Questions

This course addresses two crucial questions about the world today:

First: How did the United States become the world’s dominant nation? America’s current dominance in world affairs is extreme and surprising, without precedent in history. How did it come about? Was it inevitable, and how might it change?

A closely related question is how Western nations (Europe and its offshoots, including America) became vastly richer and more powerful than the rest of the world. Why are most non-Western nations much poorer and worse-governed than those in the West?

Second: Can American primacy endure given challenges in Asia? In recent decades, several Asian countries, starting off with Japan, have challenged the United States as the world’s economic leader. Some think that China and perhaps India could soon take over primacy from America.

The Asian advance suggests to some that the historic dominance of the West is about to end. Have the Asian countries become richer and more powerful in the same way as the West—or by different means? Their advance sharpens the question of how nations become dominant.

Approach

Most scholars of international relations say little directly about these questions. They take American primacy as given, rather than asking how it arose. And while they worry about the Asian challenge, they tend to compare America to its Asian rivals in terms of concrete forms of power, such as economic wealth or military heft. They say little about the roots of primacy.

In this course we take a more historical and theoretical approach. We first observe how American and Western primacy arose, and then we try to explain it using a wide range of theoretical approaches. Later we use these same theories to assess whether American primacy will endure.

The explanatory theories—16 in all—come from several disciplines—geography, economics, sociology, and political science. They include some of the most influential ideas and authors in these fields. Your main task as students is to compare the theories and decide which you think best answer the two questions I have posed.

There are no right or wrong answers. All depends on how you understand the theories and apply them to the evidence. Depending on your assumptions, any of them may be favored. I have myself written a book on American primacy that emphasizes the sociological theories. It seems to me that what ultimately explains American primacy is an individualist culture, while the Asian challenge rests chiefly on the more collectivist culture. But I emphasize that you need not adopt this view.

Assumptions

We assume that the United States did not arise in isolation, but as the child of Europe, and especially of Britain, which was the chief founder of the United States. It was a Europe that first
showed unusual capacities for wealth and the projection of power. Britain developed these capacities most fully and then bequeathed them to America. Thus, theories of wealth or power that were written initially about Europe or Britain apply by extension to the United States.

We also assume that explanatory theories may have their influence at several points in history, not only in the present. Recent forces are the easiest to connect to America’s present power, but earlier influences may have been more formative. We also ask whether the forces that created American primacy will remain important in the future—or decline?

To be persuasive, a theory of primacy must explain differences among nations, particularly between the rich West and the rest of the world. A theory must also be independent of other theories rather than reflections of them.

Requirements

Papers: Students will write three short papers based on sections of the course, each counting 20 percent of the grade, or 60 percent in all. I emphasize correct writing. Papers are assessed using a special scoring system. See further details below.

Final exam: The final will count 20 percent. Half of this test will be to write identifications of six terms or concepts drawn from the course, chosen out of twelve. In each case, tell me what the item means and why it is important in the context of this course. The other half of the test will be to answer one broad essay question, chosen out of three. The IDs have right and wrong answers, but the essays will permit many possible answers depending on how you argue. The two halves of the test will count about equally.

Participation: To promote discussion, you should do the reading before the classes for which it is assigned and come to class ready to respond to it and what is said during class. The final 20 percent of grade will be based on class participation, calculated on the basis of both attendance at lectures (40%) and speaking in class discussion (60%).

In class, I will convey facts but also many difficult issues to you. Discussion is valuable because we all learn from it. Student feedback has altered my own thinking on these issues. Also, the ability to enter into discussion about issues like this is an important skill that students need to develop. I have placed a document about class participation on NYU Classes.

Weekly coffees: This course has no sections, but to permit more discussion, I offer to have coffee with students who are interested after class. We will initially do this on Wednesdays, but if there is sufficient demand we will do it on Mondays as well. A signup sheet will be available in class. This is purely voluntary. I will also hold office hours, 3-5 PM on Tuesdays. For students who cannot make these times, we can arrange other times.

Grades will be determined by ranking the class on the basis of average, with the various assessments in the course weighted as specified above. About the top third of students can expect to receive A’s, the middle 40-50 percent B’s, a few C’s or—in rare cases—lower grades. Students should note that, because of this ranking procedure, final grades may not correspond precisely to what one would expect on the basis of average. Often, I give out more B’s during the term than I want to for the record. So in the final reckoning, some students with high B averages get A’s and—less often—some with low B averages get C’s.

I grade papers using scores that run lower than grades normally do, but these scores are later converted to grades with a higher and more usual distribution before calculating final averages and
letter grades. Again, see details below. Final grades for the course will have a distribution typical of CAS.

