

**GVT 3557: EXCEPTIONALISM QUESTIONED: AMERICA AND EUROPE**  
(PETER KATZENSTEIN; FALL 2020)

*Professor:* Peter Katzenstein (pjk2) White Hall 321. Electronic office hours will be announced on Canvas by the beginning of the first full week of classes. I am readily reachable by email ([pjk2@cornell.edu](mailto:pjk2@cornell.edu)). I prefer to be called PK rather than Peter, Professor Katzenstein, Pete, Katzenstein or any other number of creative names you could come up with.....)

*Teaching Assistants:* Gloria Xiong (yx423) and Sam Liu (kl933). They will post their office hours at the beginning of the first full week of classes.

*Class Time:* T, Th 2:55pm-4:10pm EST

*Course web site URL:* <https://canvas.cornell.edu> Since your TA will post information concerning the course and sections here, you should regularly consult this website. Your normal contact for anything related to this course is your TA. If your TA cannot help you, write to me (pjk2).

## OVERVIEW

Do you want to learn the discussion-based case method as taught at the Harvard Business School? Do you want to learn how to write a Harvard Business School case? Do you not want to take a final examination? If you answer these questions affirmatively, this course may be for you. Since the beginning of the republic, American intellectuals, politicians and businessmen have extolled the exceptionalism of America. In a world of diverse forms of capitalism, can this view be sustained? Is America a shining city on the hill or a darkened village in the valley?

Comparison is an effective way to discern and assess what is unique and what is general in the distinctive form of America's capitalist democracy. In this course the liberal market economy of the United States with its distinctive strengths and weaknesses is put side-by-side with different forms of liberal, corporatist, statist and hybrid market economies that characterize different European countries in the emerging European polity. The diversity of capitalism points to one overarching conclusion: all of these countries are arguably capitalist, democratic, market economies belonging to "the West;" and each of them has distinctive strengths and weaknesses. Like all other countries, America is ordinary in mobilizing its formidable capacities and displaying its glaring weaknesses as it copes with change. The course elaborates on these themes by looking at a series of historical cases in Part 1 (U.S. constitution, the English Corn Laws, German hyperinflation after World War I, the Great Depression in the U.S., and the creation of the Bretton Woods system after World War II); analysis of 2 cases focusing on the analysis of GDP in Singapore and of the balance of payments in Iceland, two macro-economic concepts essential for understanding the rest of the course; eight country cases in Part 3 (Bank of England, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Hungary, Turkey and the Ukraine); examination of four cases dealing with the European Union in Part 4 (European Union, European financial and migration crises, and Brexit); and ending with two broader issues addressing past and future (climate change and modern economic growth).

A related course with a different course number (Government 3547), offered every other year focuses on American primacy in the global political economy.

This course deviates from traditional lecture courses in two ways.

- First, roughly two-thirds of the classes are using the case method and cases developed at the Harvard Business School. Each of these cases centers around two main questions which the class will explore through discussion without, in the end, arriving at a “correct” answer. For this to work students have to be very well prepared and ready to talk and the instructor has to provide only very limited guidance to the discussion. If students and teacher both do their part, the case method offers an exhilarating learning experience. Typically, at the beginning I will take 5 minutes to introduce the case and 10-13 minutes at the end to reflect on it and how it relates to some broader themes. In addition to these class-based discussions, I will give seven lectures. Because of the coronavirus crisis it will be a particular challenge for all of us to make the class discussion part work. Zoom based discussions in small groups seem to work fine. But for larger groups it works only if we all do more than our share in carefully preparing for class and actively participate in discussions without seeking to dominate them.
- Second, sections in this course are designed almost entirely to help students with their group writing project. There are two cases taught on 9/29 and 10/1 that will require going over in section. They cover two macro-economic topics (GDP and balance of payments) that are covered in the Moss textbook. Other than that sections will present some material on Covid19 chosen by each of the TAs as background for the group writing project as well as periodic meetings with the different teams, of about three students each. Each team will write a HBS-style case on the experience of a European country or U.S. state with the coronavirus. In addition, as part of the assignment and final grade, the different student teams will be presenting their main findings in sections in power point format. Group projects are very common in business and professional school. They are also the norm in the real world.
- In sum, this lecture course seeks to accomplish in a research university what normally occurs in small seminars at liberal arts colleges: teaching students how to argue in class and how to write a business case as member of a team.

#### **CREDITS, COVID 19. ZOOM ETIQUETTE, OFFICE HOURS, CLASS PARTICIPATION, CLASS MEMBERS NOTE-TAKING, LAB SECTIONS, HBS CASE PAPER, GRADES, COURSE READINGS**

*Credits:* This course is offered as a four-credit course.

