
Introduction and Objectives

This course is about much more than the polling facts of public opinion and foreign policy. Although we do focus on citizen opinion as an important part of the democratic process, we also will focus on the ways that citizen opinion is --or is not-- taken into account by the President and the Congress. Put briefly, the course is about the politics of democratic representation in foreign policy.

The course is accessible to any student with an introductory knowledge of international politics. Most students who have had introduction to American politics will also do well, especially since the course begins with a solid review of the substance and choices of post-WWII foreign policy.

The *teaching and learning objectives of the course* can be summarized succinctly:

- To study and analyze the historical context of American foreign policy and the major choices and dilemmas that have confronted citizens and leaders since 1945;
- To understand exactly what "public opinion" is and how it forms and changes;
- To analyze the extent of citizen consensus concerning specific choices and dilemmas in foreign policy;
- To analyze, in some depth, American opinion on defense spending, the use of military force, international trade, and other issues;
- To analyze public opinion elsewhere in the world and in particular foreign opinion of US international policies;
- To analyze the extent to which citizen opinion is represented in foreign policy through elections and other mechanisms;
- To analyze the extent and process by which citizen opinion influences Presidential and Congressional decision-making;
- To master some (rudimentary) technical details of public opinion retrieval and quantitative analysis of polls;

Reading

The reading takes several forms. Some books are available for purchase at the bookstore. We will also read a number of scholarly articles and other web-based readings that have been downloaded and posted under both "Course Documents".

Required Books

- JG John L. Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, Oxford, 2005, revised edition.
JS James Stimson, Tides of Consent, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
OH Ole Holsti, Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy, University of Michigan Press, 2004, revised edition.
AB Adam Berinsky, In Time of War, Chicago University Press, 2009.

Reading Contemporary News and Polling News is Required!

One of the enjoyable things about this class is that the very things that we will be studying will come up as the focus of contemporary political debates: Why did the public support the war in Iraq only to turn against it (or did they ever support it?). How long will the public support the "war on terrorism?" Is it higher than support for past military actions? Should we have invaded Iraq? Is the war in Afghanistan politically tenable? Should the President receive "fast track" authority to negotiate trade agreements? Should we increase or decrease the defense budget? How did foreign policy considerations affect the midterm Congressional elections in 2006 and the presidential election last year? How will it effect this year's midterm election?

And what does the American public think of these things? Based on past patterns, is it likely to make any difference?

Our discussion (and learning!) will be much enhanced if you stay fully abreast of these issues. Thus, it is a required part of this class that you read (daily) a quality news source and come prepared to discuss contemporary issues (or ask questions about them). Try and relate them to the reading and discussion for that day. *I will ask!* You should read just about everything about American foreign policy, but you will soon discover that our discussion will be dominated by the subject of the use of military force; intervention and peace-keeping; the defense budget; the role of the UN in American foreign policy; and the politics of international trade. Thus,

you should pay special attention to stories that concern: Public opinion, the President, and Iraq and Afghanistan; public opinion and the “war against terrorism”; the defense budget; other American uses of military force that have already occurred or will (?) occur; peace-keeping operations that are underway or under debate (Bosnia; Kosovo, Lebanon, Darfur?); and interventions or peace-keeping operations that may arise elsewhere.

- ✓ A good start I: read a quality newspaper on these subjects every day (two of the best: www.ft.com and www.nyt.com)
- ✓ A good start II: Keep track of the polling world by checking one of the following (I will be creating a folder with these and additional links under “External Links”):
 - [Gallup Poll](#) ,
 - Pollingreport.com,
 - Pollster.com
 - World Public Opinion.org
 - [America and the World Opinion Site](#)

Assignments and Grades

Your grade in the class will be based on the following:

1. Take-home essay examination (Due in class: Oct 13). This is a (take-home) essay examination (7 page maximum). On Sept 29, I will distribute or post the question(s) covering the material through Oct 6. The exam is worth 30 points and represents 30% of your grade. I will provide a detailed assignment and guidelines on how to write good essay exams. Please do not submit the paper by e-mail; you must come to class at the normal time to turn it in.
2. Homework Assignment #1: Web-based Poll Retrieval and Memo. This is a 2-page memo due in class on Oct 27. I will discuss in class and distribute/post an assignment sheet. It is worth 15 points and 15% of your grade.
3. Hour Exam #1 (Nov 8). It will cover only material after Oct 6 (topics 2.1 – 2.4). The exam is ID, short answer, and list and explain only, and is designed to test your knowledge of the research that is covered in the lecture and readings. **Essential:** see “The Two Halves of the Course” below. The exam is worth 30 points and 30% of your grade.
4. Homework Assignment #2: Original Poll Retrieval and Cross-tabulation Memo. This is a 2-3 page memo due in class on Dec 1. I will discuss in class and distribute/post an assignment sheet. It is worth 15 points and 15% of your grade
5. Class and Recitation Attendance and Participation. Your participation will be based on the following: regular attendance; preparation (knowledge of materials assigned; familiarity with current news, **including news about polls**); willingness to discuss, debate, and challenge. It is the quality of your participation rather than the frequency that is important. Participation is worth 10 points and 10% of your grade. A note on participation: *I (and Mr. Loeb) frequently ask questions about readings, previous class discussions, and news events/articles* - although I hardly do so in a draconian fashion. But preparing to answer questions about assigned materials is part of this grade.