Extensions or Incompletes will be given for unexpected demands on your time, such as illness or family emergencies—not obligations that are predictable (such as jobs or sports events). For illness, bring a note from a doctor or parent and you can get credit for missed classes. Incompletes will be given only for cause and on the basis of consultation prior to the final exam. Thus, if you have difficulty finishing the course, talk to me in good time.

Readings

Students should purchase these books at the NYU book store. Repeated readings will be drawn from most of them.

J.M. Roberts, *A Short History of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Enough copies of this book may not be available through the book store, and some students will have to order a copy through Amazon.


Additional readings are specified in the course schedule below. Readers comprising these items may be purchased from Unique Copy Center, 252 Greene St., phone 212-420-9198 Those wishing to minimize costs may read them on reserve at Bobst, where two copies of each are available, and some items are available through Bobst e-journals.

Course Schedule

The following is the schedule of lectures, with the reading assigned for each. Preferably do the readings in the order listed. The first section of the course reviews the history of European, then British, then American dominance. That is the trajectory that any theory of American primacy must explain. The course then covers the sixteen primacy theories, grouped under sections for geography, economics, sociology, and political science.

The final section addresses whether American primacy can survive by comparing our power to that of potential rivals. The concluding lectures will discuss domestic problems and immigration, which threaten to weaken American leadership, and the likely future of American power.


I History

The history sessions lay out the chief problems to be explained—how the West emerged as a uniquely dynamic civilization, and how first Britain and then America came to lead the world.


Jan. 30: Britain: The rise of nation states in Europe and the decline of Islam. The Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, and the emergence of British primacy. The rise of the United States.


Feb. 1: America: The major conflicts of the twentieth century—the World Wars and the Cold War. The United States emerges as the dominant power, yet faces challengers in Asia.


II Geography

The geographic approach to primacy contends that a nation’s potential for wealth and power is shaped by its very early development, resources, and strategic position in the world.

Feb. 6: Development and resources: The differing evolution and resources of different world regions. Diamond’s and Morris’s arguments that geography largely explains Western primacy.


Feb. 8: Geopolitics The importance of geographical position in explaining world leadership. Advantages of Europe and the Anglo powers. Classic geopolitical theorists.

III Economics

The economic approach to primacy asserts that how society produces goods and services is critical to wealth, which in turn is the main basis of power. The market economy has proven more productive than more statist alternatives, but it also has divided and transformed society.

Feb. 13: The market: Wealth as a basis for Western power. Why free exchange is efficient. Economists’ classic arguments for specialization and open markets.


Feb. 15: Capitalism: Marxism asserts that the market economy is built not on free competition but class domination. Defenders of capitalism justify rising inequality as essential to growing wealth.

   Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*.

Feb. 20: President’s Day—no class.

Feb. 22: The defeat of collectivism: America largely avoided the backlash against capitalism seen in socialism and Communism, which proved unable to compete with the market economy.


Feb. 27: Free trade: Openness to trade promotes wealth while increasing insecurity. Free trade as a reason for British and then American affluence. Recent controversies over trade and globalization.


IV Sociology

Sociological approaches to primacy stress the development of attitudes and cultural traits that promote innovation, effort, good behavior, and cooperation within the society.

March 1: Introduction: The sociological approach to explaining wealth and power. Why are developing countries less able to grow rich than the West? Western vs. non-Western culture.
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Paper 1 due in class.

March 6: Individualism: One basis of Western culture is a deep-rooted individualism originally found only in Europe. The non-West is more communal but less civic. Key role of moralism.


March 8: Religion: Christianity as a promoter of individualism, science, and good government from an early point in Western history. Contrasts with other religions.

Biblical selections: Genesis 1; Exodus 19-20; John 1:1-18.


March 13-19: Spring recess.


March 22: Science: Rational problem-solving and inquiry into the natural world as one source of Western wealth, power, and leadership. Contrast with other cultures.

Landes, Wealth and Poverty, pp. 200-12, 276-91, 335-49.

Murray, Human Accomplishment, pp. 247-64.


March 27: Social capital: The capacity of America and other rich societies to generate trust and collaboration, which has been critical to wealth and civil society.


V Political Science

The political science approach to primacy stresses features of regimes that help them govern effectively and project power. Imperialism may help explain power or weakness.

March 29: Introduction: The political approach to American primacy. How different from the other approaches. Government has typically been stronger in the West than in developing countries.


April 3: Pluralism: Ideals of limited and divided government in Britain and America, which promotes limited government and economic freedom.


  Paper 2 due in class.

April 5: The rule of law: The early development of a law-governed regime in England during the Middle Ages and after. Lack of this tradition in most of the non-Western world.