*Covid19:* Nobody signed up for a global pandemic or to experience the fallout on their lives. We all are suffering from the various effects of the pandemic – physically, psychologically, economically, politically and in myriad of other ways. This course syllabus looks like any old syllabus – lots of readings, some writings, and as much discussion as we can and must mobilize together for this class. But we are suffering differently and to different degrees. This is true in the general population as it is in this class room. Any number of the general guidelines for this class may not work for one or the other of us. Students may be experiencing unreliable wi-fi, lack of access to quiet study spaces, varied time-zones, or additional responsibilities while studying at home. If you are experiencing these or other difficulties, please contact me to discuss possible accommodations. The teaching staff of this course, both instructor and TAs, are there for you to talk about things that simply will not work for you. The humane option is always the best option. We will be flexible and check in with one another as the course progresses to see if changes need to be made. We will take care of each other and ourselves and remind ourselves that resilience is always in the picture for all of us.

## *Zoom Etiquette:*

### Joining our Zoom classroom

- All lectures, sections, and labs will take place on Zoom.
- We will be using a recurring Zoom ID for all lectures. A link to the classroom will be sent to all students on Wednesday, September 2. The link will also be available under the “Zoom” tag on the class Canvas site. You can sync Zoom meetings with your Cornell Gmail Calendar by installing the [Zoom add-on](#).
- Separate Zoom IDs will be used for sections and the semi-optional labs.
- The Zoom meeting for lectures will be available ten minutes before (2:50pm) the start of class. To ensure we start on time, please join the Zoom classroom a couple of minutes before the scheduled start time and you will be directed into a waiting room until the hosts let you in.
- Only authenticated users (i.e. those with a cornell.edu email) will be able to join our Zoom meetings. Additionally, [in line with Cornell policy](#), the classroom will also automatically be password protected.
- Please join class with your video turned on and keep your microphone muted unless participating in discussion. You are welcome to use a [virtual background](#), but please choose a background your classmates and the teaching staff will not find offensive or distracting.
- Please make sure Zoom displays your preferred full name rather than your NetID. This will help Professor Katzenstein to call on individuals and facilitate discussion. To rename yourself, [please go to the “Participants” tab, and click “More” next to your name](#).
- Please update your Zoom to [Version 5.0 or higher](#) to ensure you are able to connect to Cornell Zoom meetings.
- Please be fully dressed 😊

### Participating in our Zoom classroom

- In order for this class to be successful, undivided attention is required. Therefore, please refrain from using other websites, checking email, being on your phone/other devices during class time. Doing so will ensure a lively and productive classroom.
- To ask a question or make a comment, please use the [Raise Hand feature \(blue hand signal\)](#). When called upon, unmute yourself. Please do not physically raise your hand as this is suboptimal due to the limitations of the gallery view in Zoom. Once you have finished your question/comment, please use the Lower Hand function and mute yourself again.
- Private chat between students will be disabled. You may send questions and comments privately to one of the TA co-hosts especially concerning technical difficulties.
- If, under some circumstances, private chat between students is allowed, please keep chats professional. This is especially important as hosts can view private chat logs after meetings.
- Screen sharing and annotation will also be disabled for students.
- Lectures will make use of breakout rooms to discuss the lecture and/or readings.
- Lectures will be recorded by the teaching staff and placed on Canvas, but the HBS case discussions will *not* be recorded. You are not permitted to record class without the instructor’s permission.
- Professor Katzenstein will stay after class for an informal Q&A for those who are interested.

- In the event of catastrophic failure (university-wide Zoom crash, etc.), the teaching staff will endeavor to provide appropriate next steps ASAP via email and Canvas.

The teaching staff recognize that there are many complications arising from online learning, in addition to the extra burdens placed upon us by the ongoing pandemic. If you have any concerns about participating via Zoom or encounter any technical difficulties, please get in touch with the GOVT3557 teaching staff and we will work through a solution.

*Canvas:*

- Go to <https://login.canvas.cornell.edu/>
- Log in with NetID
- Once you are logged in, click “Courses”, then click “All Courses”
- Select GOVT 3557 and you’ll be directed to the Canvas homepage of the course
  - You can also favorite GOVT 3557 by clicking on the star beside it. That way, GOVT 3557 will always appear just by clicking on “Courses”.
- Click “Announcements” to find the Zoom links for the teaching staff’s office hours, a Zoom etiquette guide and this Canvas guide
- Click “Syllabus” tab to view class syllabus
- Click “Modules” tab to view class content. We will upload documents for lectures and labs by every Friday.
- Click “Library Reserves” to view links to readings in electronic form. We will make an announcement on Canvas when new documents are uploaded.
- Click “Assignments” tab to view the submission site for your group project:
  - Click the “submit” option on the page to upload your assignments for submission
  - After submission, a column at the side will indicate successful submission or successful but late submission
  - You can submit as many times as you want before the deadline, and Canvas will only keep your latest submission. However, if you re-submit after the deadline, your submission will be captured and graded as “late”.
- Click “Grades” tab to view grades
- Click “Zoom” tab to find links to scheduled lectures each week and the cloud recordings of Zoom

*Office Hours:*

- Please join the office hours of the teaching staff through the Office/Meeting Room.
- For office hours, please sign up for slots through Canvas. Then, at your scheduled time, you can join the personal Zoom meeting room and the relevant member of the teaching staff will meet you there. If the staff member is in a meeting with another student, you may be sent to a ‘waiting room’ until I invite you to the main room.