These assignments/grades total 100 points. Final grades will be assigned as follows (93: A) (83: B) (73: C) (60: D)and so on, with allowances for pluses and minuses.

CLASS WEBPAGE and E-mail: blackboard.tufts.edu

I have established a Webpage for this class on the University's Blackboard webpage server. The Webpage will contain a copy of this syllabus; links to Web-based readings; and a comprehensive set of links to resources important to the class. We will use it often, so you should plan to check it several times a week. We will discuss the details in class.

Important: I do not like to throw things out, so I sometimes save “old” stuff from this class –clearly marked. You are welcome to browse this antique store, but take care to distinguish current materials from older ones. This is especially important for lecture/power points-- make sure to use only those clearly posted for this semester when studying for exams. I will post this semester’s power-points, which will be updated a lot, and will label them “Lecture Power Points for Fall 2010” (Course Documents).

Any e-mail from me will go to your Tufts e-mail address UNLESS YOU CHANGE IT, which you can do using the “Student Tools” button. *It is your responsibility to check Tufts e-mail or to change your e-mail address using “Student Tools”.*

E-mail etiquette. As for E-mail; please confine e-mail communications to brief logistical communications that can be answered with a yes or no. Substantive questions should be brought to class or recitation or to office hours. I would much rather see you and talk to you than write lonely e-mails. Also, for reasons of security, I routinely delete (unread) any e-mails that arrive with attachments; assignments must therefore be turned in during class.

Schedule of Readings and Lecture

Please complete readings before the scheduled class. If the topic spans several days, I will try to provide guidance on the order of readings. When in doubt, read in the order that assignments are listed.

Accessing Readings other than books

Beyond the assigned books, there are two types of readings:

1. Scholarly articles; these have been downloaded and placed in the folder "Assigned Readings" in "Course Documents"
2. Other web-based readings. The hyperlinks to these readings are in this syllabus; I also intend to provide a summary link page that I will put in the same "Assigned Readings" folder on the webpage

As noted above, I do intend that you print and read these articles.

The Two Halves of the Course

Before I lay out the schedule, it is important to underscore the different nature of the material in the two halves of the course. Let's put it this way:

Topic 1 immediately below covers the **choices and dilemmas** that every President has faced in making foreign policy. The emphasis is on the **substance** of foreign policy, and the learning objectives (and exam style) emphasize the mastery of the historical choices, the categories of grand strategies, the choices each President made, and how to analyze and write effectively about these things.

The **second half of the course (topic 2 onward)** is different. We now have specific questions about public opinion, and we turn for the most part to the **research literature** to answer these questions. In most cases, a reading will 1] ask a specific, discrete research question; 2.] use public opinion data to analyze it; and then 3. draw some conclusions about the answer to the question. Thus, studying and learning is different in this half of the course. You have to master the important elements of each article (questions, method/analysis, conclusions) for this will be emphasized on the the hour exam, which is short-answer only. It also requires you to keep up. In the past, grades have fallen on the short-answer hour exam. I suspect this is because the exam covers reading more intensively than usual.

DATE TOPIC

1. FOREIGN POLICY AS GRAND STRATEGY

1.1 Grand Strategy: Choices and Dilemmas in Foreign Policy

9/8 & 9/13: Introduction to Foreign Policy as "Grand Strategy" + Kennan, Truman and Eisenhower: A first time through the dilemmas of containment
JG, Strategies of Containment, vii-196.

9/15: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Domestic Meaning of Vietnam
JG, Strategies of Containment, 197-271

9/20: Nixon and Carter: Escaping Containment Altogether?
JG, Strategies of Containment, 272-349

9/22: Ronald Reagan: Successful Containment? at High Cost
JG, Strategies of Containment, 349-379 (includes appendix)

9/27: Bush I, Clinton, and the Post-Cold War Era (and the Post-Post Cold War Era)
JG, Strategies of Containment, 380-391.

Stephen Walt, "Two Cheers for the Clinton Foreign Policy", *Foreign Affairs*, (Jan-Feb 2000).