April 10: Government by consent: The early development of political accountability in Britain and, later, in America. Lack of this tradition in most countries outside the West.


April 12: Political culture: The attitudes underlying productive and unproductive societies. Civic values as a strength of British and American government.


April 17: Imperialism: Many non-Western countries were conquered and ruled by European powers. Did this help or hinder their own development?


VI Current Challenges

The last section of the course addresses whether other world power centers are likely to eclipse American primacy in future. Our nation’s internal problems may weaken American power.

April 19: America vs. Europe: Europe has abdicated world leadership to the United States. Why the two differ over national security, even though they are comparable in size and wealth.


April 24: America vs. Islam: Conflict between the United States and Islamic countries reflects radically different histories. Islam once was powerful. Why has it gone on the defensive?


Paper 3 due in class.

April 26: America vs. Asia: The challenge to American primacy posed by China and India. Their strengths and weaknesses compared to America’s.


May 1: Social Problems: Cultural changes and other domestic problems today pose the greatest threats to wealth and power in both America and Asia.

- Don Peck, ’Can the Middle Class Be Saved?” *The Atlantic*, September 2011, pp. 60-78.

**May 3: Immigration:** Cultural difference help explain why immigration has become a major issue in America and Europe.


**May 8: The Future of American Primacy:** How should America expect to exercise power in the world going forward? We will allow time for course evaluations.


**May 10: Final examination,** 12-1:50 PM, 102 Meyer.
**Paper Assignments**

The point of the papers is for students to form and state their own views about which of the theories considered in the course best explain American primacy. You will do this three times, each for a different part of the course.

**Questions:** Here are the questions and the due dates for the three papers. Each paper is due right after the relevant section of the course. The course schedule also shows the due dates.

*Paper 1:* “Of the primacy theories covered in the geography and economics sections of the course, which one theory do you find best explains American primacy, and why?”

Due March 1 in class.

*Paper 2:* “Of the primacy theories covered in the sociology section of the course, which one theory do you find best explains American primacy, and why?”

Due April 3 in class.

*Paper 3:* “Of the primacy theories covered in the political science section of the course, which one theory do you find best explains American primacy, and why?”

Due April 24 in class.

**Argument:** Note that in each paper you are considering only some of the theories. You are asked to choose which one theory you prefer out of several. You must clearly choose one as best; you cannot combine more than one so as to avoid choice. On the other hand, to support your choice, you will have to discuss more than one option. One approach is to rank the theories.

Note that you are supposed to *defend* your choice against opposing arguments. Don’t just *expound* your preferred theory or approach. Don’t just write *about* it. That is not an argument *for* it. You will have to characterize your choice, but your main task is to *justify* it against the other possibilities. Since the papers are short, you must get directly to the point: Tell me straight out which position you favor and why. Imagine you are standing in front of a judge with only five minutes to make your case. What would you say?

There is no one answer to any of these questions. A plausible case may be made for any of the theories. All depends on how you define each one and how you reason about which is best. Typically, to favor a given theory, you have to define it broadly so it explains more than it would otherwise, perhaps including aspects of other approaches.

**Writing:** In assessing papers, I emphasize correct writing. Typically, student papers contain many low-level errors in usage, grammar, logic, or spelling. These problems are rife today, at every college, even selective schools like NYU. One reason is that most faculty ignore the problem, and the NYU writing program has little effect upon it. While most students can make themselves clear in some basic sense, the slips trip up the reader and obscure your argument.

I correct students’ writing more than most faculty do. I have a system of symbols I use to do this. Here are the sort of problems I encounter. Most of them come down to unclear logic. I define each and also give the symbol I use to indicate that problem in the margin when correcting papers.
Reference unclear (RU): A term or pronoun is used that has no definite reference or antecedent. Thus, I'm unsure what it refers to. For example: "Members of Congress talk to lobbyists, who might contribute to their campaigns. They have an interest in doing this." Here, it's not clear whether "They" refers to the members or the lobbyists.

Wrong person (WP): Students often use a singular noun, then replace it with a pronoun that is plural, or vice versa. For example: "The Army would like to avoid accepting gays into the military, but they may have to compromise." Here “Army” is singular but “they” is plural.

How relevant? (HR): Writing may be clear, but it seems unrelated to the subject at hand or the argument you are making.

Point unclear (PU): Your language is clear but the point isn’t clear as an argument. What are you really trying to say here?

Non sequitur (NS): The writing suggests there is a logical connection or inference within a sentence or between sentences, when in fact there is none. For example, "On average, white people are better-off than blacks, so they are seldom poor." Here, both parts of the sentence say something that is true, but the first does not imply the second. Whites could be better off than blacks, yet still often poor.