*Class Participation:*

Successful class participation will require thorough preparation, regular attendance, and active engagement in class discussions. Classes with cases will typically start with a pair of students responding to a “Warm Call”—taking on opposing sides of an argument that will structure our discussion. Warm

Calling means that you have to be prepared, there is no way around it! I will typically contact two pairs of students half an hour before class by email, indicating which position they need to defend at the outset of class, working in tandem with another student arguing the opposite side. TAs will act as scribes keeping track of the opening debate and the subsequent discussion. They will also take attendance at the beginning and at the end of the class session. Your interventions will score higher if they engage what other members of the class have said rather than making “cheap” one-off, factual comments. Your interventions should *not* be directed at PK, but at the class. You are learning by talking and listening to each other, not by trying to impress the teaching staff. Given the experience with classes using the HBS discussion pedagogy typically, just under half of the class will participate in any given session. You will get occasional updates about your standing for the class participation portion of your grade which includes general participation and “warm” calls. If for any reason you are unprepared or unable to attend class, please email me as well as your TA at least an hour ahead of time. Failing to do so will be penalized with a negative two participation points.

#### *Class Members Note-Taking:*

Before our HBS class discussions we will assign note takers for the specific questions (listed below in this syllabus). We will arrange this at least a day before each class and send you the template (a table with two yes/no columns in which you can enter very briefly and in summary form the comments of your class mates. Your summaries will earn you between 0 and 3 points. Right at the end of the class you will send these to your TA and they will be put on Canvas as a summary of what has happened in class.

#### *Lab Sections:*

Throughout the semester I will schedule eight “lab-sections” at different hours and on different days (9/7, 9/15, 9/23, 10/15, 10/21, 11/7, 11/9 and 12/3) for further discussion of issues raised in lectures and the assigned readings as well as for a discussion of current events, and also, on 11/7, the election outcome, and its aftermath. Students are expected to attend at least four labs; attending more will gain you one bonus point (up to a total of four) for every additional lab you attend. Failing to attend the minimum number will deduct a corresponding number of points from your overall class participation part of the final grade.

#### *Harvard Business School Case Paper:*

The template for the paper is provided by the HBS cases we are reading during the semester. Your TA will put together the teams, provide you with deadlines, and offer general guidance. You will have to coordinate with your team members and do the research based on web-based sources only. The TAs will put on Canvas a couple of short readings that will be discussed in section.

#### *Grades:*

The grade for this course is based on class participation and lab attendance (35%), group case paper (45%) and section attendance and participation (20%).

#### *Course Readings:*

Depending on whether students are on or off campus, you will have different choices. If you are off campus the Moss text book and the Harvard Business School cases are available electronically as are all of the course readings assigned for the lectures which are available on the Canvas course site. If you are

in residence in Ithaca you have the option of buying the Moss text-book in hard cover through the campus store or on the web as well as asking the Campus store to print a hard copy of the HBS cases we are reading. Past experience, especially for the HBS reading package, is simple. You will study the cases more carefully and do better in this course if you purchase the course readings in hard cover. Case preparation means not only reading the case but studying it, going back and forth between text and exhibits and thinking about the different options the case lays out. The choice is yours but my advice is unambiguous.

### CLASS SCHEDULE

(C-1,2,...=Case; L-1,2,...=Lecture; Lab-1,2,...=Add-on Discussion Session; R-1,2,...=Reading; Moss=textbook)

1. 9/3: L-1 *Course Overview*; C-1: Denmark: Globalization and the Welfare State. R-1-1: Anteby. R-1-2: Kristof; R-1-3: O’Neal; R-1-4: Partanen and Corson.

9/7 (9am-10am): Lab-1: R-1-1,2,3,4

#### PART 1: HISTORY

2. 9/8 L-2: *American Exceptionalism –Shining City on the Hill or Darkened Village in the Valley?* R-2-1: Cha; R-2-2: Deudney and Meiser; R-2-3 Katzenstein; R-2-4 Katzenstein and Keohane.
3. 9/10: C-2: *Constructing a Nation: The United States and Their Constitution, 1763-1792.* R-3-1: Moss, chps. 2, 4. R-3-2: Frank and Kramnick. R-3-3: Knott.

9/15 (noon-1pm-): Lab-2: R-2-1,2,3,4

4. 9/15: C-3: *Free Trade vs. Protectionism: The Great Corn-Laws Debate.* R-4-1: Moss, 16-19.
5. 9/17: C-4: *The German Hyperinflation of 1923*
6. 9/22: C-5: *Perspectives on the Great Depression.* R-6-1: Hart, pp. 223-37, 278-79. R-6-2: New York Times.
7. 9/24: C-6: *Bretton Woods and the Liberal World Order.*

9/23 (11am-noon): Lab-3: R-3-2,3. R-6-1,2.

#### Part 2: MACRO ECONOMICS

8. 9/29: C-7: *Singapore’s “Midlife Crisis”?* R-8-1: Moss, Introduction, chps. 1, 5.
9. 10/1 C-8a: *Iceland*; C-8b: *Iceland.* R-9-1: Moss, chps. 3, 6, Conclusion.