Condoleeza Rice, "Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*, (Jan-Feb 2000) [a critique of Clinton]

9/29: Bush II: Grand Strategy Before and After 9/11/2001

(take home essay exam questions distributed 9/29 –due in class 10/13)

John Lewis Gaddis, "A Grand Strategy of Transformation", *Foreign Policy*, (Nov/Dec 2002), 50-57.

John Lewis Gaddis, "Grand Strategy in the Second Term," *Foreign Affairs* (Jan-Feb 2005).

Barry Posen, "The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics," *International Security*, Winter 2001/2002.

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security*, Winter 2002/03.

Office of the President, *The National Security Strategy of the United States*, (browse- link will be provided)

10/4: What is the Grand Strategy of President Barack Obama?

Barry Posen, "Foreign Policy After George W. Bush: The Case for Restraint," *The American Interest* (online), November 2007.

In addition, all of the following readings for Oct 4 are in the January/February 2009 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, which is here: <http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/>

Barack Obama, "Renewing American Leadership." (a different journal issue)

Robert Gates, "A Balanced Strategy".

Roger C. Altman, "The Great Crash, 2008".

Ivo H. Daalder and I.M. Destler, "In the Shadow of the Oval Office".

10/6: Class Discussion: The First Year +1/2 of the Obama Administration

Reading to be assigned once I peruse the "Obama after one year +" literature; if you see something good, let me know

10/11: free for review, or catch-up, or poll website overview

10/13: Take Home Essay Examination Due in Class (no e-mail attachments please). You must be present to turn in your paper. Please treat this as an exam at which you must be present. Late penalty for papers is 1/3 grade per day (essentially 3 points per day).

10/13: Homework Memo #1 assignment sheet distributed today

2. PUBLIC OPINION ON FOREIGN POLICY

10/13 & 10/18 2.1 Measuring Public Opinion and Understanding Opinion "Mood"

A. "Measuring" Public Opinion --the following are easy *but very important*

-The Gallup Organization, [How Gallup Polls are Conducted](#).

-Mysterypollster, [What Does the Margin of Error Mean?](#) –there are three linked topics here...read *all three*...terrific real world examples!

- Mysterypollster – the Cell Phone Only Effect ..

http://www.pollster.com/blogs/cell_phones_and_political_surv.php

-Blumenthal, [Practical Issues in Cell Phone Sampling](#)

-Complete Pollster.com technical posts on the cell phone issue –not required, FYI only

B. From Single questions to a public "mood"

-JS, *Tides of Consent*, xi-95.

-Required: [study this graph on Stimson's home page closely](#)

10/20 2.2 The "Rationality" Of Citizen Opinions (And: How do they do that?)

-OH, chs 2-3.

-Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro, "Foreign Policy and the Rational Public", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 32, No. 2. (Jun., 1988), pp. 211-247.

-Eugene R. Wittkopf , "What Americans really think about foreign policy," *The Washington Quarterly* v19.n3 (Summer 1996).

-Ronald D. Asmus, Phillip P. Everts, and Pierangelo Isernia, "Across the Atlantic and the Political Aisle: The Double Divide in U.S.-European Relations", German Marshall Fund of the USA, 2004.

10/25 2.3 The Downsian Center and How Public Opinion Changes

Adam Berinsky, *In Time of War*, chapter 5.

Miroslav Nincic, "1988. "The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Politics of Opposites", *World Politics*, 40:452-475.

Wlezien, Christopher. 1996. "Dynamics of Representation: The Case of US Spending on Defense." *British Journal of Political Science* 26:81-103.

Review JS, *Tides of Consent*, xi-xvii.

10/27: 2.4 Why do Citizens Hold the Views That They Do?

- theories of opinion formation
- who holds which views?
- Ideology, partisanship, education, race, and gender

-OH, chapter 5.

-Homework memo #1 is due in class today

11/1 & 11/3: 2.5 Gender Differences on National Security Issues

Adam Berinsky, *In Time of War*, 52-57.

Pamela Johnston Conover, Virginia Sapiro, "Gender, Feminist Consciousness, and War", *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 37, No. 4. (Nov., 1993), pp. 1079-1099.

Karen M. Kaufmann and John R. Petrocik "The Changing Politics of American Men: Understanding the Sources of the Gender Gap" *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 43, No. 3. (Jul., 1999), pp. 864-887.

Richard C. Eichenberg, "[Gender Differences in Attitudes Toward the Use of Force By the United States 1990-2003.](#)" *International Security*, (Summer 2003).

Laurel Elder and Steven Greene, "The Truth About 'Security Moms': The Impact of Motherhood and Mothering on Political Attitudes About War and Defense Spending," unpublished paper, January 2006. *This paper is available for download at Course Documents on our course webpage.*

11/8: Hour Exam #1. In class. Definitions and short answer (list and explain) only

3. REPRESENTATION: (HOW) DO CITIZEN OPINIONS AFFECT FOREIGN POLICY?

Background introduction to this topic: OH, ch 1.

