- national, state/provincial, local?
 - B) to what extent has the space above the state institutionalized- transnational regions, global order?
 - C) to what extent to political interactions occur across these levels?

Inside the State

- Formation of the modern territorial state:
 - A) 1648 Treat of Westphalia- sovereignty
 - B) 19th century nationalism- homeland
 - C) result: centralized and nationally unified states
 - But no single path to statehood- Stein Rokkan:
 - A) state formation could be centralizing or decentralizing
 - B) nation formation could be centrifugal or centripetal

Confederation

- Central Authority
 - A) created by smaller units (independent states that needs a larger unit of central power for a certain purpose)
 - B) capable of limiting or removing its power
 - C) capable of withdrawing at any time
- Confederation Arrangements
 - A) early state in construction of federations- USA, Switzerland
 - B) temporary arrangements for mutual defense or cooperation- Germany after 1815, commonwealth of independent states
 - C) Intergovernmental organizations- NATO, African Union
 - Usually has a very limited ways in which they are locked in

Federalism

- Two distinct levels of government which
 - A) divide the powers of government (provincial and federal)
 - B)share sovereignty within the state- neither can dissolve the other or unilaterally after divisions of powers
 - C) according to terms of written constitution with disputes settled in court
- Self rule and shared rule
 - Sharing sovereignty and the ability to rule ones self and share the responsibility of ruling with different levels of the state

- Enables large and diverse territories to pursue broader aims, including self-protection against common threat
- Want to do self rule in some areas but recognize that common rule in other areas is more efficient

Varieties of Federalism

- Canada:

- A) division of jurisdiction between federal and provincial levels, with some concurrent jurisdictions (agriculture, immigration)
- B) residual powers to federal government- parliament legislates on 'peace, order and good government'
- C) weak attempt to represent regions within upper chamber of federal legislature

- Germany:

- A) substantial responsibilities to federal government
- B) states (lander) receive few areas of responsibility, but implement federal laws 'in their own right'- administrative federalism
- C) some concurrent powers (criminal law, employment, agriculture)
- D) residual powers to *Lander*
- E) upper chamber that represents regions at the central level

Forms of Federalism

- Dual Federalism: each level of government retains separate sphere of action
- Cooperative Federalism: levels of government that interact with each other
- Fiscal Federalism:
 - A) with higher revenue- raising capacity, federal government manages vertical fiscal imbalance- may attach conditions
 - The governments have more to do than money they can do it with, therefore the federal government streams money to the provincial government but often with conditions
 - B) Given inequality of provincial revenues, federal government may counteract horizontal fiscal imbalance

The Evolution of Federations

- 'Confederal' Canada initially featured a strong central government- now a very decentralized federation, and an asymmetrical federation given diversity regionally concentrated (Quebec)

- US constitution set strong limits on powers of central government- now more centralized, and symmetrical given absence of regionally concentrated diversity

Unitary Systems

- Sovereignty
 - a) resides at the national level, usually in a particular institution
 - b) rather than at the level of subnational government, which may be dissolved by the central authority
- Many unitary states are engaging in experiments in decentralization, devolution, enhanced autonomy- model for Canadian future?

Transnational Regionalism

- Growing salience for regions above the level of the state- forms:
 - A) security regionalism
 - B) political regionalism
 - C) economic regionalism
- A middle position between states and globalization- larger markets, but protected against external rivals

Transnational Regionalism

- By far the most highly developed form of regionalism is the European Union:
 - A) Eschewed (avoided) mere free trade area
 - B) Established customs union 1958-1969
 - C) Established common/ single market 1986-1992
 - D) Federal tendencies: pooled sovereignty to supranational institutions, and common currency and central bank since 1999
 - E) But most public spending still at state level, no 'fiscal union' to manage Eurozone crisis

Theories of Decision Making

- Rational Actor Model: is this helpful simplification?
- Incremental Model: Policy making by consensus, evolution, 'muddling through'
- Bureaucratic Organization Models:
 - A) no unified states- different agency perspectives
 - B) Short termism- 'satisficing'
- Belief System Models: Schemas and filters

Stages in the Policy Process

- Policy Institution: Agenda set by political elites, popular pressure, scribblers, media
- Policy Formulation: from adopting decision- making procedure to developing concrete proposals
- Policy Implementation: great latitude- is flexibility good or bad?
- Policy Evaluation: needs more investment

Evolution of Bureaucracy

- Patrimonial: Medieval Europe- personal service to monarch, member of household
- Bureaucratic: with state formation and industrialization, greater range and efficiency required- Max Weber:
 - A) carefully defined divisions of tasks, offices
 - B) disciplined hierarchy of offices
 - C) merit-based recruitment, advancement

Evolution of Bureaucracy

- Not every Bureaucracy looks alike- French centralization, US decentralization, spoils system (where the incoming government tries to create a bureaucratic representative in order to better get their ideas across)
- 20th century: massive growth in areas of state activity, administrative capacity
- Late 20th/ early 21st centuries: new public management- contracting out, quangos (non governmental organizations, not private nor fully public), performance incentives

Bureaucratic Power

- Three Sources
 - A) the strategic position of bureaucrats in the policy-making process
 - Bureaucrats may position a report in order to favour his ideas and views

- There could be a strategic unbalance
- B) the logical relationship between bureaucrats and ministers
 - Bureaucrats are in the positions for a lot longer and therefore are able to focus on specific areas
- C) the status and expertise of bureaucrats
 - In places like France they are highly valued and highly educated and therefore can speak the truth to power
- The line between ministers and bureaucrats is not as clear as we might expect