#### PART 3: COMPARATIVE CAPITALISMS AND DEMOCRACIES IN EUROPE

10. 10/6: C-9a: *Who Broke the Bank of England.* C-9b: *Country Analysis.* R-10-1: Moss, chp. 7.

11. 10/8: C-10: Liberté, Égalité, Fragilité: The Rise of Populism in France
12. 10/13: L-3: *Two Peas in a Pod? Liberal Britain and Statist France*. R-12-1: Hart, 139-50, 178-80; R-12-2: Economist 1998b; R-12-3: Edgerton; R-12-4: Freedman; R-12-5: Hart, 87-100, 136-38; R-12-6: Abdelal.
13. 10/15: C-11: The German Export Engine

10/15 (4:30-5:30pm): Lab-4 : R-12-1,2,3,4,5,6

14. 10/20: L-4: *A Giant on Clay Feet? Polymorphic Germany*. R-14-1: Hart; R-14-2: Rattner; R-14-3: Economist 2011. R-14-4: Packer; R-14-5: Irwin; R-14-6: Streeck.
15. 10/22: C-12: The Rise of Populism and Italy's Electoral "Tsunami"

10/21: Lab-5 (9am-10am): R-14-1,2,3,4,5,6

16. 10/27: C-13a: Norway: The Embarrassment of Riches; C-13b: Norway.
17. 10/29: L-5: *Europe's Dwarfs and Corporatist Capitalism*. R-17-1: Economist 1998a; R-17-2: Kuttner. R-17-3: Ornston; R-17-4: Campbell and Hall. Review R-1-2, R-1-3, R-1-4.
18. 11/3: C-14: Hungary: Economic Crisis and a Shift to the Right
19. 11/5: C-15: Turkey – A Work in Progress?

11/7: Lab-6: Discussion of the November 3 Presidential Election

11/9: Lab-7 (4:30pm-5:3pm): R-17-1,2,3,4. Also review R-1-2,3,4.

20. 11/10: C-16: Ukraine: On the Border of Europe and Eurasia.

#### PART 4: EUROPE – AN EMERGING POLITY

21. 11/12: L-6: *European: Promise and Disappointment*. R-21-1: Wheatcroft; R-21-2: Smith; R-21-3: Beckfield; R-21-4: Hendrickson.

11/26: Thanksgiving -No Class

22. 12/1: C-17: Europe: An Ever Closer Union?

12/3: Lab-8 (11am-noon): R-21, 1,2,3,4.

23. 12/3: C-18: Can the Eurozone Survive?
24. 12/8: C-19: Managing the European Refugee Crisis.
25. 12/10: C-20: Brexit

#### PART 5: PAST AND FUTURE

[These two cases are not offered this year because of the unusual teaching calendar mandated by the Registrar in response to Covid-19]

C-21: Climate Change: Paris, and the Road Ahead

C-22: The Great Divergence: Europe and Modern Economic Growth.

26. 12/15: L-7: *Conclusion*. R-28-1: Katzenstein. 😊

## LIST OF READINGS (BOOK AND CASES)

### *Book*

David A. Moss, *A Concise Guide to Macroeconomics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2014). (Electronic copy on Olin reserve)

### *Harvard Business School Cases* (Campus store)

C-1a: Course Overview Note: Introduction to BGIE 710-045

C-1b: Denmark: Globalization and the Welfare State 709-015

C-2: Constructing a Nation 795-063

C-3: Free Trade vs. Protectionism: The Great Corn-Laws Debate 701-080

C-4: The German Hyperinflation of 1923 798-046

C-5: Perspectives on the Great Depression 713-056

C-6: Bretton Woods and the Liberal World Order 718-037

C-7: Singapore's "Midlife Crisis"? 714-039

C-8a: Iceland (A) 709-011

C-8b: Iceland (B) 709-012

C-9a: Who Broke the Bank of England? 709-026

C-9b: Country Analysis 797-092

C-10: Liberté, Égalité, Fragilité: The Rise of Populism in France 717-052

C-11: The German Export Engine 715-045

C-12: The Rise of Populism and Italy's Electoral "Tsunami" 719-042

C-13a: Norway: The Embarrassment of Riches 713-061

C-13b: Norway: The Embarrassment of Riches 718-026

C-14: Hungary: Economic Crisis and a Shift to the Right 711-051

C-15: Turkey – A Work in Progress 713-018

C-16: Ukraine: On the Border of Europe and Eurasia 714-042

C-17: Europe: An Ever Closer Union? 713-085



C-18: Can the Eurozone Survive? 713-034

C-19: Managing the European Refugee Crisis 716-076

C-20: Brexit 717-028

C-21: Climate Change: Paris, and the Road Ahead 718-038 (not offered this year)

C-22: The Great Divergence: Europe and Modern Economic Growth 715-039 (not offered this year)

### QUESTIONS FOR 3557 DISCUSSION BOARDS

#### *C-1b: Denmark: Globalization and the Welfare State*

1. The Danish Welfare State
  - exists because of [give reasons]
  - exists despite of [give reasons]
  - holds lessons unique to Denmark [give reasons]
  - holds lessons transferable to other countries [give reasons]
2. Community and Empathy
  - Welfare state needs coherent community [give reasons]
  - Welfare state can survive multiculturalism [give reasons]