I will put on NYU Classes a complete list of these symbols and their meanings. These are the problems to avoid as you make your augments.

Documentation: Another challenge is documentation. In a paper, when you refer to the work of authors you have read, you should observe established conventions for citing these publications. Few students know how to do this. I will also put a document showing how on NYU Classes.

Thus the focus in the papers is on stating an argument that is persuasive and also correctly made, avoiding writing and documentation problems. All the papers are short—no more than five pages. So you can concentrate on making a bulletproof case.

Scoring: In assessing papers, I give up to 50 points for argument and 50 points for writing. The writing score is 50 less one point for each correction I make, including for documentation. The overall score will be the sum of the scores for argument and writing.

I write comments and score your papers on NYU Classes, under Assignments, rather than directly on the paper. I do this to save time and create a record of what I wrote. I write edits and symbols for writing problems directly on the papers, which I will return. If anything is unclear, come talk to me. It’s important that you understand any writing problems that occur, so you can avoid them in future papers.

Above all, do not interpret these scores as grades. Judge how you are doing by how your scores compare to the class average, which I will announce. I will convert scores to grades—which run higher—at the end of the course. I will do this by ranking the class based on their average paper scores and assigning numerical grades based on the ranking. These grades will then contribute to your overall average, and the ranking of those averages determines letter grade for the course. The final grade distribution will be much as in other courses, as discussed under Requirements above.
Submission: Papers may be handed to me in class on the day indicated or before the deadline. They may also be left in my mailbox at the Politics Department prior to the class when the paper is due. Papers may not be submitted by fax or e-mail.

Papers given to me after the class when they were due will incur a penalty of:

5 points if handed if within a week after the class when they were due.

10 points if handed in later than this but prior to when final grades are submitted.

Delays due to commuting, the subway, or computer or printer problems are the student's responsibility.

*Keep a copy of your paper, in hard copy or on disk, in case it should become lost.*

For policy on extensions and Incompletes, see Requirements above.

Format: Papers should observe the following guidelines. Papers infringing the rules will be penalized up to 8 points.

*Cover page:* must include your name, local address, e-mail address, and all possible phone numbers. Please place this data in the upper left-hand corner, to make it easier to locate your paper in a stack.

Cover page *must also include the question being answered as stated above.* Write it out verbatim on your cover page. This is to make sure that you focus on it.

*Length:* 4-5 pages, excluding cover page and bibliography (if any) but including footnotes or endnotes. In figuring length, half the length of any tables or figures will be added to the text.

*Spacing:* double-spaced, with 22-4 lines to the page.

*Margins:* 1-1.5" on the left and top of pages, .75-1" on the right and bottom.

*Type size:* close to the size used for this assignment. Footnotes may use a slightly smaller font.

*Number pages,* starting with the first page of text. Page numbers may be handwritten.

*Binders*—avoid. Instead, papers should be stapled at upper left-hand corner.

*Documentation:* May use either author/date or footnote/endnote method. See Documentation handout on NYU Classes for details.

To save trees, please print on both sides of the paper, but this is optional.

Sources: The paper may be written based entirely on the readings assigned for the course. Other materials may be cited provided they were regularly published, such as books or newspaper or journal articles. This is to assure that they have faced some sort of review for accuracy other than by the author. Unpublished papers written by academics are also acceptable.

Materials may also be cited from these web sites:

*Government agencies.*

Reputable news organizations such as mainstream newspapers and periodicals.

Major think tanks, including the American Enterprise Institute, the Brookings Institution, the Urban Institute, and the Pew Charitable Trust.

Research institutes associated with universities.
Citations from advocacy organizations are not generally permitted, as they may not be reliable. If in doubt, ask me in advance. Papers citing disallowed sources will be penalized 4 points.

**Originality:** You may discuss the assignments with other students but must write your papers individually, without collaboration with others. You may seek help with your writing in general, but the writing you hand in should be entirely your own, not edited by others.

You may also discuss the issues with me during office hours or after class, but I do not review preliminary drafts.

**Plagiarism:** Do not use ideas drawn from readings without giving the source. Also, do not use an author's actual language as if it were your own. When you quote a source verbatim, it is not sufficient to give the reference; you *must also put quotation marks around the borrowed language* to make clear that someone else is talking. Do not copy material out of books into your paper unless the author truly says it better than you can. Plagiarism is a serious offense that will draw heavy penalties.

At the same time, the paper is intended to test your own thought and expression, not your mastery of academic conventions. Don't feel you have to have a citation for every sentence. If you rely on a source several times in a paragraph, for instance, one citation at the end of the paragraph, giving all the pages referred to, is usually sufficient. There is no need to document facts that are commonly known to your audience or in the context of this course.