Bureaucracy and Democracy

- Bureaucratic power must be checked in the name of democracy-how?
 - A) political accountability
 - role of the ministers can be in charge of making sure the bureaucratic power is not being abused
 - B) Politicization of civil service
 - We need to accept that the civil service will be politically influenced
 - Civil service does not always hold their position for long because it generally changes as the government changes in order to fit with the current government
 - C) construction of counter- bureaucracies
 - Institutional arrangements that can check the power of the bureaucracies
 - For example using the Prime Ministers office as a check for the power and growth of the bureaucratic
 - Have to be careful of fighting views

Democracy: Amateurs Welcome

- Leaving Politics to the Professionals?
 - A) increasingly complex issues
 - B) badly informed populace
 - C) political skills required, especially given strengthening of executive power
- Stoker:
 - A) the political class also makes huge mistakes
 - B) institutional reform can improve the quality of participation

Participation: "targeted" and "realistic" (p 151)

- Republicanism:
 - A) political sphere separate
 - B) in it, we realize ourselves, cultivate virtues
- Stoker:
 - A) private-public line overdrawn
 - B) political participation unnatural, occasional, focused on issues of greatest concern
 - C) political activity involves mixed motives
- Deliberative Democracy
 - A) instinctive engagement of smaller groups
 - B) involves reasons and accountability
 - C) better decisions, and better decision makers
- Stoker:
 - A) unrealistic expectations lead to stifling rules for 'good' participation
 - B) many issues are better resolved with 'weasel' words

But Participation, Not Neoliberalism

- Neoliberalism
 - A) "the sovereign consumer"
 - B) individualism, freedom from the state
- Stoker:
 - A) the market cant provide everything we want
 - B) good collective decisions require effective political engagement

Ramp Up Representative Democracy

- Let representatives specialize in politics
- But increase their involvement with people:
 - A) elections that avoid disproportionate attention to high-stakes areas

- B) reforms that free representatives from constraints of party, executive
- C) transparency, social representativeness
- D) innovations in consultation

Beyond Representation

- Reforms that create citizens into partners in governance:
 - A) deliberative- can change institutions
 - BC and Ontario citizens' assemblies:
 - I) multi-stage random selection
 - Ii) stages of activity: learning, consultation, deliberation, decision
 - Iii) concerns: small scale, acquired expertise exclusive to assembly, and assembly members are accountable to electorate only in ultimate popular referendum
- Reforms that remake citizens into partners in governance:
 - A) direct democracy-can set or change agenda
 - B) co-governance—offers share in decision making
 - D) e-democracy- can influence decision making

Key: Reform Justification, Evaluation

- For stoker, effective reforms must:
 - A) accept people as they are
 - B) allow them to determine when and how they get involved
 - C) inspire them gradually and without pressure to become higher quality participants
 - D) give people the most compelling possible reason to participate- by showing the they can make a difference

World Order and Global Governance April 3rd 2014

Power in International Relations

- Military dimension: important but not always useable; sometimes counter-productive
 - Can undermine other dimensions of power
- Economic dimension: supports military power, fits era of independence
 - A power resource in its own light
- 'Soft' Power: cooptation rather than coercion, via culture and value legitimacy
- Structural Power: power over process, via regimes and institutional power
 - Influence over agenda

Polarity

- International System: like a party system, pattern of interactions with causal impact
- A Pole: has an exceptionally large share of the major power resources → concentration of resources
- Uni-polarity: a single state has greatly disproportionate share of power, with no major rivals
- Bipolarity: two major powers in direct and immediate conflict with each other, zero-sum competition
 - Stakes are extremely high which reduces the number of wars
- Multi-polarity: more than two major powers, balancing behaviors, but room for mistakes
 - Stakes are not as high which increases the number of wars

Changing International Systems

- 15th-19th centuries: a series of multipolar systems in Europe-balancing, frequent wars
- WW1- 1991: Bipolarity with the USA and the USSR as superpowers
 - Global interests, global reach:
 - A) a nuclear era, cold rather than hot water
 - B) proxy wars in Korea and Vietnam
- 1991- Early 21st Century: Uni-polarity with USA for outstripping all possible rivals
 - A) collapse of USSR, no replacement
 - B) massive advantage in all areas- from superpower to hyper power
 - C) effective American leadership in 1991 gulf war
- Early 20th Century- Present: End to Uni-polarity?
 - A) US decline:
 - I) constraints on military power

- II) economy difficulties
- III) imperial over-reach
- III) loss of 'soft' power in George W. Bush era
- B) rise of the rest: BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China)
 - Especially the last two
- C) with globalization, economies trump arms
- D) dominant power always hard to sustain

The American Post WW1 Order

- After WW1, USA constructs liberal international order:
 - A) Marshall fund, encouragement for European integration
 - B) Bretton Wood; IMF, World Bank, GATT/WTO
 - C) Multilateralism, but heavily US supported → structural power at substantial cost
 - D) UN: indispensable but not transcendent

Alternative to Uni-polarity

- Renewed bipolarity → US and China?
 - Cooperation or conflict?
- Multi-polarity → US and the BRINCs? Instability?
- No poles at all- an "a polar" (Niall Ferguson) or "non-polar" (Richard Haass) world?
- Multi-polarity → military uni-polarity, economic multi-polarity
- Transnational actor, less powerful states- neo-medievalism

But is Polarity Over?

- American decline has been predicted before
 - 1970s and 1980s (German and Japanese Challenge)
- source of continued strengths- military power, resilient and adaptive society
- attractiveness of American international order- "challengers" want in