#### *C-2: Constructing a Nation: The United States and Their Constitution, 1763-1792*

1. Context -- Problems in 1786
  - Economic depression [list factors]
  - Public debt [list factors]
  - Private debt and paper money [list factors]
  - Trade problems
  - Limits on Central Government
  - Hamilton's Credit Proposal
2. Pay speculators?
  - Yes [give reasons]
  - No [give reasons]

#### *C-3: Free Trade vs. Protectionism: The Great Corn-Laws Debate*

1. Repeal the Corn Laws
  - Yes [give reasons]
  - No [give reasons]
2. Why did the repeal happen in 1845 [give reasons]

#### *C-4: The German Hyperinflation of 1923*

1. Causes of hyperinflation
  - Havenstein [list factors]
  - German gvt [list factors]
  - Extremists [list factors]
  - Stinnes [list factors]
  - Allies -France [list factors]
  - Allies-US [list factors]
2. Consequences of hyperinflation
  - Economic [list factors]
  - Political [list factors]
3. Solutions to hyperinflation
  - Options [list]
  - problems [list]

#### *C-5: Perspectives on the Great Depression*

1. Was the Great Depression avoidable – Yes/No
  - Friedman and Schwartz [list reasons]
  - Keynes [list reasons]
  - FDR [list reasons]
2. Difference between then and now
  - 2008/09 [list factors]
  - 2020/21 [list factors]

#### *C-6: Bretton Woods and the Liberal World Order*

1. Goals of Bretton Woods Negotiators [list]
2. Which Plan
  - Keynes [list factors]
  - White [list factors]
  - Compromise [list factors]
3. Closing the Gold Window in 1971
  - Gains [list factors]
  - Losses [list factors]

#### *C-7: Singapore's "Midlife Crisis"?*

1. Context of Vulnerabilities [list factors]
2. What are the most important elements of Singapore's strategy [list]

3. Keep or change proven strategy
  - Keep [list reasons]
  - Change [list reasons]

*C-8a: Iceland (A); C-8b: Iceland (B)*

1. Should Moody downgrade Iceland's debt?
  - Yes [list reasons]
  - No [list reasons]

*C-9a: Who Broke the Bank of England?* [C-9b: Country Analysis; this case is background reading and will not be discussed in class]

1. Understanding exchange rates [PK leads brief class discussion]
  - Three mechanisms of exchange rate changes: exports, investment, expectations
  - Exchange rate pressures
    - trade [productivity; inflation]
    - capital
  - Exchange rate regimes [fixed; flexible]
  - Mundell's trilemma
    - preventing appreciation or depreciation
    - advantages or disadvantages of fixed exchange rates
2. Soros: bet or don't bet
  - Against the lira [no-brainer]
  - Against the pound [brain-teaser]
  - Against France [headache]

*C-10: Liberté, Égalité, Fragilité: The Rise of Populism in France*

1. Why did Marine Le Pen make it to the second round [causes of populism]?
  - Economic factors [list]
  - Cultural factors [list]
  - Political factors [list]
2. Politics and economic policies against populism
  - Politics [list factors]
  - Economic policies [list factors]
3. Stay in Europe or leave Europe?
  - Stay [list reasons]
  - Leave [list reasons]
4. What is positive and what is negative about the rise of populist parties?
  - Positive [list reasons]
  - Negative [list reasons]

*C-11: The German Export Engine*

1. Coordinated capitalism
  - Helped [give reasons]
  - Hurt [give reasons]
  
2. German responsibility for the crisis
  - Yes [list factors]
  - No [list factors]
  
3. Can Germany save Europe?
  - Yes [list reasons]
  - No [list reasons]

*C-12: The Rise of Populism and Italy's Electoral "Tsunami"*

1. Is the rise of populism in Italy
  - One story [list reasons]
  - several stories [list reasons]
  - Can this coalition of Left and Right work?
    - Yes [list reasons]
    - No [list reasons]
  
2. How have the meanings of these words and ideas changed over time in Italian political discourse?
  - Europe
  - the Euro
  - the markets
  - the immigrants
  - the elites
  - the establishment
  - the experts
  
3. What are the similarities or dissimilarities with French populism?
  - Similarities [list factors]
  - Dissimilarities [list factors]

*C-13a: Norway: The Embarrassment of Riches; C-13b: Norway: The Embarrassment of Riches*

1. Dutch disease
  - Yes [list factors]
  - No [list factors]
  
2. Norway – Dream or Nightmare
  - dream [list reasons]
  - nightmare [list reasons]

*C-14: Hungary: Economic Crisis and a Shift to the Right*

1. Orbán's greatest achievements and failures
  - achievements [list them]
  - failures [list them]
2. What do you try to convince Orbán to do in June 2011?
  - reverse course [list reasons]
  - alternatives [list factors]

*C-15: Turkey – A Work in Progress*

1. Credit Erdogan and the AKP
  - Yes [list reasons]
  - No [list reasons]
2. Regional and civilizational context
  - harmful [list factors]
  - helpful [list factors]