11/10: 3.1 Citizens Vote: The Impact of Foreign Policy on Voting Behavior

-Homework memo # 2 assignment sheet will be distributed in class today

JS, *Tides of Consent*, chs 4-6.

Following require careful study.

Adam Berinsky, *In Time of War*, chapter 8.

Edward G. Carmines, James A. Stimson, "The Two Faces of Issue Voting" *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 74, No. 1. (Mar., 1980), pp. 78-91.

Benjamin Page and Richard Brody, "Policy Voting and the War in Vietnam", *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 66, No. 3. (Sep., 1972), pp. 979-995.

John Aldrich, et. al., "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting", *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 83, No. 1. (Mar., 1989), pp. 123-141.

David Rohde, Jill Rickershauser, John Aldrich, and Paul Abramson "Fear in the Voting Booth: the 2004 Election", *Political Behavior* 29/2, 197-220.

<http://springerlink.metapress.com.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/content/h5141h02u7hr2404/>

11/15: 3.2 Citizen Impact Between Elections (with major focus on defense spending)

Benjamin I. Page, Robert Y. Shapiro "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 77, No. 1. (Mar., 1983), pp. 175-190.

Larry M. Bartels, "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Build Up," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 85, No. 2. (Jun., 1991), pp. 457-474.

Thomas Hartley and Bruce Russett, "Public Opinion and the Common Defense: Who Governs Military Spending in the United States?", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 86, No. 4. (Dec., 1992), pp. 905-915.

NB: review of Wlezien for Oct 25 would be useful.

5. THE PUBLIC, MILITARY FORCE, AND GLOBAL OPINIONS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

11/17 5.1 Historical Citizen Support for Using Military Force in the US

Adam Berinsky, *In Time of War*, pp. xv-25; chapters 3-6, 9 (chapter 5 is review).

Bruce Jentleson, "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post Vietnam American Opinion and the Use of Force," *International Studies Quarterly*, 36/1 (March 1992), 49-74.

[Eric Larson, American Public Support for Military Operations from Mogadishu to Baghdad, Santa Monica, CA: the RAND Corporation](#). Important: I only want you to read chs 1-2 for this topic; you can do this by printing only pages 33-60 of this pdf document (the page numbers will be in the lower left of the screen).

Richard C. Eichenberg, "[Victory Has Many Friends: the American Public and the Use of Military Force, 1981-2005.](#)" *International Security*, Summer 2005.

11/22: 5.2 Public Opinion and the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan

Adam Berinsky, *In Time of War*, pp. 26-32.

[Eric Larson, American Public Support for Military Operations from Mogadishu to Baghdad, Santa Monica, CA: the RAND Corporation](#). Important: I only want you to read ch 5 on the Iraq war for this topic; you can do this by printing only pages 161-244 of this pdf document (the page numbers will be in the lower left of the Adobe pdf screen).

Peter Feaver, Christopher Gelpi, and Jason Reifler, "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq," *International Security*, Winter, 2006.

On Afghanistan under Obama, browse the polls [here: http://pollingreport.com/afghan.htm](http://pollingreport.com/afghan.htm)

11/29: Public Opinion on Civil Liberties, Torture, and the "war against terror"

Jane Mayer, "The Black Sites", *The New Yorker*, August 13, 2007. In addition to the link under course documents, you can use this: http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/08/13/070813fa_fact_mayer

Adam Berinsky, *In Time of War*, chapter 7.

Darren W. Davis and Brian D. Silver, "Civil Liberties vs. Security: Public Opinion in the Context of the Terrorist Attacks on America," *American Journal of Political Science* Volume 48 Issue 1, Pages 28 – 46.

Donald P. Haider and Andrea Vieux, "Gender and Conditional Support for the War on Terror," *Gender and Politics*, 4 (2008): 5-33.

12/1: 4. Public Opinion and International Trade

-Richard K. Herrmann, "How Americans Think About Trade: Resolving Conflicts Among Power, Money, and Principles", *International Studies Quarterly*, June 2001, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 191-218.

-German Marshall Fund, [Perspectives on Trade and Poverty Reduction](#), 2005.

-Homework memo #2 is due in class today

12/6: How Others See Us: Global Public Opinion About the United States

German Marshall Fund of the United States, *Transatlantic Trends 2010*. In addition to the link under Course Documents, I will have distributed glossy copies to the class.

Pew Global Attitudes Project, *Global Public Opinion in the Bush Years (2001-2008)*. In addition to the link at course documents, you can use this: <http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=263>

Also: there will very likely be some new polls that measure the impact of the Obama presidency; keep an eye out in the news and we will read and discuss.

12/8: Lecture and/or discussion the results of the midterm Congressional elections....reading to be assigned

There is no final exam in this class