*C-16: Ukraine: On the Border of Europe and Eurasia*

1. Should Ukraine choose Europe or Eurasia?
  - Europe [list reasons]
  - Eurasia [list reasons]
2. Identity and Interest
  - the story in L'viv (West)
  - the story in Donetsk (East)
3. Geopolitics between West and East
  - EU and US [list reasons]
  - Russia [list reasons]

*C-17: Europe: An Ever Closer Union?*

1. Is this European thing something new that is better than the nation-state or not?
  - worse/old [list reasons]
  - better/new [list reasons]
2. Enlargement of Europe – did it help or hinder?
  - help [list reasons]
  - hinder [list reasons]
3. One market, one money
  - good [list reasons]

-bad [list reasons]

*C-18: Can the Eurozone Survive?*

1. Origins of the crisis
  - economic [list factors]
  - political [list factors]
  - social-cultural [list factors]
2. Solutions to the crisis
  - ECB/monetary [list factors]
  - Eurobonds/fiscal [list factors]
  - structural [list factors]

*C-19: Managing the European Refugee Crisis*

1. Europe's Response
  - positive [list factors]
  - negative [list factors]
2. Whose responsibility is it to manage this issue?
  - Europe [list factors]
  - World [list factors]
3. Impact on EU
  - positive [list factors]
  - negative [list factors]
4. Role of Germany
  - logic [list factors]
  - Problems [list factors]

*C-20: Brexit*

1. Why did Brexit win?
  - culture [list factors]
  - economics [list factors]
  - politics [list factors]
2. Did Cameron make a mistake calling for the referendum?
  - Yes [list reasons]
  - No [list reasons]
3. Which path is best?
  - For the UK [list]
    - +Norway/EEA option
    - +Swiss option/EFTA
    - +Canada option

--\*Default (WTO) option

-For the EU [list]

--+Soft Brexit

--\*Hard Brexit

#### C-21: Climate Change: Paris, and the Road Ahead

1. Is the Paris agreement a good one?
  - Yes [list reasons]
  - No – PA is too weak [list reasons]
  - No -PA is too strong [list reasons]
2. Which country should take the international leadership
  - US [list reasons for/against]
  - China [list reasons for/against]
  - EU [list reasons for against]
3. Will the solution come from policymaking/top down or private initiative/bottom up?
  - policymaking/top/down [list reasons]
  - private initiative/bottom up [list reasons]

#### C-22: *The Great Divergence: Europe and Modern Economic Growth*

1. Should we credit Europeans for the great divergence?
  - Political [list factors]
  - Economic [list factors]
  - External [list factors]
2. Was the rise of the West due to reason or power?
  - reason [list factors]
  - power [list factors]
3. Has Europe lost its mojo?
  - Yes [list reasons]
  - No [list reasons]
4. Reckoning
  - Europe was good for the world [list reasons]
  - Europe was bad for the world [list reasons]

#### **Articles and Book Chapters** (Available through Canvas)

R-1-1: M. Anteby, *Manufacturing Morals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). Pp. 71-88. (Canvas)

R-1-2: Nicholas Kristoff, "McDonald's Workers in Denmark Pity Us," *The New York Times* (May 10, 2020): Sunday Review 7. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/08/opinion/sunday/us-denmark-economy.html>

R-1-3: Adam O'Neal, "Why Bernie Sanders Is Wrong about Sweden," *The Wall Street Journal* (August 24-25, 2019): A13. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-bernie-sanders-is-wrong-about-sweden-11566596536>

R-1-4: Anu Partanen and Trevor Corson, "Finland is A Capitalist Paradise," *The New York Times* (December 8, 2019): Sunday Review 4-5. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/07/opinion/sunday/finland-socialism-capitalism.html>

R-2-1: Cha, Taesuh, "American Exceptionalism at the Crossroads: Three Responses," *Political Studies* (2015): 1-12. (Canvas)

R-2-2: Daniel Deudney and Jeffrey Meiser, "American Exceptionalism," in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes, eds., *United States Foreign Policy*, pp. 25-42 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). (Canvas)

R-2-3: Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *Anglo-America and Its Discontents: Civilizational Identities beyond West and East* (New York: Routledge), chps. 1 and 9 (excerpts). (Canvas)

R-2-4: Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane, eds., *Antiamericanism in World Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), chps. 1 and 10 (excerpts). (Canvas)

R-3-1: Moss, Chps. 2, 4.

R-3-2: Jason Frank and Isaac Kramnick, "What 'Hamilton' Forgets about Hamilton," *The New York Times* (June 11, 2016): A17. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/11/opinion/what-hamilton-forgets-about-alexander-hamilton.html>

R-3-3: Stephen F. Knott, "What Jason Frank and Isaac Kramnick Forget about Hamilton," *American Review of Books, Blogs, and Bull* (June 21, 2016). <https://www.fpri.org/article/2016/06/jason-frank-isaac-kramnick-forget-hamilton/>

R-6-1: Jeffrey A. Hart, *Rival Capitalists: International Competitiveness in the United States, Japan, and Western Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 223-37, 278-79 [United States]. (Canvas)

R-6-2: *The New York Times*, The America We Need (April 19, 2020): Sunday Review 1-16. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/opinion/america-inequality-coronavirus.html>

R-8-1: Moss, Introduction, chps. 1, 5.

R-9-1: Moss, Chps. 3, 6, Conclusion.

R-10-1: Moss, chp. 7.

R-12-1: Jeffrey A. Hart, *Rival Capitalists*, pp.139-50, 178-80 [Britain]. (Canvas)

R-12-2: Samuel Beer, "The Roots of a New Labour: Liberalism Rediscovered," *The Economist* (February 7, 1998): 23-25.

R-12-3: David Edgerton: "Boris Johnson Might Break Up the U.K. That's a Good Thing," *The New York Times* (January 10, 2020). <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/10/opinion/brexit-scotland-northern-ireland.html>

R-12-4: Lawrence D. Freedman, "Britain Adrift: The United Kingdom's Search for A Post-Brexit Role," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2020): 118-30. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-kingdom/2020-04-13/britain-adrift>

R-12-5: Jeffrey A. Hart, *Rival Capitalists*, pp. 87-101, 136-38 [France]. (Canvas)



R-12-6: Rawi Abdelal, "Saving Globalization from the American Backlash: Lessons from Europe's Natural Experiments," unpublished paper, HBS (May 2020). (Canvas)

R-14-1: Jeffrey A. Hart, *Rival Capitalists*, pp. 181-90, 220-22. [Germany] (Canvas)

R-14-2: Steven Rattner, "Secrets of Germany's Success: What Europe's Manufacturing Powerhouse Can Teach America," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2011): 7-11.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/germany/2011-06-16/secrets-germanys-success>

R-14-3: *The Economist*, "Vorsprung durch exports," (February 5, 2011): 89.

<https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2011/02/03/vorsprung-durch-exports>

R-14-4: George Packer, "The Quiet German," *The New Yorker* (December 1, 2014).

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/12/01/quiet-german>

R-14-5: Neil Irwin, "How Germany Prevailed in the Greek Bailout," *The New York Times* (July 30, 2015).

<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/30/world/europe/how-germany-prevailed-in-the-greek-bailout.html>

R-14-6: Wolfgang Streeck, "The Rise of the European Consolidation State," *MPfG Discussion Paper* 15/1.

<https://wolfgangstreeck.com/2015/02/13/the-rise-of-the-european-consolidation-state/>

R-17-1: *The Economist*, "Small but Perfectly Formed," (January 3, 1998b): 65-67.

R-17-2: Robert Kuttner, "The Copenhagen Consensus: Reading Adam Smith in Denmark," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2008): 78-94. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2008-03-01/copenhagen-consensus>

R-17-3: Darius Ornston, *When Small States Make Big Leaps*, pp. 1-6, 188-204. (Canvas)

R-17-4: John L. Campbell and John A. Hall, "National Identity and the Political Economy of Small States," *Review of International Political Economy* 16, 4 (October 2009): 547-72.

R-22-1: Geoffrey Wheatcroft, "Europeans are from Venus: How the Continent Achieved Six Decades of Peace," *The New York Times* (February 10, 2008).

R-22-2: Karen E. Smith, "Is the European Union's Soft Power in Decline?" *Current History* (March 2014): 104-09.

R-22-3: Jason Beckfield, "The End of Equality in Europe?" *Current History* (March 2013): 94-99.

R-22-4: David C. Hendrickson, "Of Power and Providence: The Old U.S. and the new EU," *Policy Review* (February/March 2006): 23-42.

R-26-1: Peter J. Katzenstein, "The Times They are Changing," *Journal of Student and Strategic Studies* 37, 2: 59-73. 😊😊😊

### BACKGROUND MATERIAL ON COVID-19

There is an abundance of material on the web. I have followed the coverage of the pandemic in the *Financial Times* and *The New York Times* and have found both of them excellent, respectively, for global and American developments. In addition here are some additional sources:

- Anne Case and Angus Deaton, "The Epidemic of Despair: Will America's Mortality Crisis Spread to the Rest of the World?" *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2020): 92-102. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-02-03/epidemic-despair>
- Edward Luce, "Inside Trump's Coronavirus Meltdown," *Financial Times* (May 14, 2020). <https://www.ft.com/content/97dc7de6-940b-11ea-abcd-371e24b679ed>

- Cornel Ban and Mark Blyth, “Stop Blaming Trump – the U.S. Coronavirus Health Care Crisis Runs So Much Deeper,” *Foreign Policy* (May 14, 2020). [https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/14/trump-coronavirus-health-care-crisis/?fbclid=IwAR3QbWbbRAGmdMnL1M8iMpcKZQNKrgR7HHE-shPtIEadbR\\_tIGTJnUGv4x8](https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/14/trump-coronavirus-health-care-crisis/?fbclid=IwAR3QbWbbRAGmdMnL1M8iMpcKZQNKrgR7HHE-shPtIEadbR_tIGTJnUGv4x8)
- Joshua Busby, “What International Relations Tells about COVID-19,” unpublished paper (April 28, 2020).(Canvas)
- Deborah MacKenzie, “Will a Pandemic Bring Down Civilization,” *New Scientist* (April 2, 2008). <https://www.friendsoftheishenvironment.org/eulaw/39-papers-today/science-animals/11391->
- Michael D. Shear et al, “Push to Pass Off Response to Virus Deepened a Crisis,” *The New York Times* (July 19, 2020): A1, 6-7. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/us/politics/trump-coronavirus-response-failure-leadership.html>
- David Leonhardt, “U.S. Is Alone among Peers in Failing to Contain Virus,” *The New York Times* (August 7, 2020): A1-7-10. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/06/us/coronavirus-us.html>
- Betsy McKay and Phred Dvorak, “A Pandemic was Inevitable. Why Was No One Ready?” *The Wall Street Journal* (August 14, 2020): A-1, A8-9. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/a-deadly-coronavirus-was-inevitable-why-was-no-one-ready-for-covid-11597325213>
- Jeremy Page and Lingling Wei, “China’s CDC Stumbled When It Mattered Most,” *The Wall Street Journal* (August 18, 2020): A1, A8. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-cdc-built-to-stop-pandemics-stumbled-when-it-mattered-most-11597675108>

#### **NOTES ON CASE METHOD, LECTURES AND LAB SECTIONS, AND THE CASE PAPERS**

*Notes on Case Method:* Although the case method is used in business and law schools, it has rarely, if ever, been used in undergraduate courses and never at Cornell. I have assigned for the first class a brief description of how the case method works at the Harvard Business School where I learned this pedagogy in the spring of 2014. A case-based approach focuses on key problems and decisions that define a country’s experience. By placing students regularly in the position of decision-makers, it also emphasizes different skills than those typified in undergraduate classrooms. Other parts of the cases (as well as lectures) provide a broader analytical and historical context of the different country and issue experiences which this course covers.

*Notes on Lectures and Lab Sections:* Lecture outlines will be posted by dinner time the day before the class meets. Students are expected to attend four of eight separately scheduled “lab” sections to discuss lectures and readings.

*Case Paper:* Undergraduates enrolled in lecture courses at Cornell normally do not write research papers. Writing consists typically of a series of short papers or one 10-12 page final paper. None of this amounts to learning how to write a case paper as a member of team. This course teaches how to work as a team which is the normal way in business, law, think tanks and many professions. Your TA will act as a “case mentor” and discuss the case you have chosen as you research it. This does not mean that the TAs will acquire substantive knowledge about the case. But they be there to help you along, set deadlines (including with grade penalties for deadlines missed) and keep you on track. At the end of the semester they will also run the electronic version of your case paper through a software program that verifies the authenticity and originality of your team’s work.

## **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY, OTHER UNIVERSITY POLICIES, RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES, STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES, CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, COPYRIGHT MATERIAL**

*Academic Integrity:* Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity. This means that any written work you submit in this course will be your own. The Code of Academic Integrity and Acknowledging the Work of Others is found in the Policy Notebook for the Cornell Community and also on the web at <http://www.cornell.edu/UniversityFaculty/docs/main.html>. An additional document you may want to consult is posted at <http://cuinfo.cornell.edu/Academic/AIC.html>. A Cornell tutorial called Recognizing and Avoiding Plagiarism can be found at <http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm>. If you are in any doubt about how to cite material that you wish to use please consult your TA. You are required to submit your paper in both hard and electronic form. The electronic version will be run through a special software program, turn-it-in, that verifies the originality and authenticity of your work. By enrolling in this course, you grant your permission that the teaching staff can submit your written work to computer programs that check the authenticity and originality of your work. You should also be aware of the fact that you may not turn in the same piece of writing (or part thereof) for credit in multiple classes, either in the same semester or while at Cornell in general.

*Other University Policies:* I respect and uphold Cornell University policies and regulations pertaining to and listed here in no prioritized order, the observation of religious holidays; assistance available to the physically handicapped, visually and/or hearing impaired student; sexual harassment; and racial or ethnic discrimination.

*Religious Observances:* Students may ask for reasonable and timely accommodations for sincerely held religious beliefs. Please review the syllabus closely to determine if your religion will present any scheduling conflicts with any of the assignments. You must inform me and your TA of any conflicts within the first two weeks of the semester.

*Students with Disabilities:* In compliance with the Cornell University policy and equal access laws, I am available to discuss appropriate academic accommodations that may be required for students with disabilities. Students are encouraged to register with Student Disability Services to verify their eligibility for appropriate accommodations. Students seeking accommodations should submit to me an accommodation letter from Student Disability Services within the first two weeks of the semester.

*Classroom Behavior:* Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. We will treat one another with respect and courtesy. Learning can occur only in an environment where everybody feels safe to speak out.

*Copyright Material:* Whether it is especially marked as copyright material or not, the instructor expressly prohibits students to trade in or sell any of the course material, including his lectures. Such a behavior constitutes a very serious academic misconduct that neither the instructor nor Cornell will tolerate.