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 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 in Trunk/Resources/Class Readings (or which you can find in Tisch electronic journals).

Required Books

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JS</td>
<td>James Stimson</td>
<td>Tides of Consent</td>
<td>Cambridge University Press</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OH</td>
<td>Ole Holsti</td>
<td>Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy</td>
<td>University of Michigan Press</td>
<td>2004, revised edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Adam Berinsky</td>
<td>In Time of War</td>
<td>Chicago University Press</td>
<td>2009</td>
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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? How will the public react to the “end” of the war in Afghanistan? 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 last presidential election? How will it affect this year’s midterm Congressional 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, Afghanistan, Iran, and Syria; public opinion and the “war against terrorism”; the defense budget; other American uses of military force that have already occurred or will (?) occur; and public opinion on American foreign policy toward Europe, the Mideast, China, and other countries and regions.

✓ 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 “Resources/Opinion Links”):
  - Gallup Poll
  - Pollingreport.com
  - World Public Opinion.org
  - America and the World Opinion Site
  - Foreignpolicy.com opinion blog (Bruce Stokes)
  - Chicago Council on World Affairs Survey
  - Pew Global Attitudes Project (gold mine for foreign public opinion)
  - Transatlantictrends.org (ditto)

Assignments and Grades

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

Take-home essay examination (Due in class: 2/24). This is a (take-home) essay examination (7 page maximum). On Feb 12, I will distribute or post the question(s) covering the material through Feb 20. The exam is worth 25 points and represents 25% of your grade. I will provide a detailed 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 and also post it on Trunk (Assignments)
Homework Assignment #1: Web-based Poll Retrieval and Memo. This is a 2-page memo due in class on March 12 and also posted to Trunk (Assignments). I will discuss in class and distribute/post an assignment sheet. It is worth 10 points and 10% of your grade.

Hour Exam #1 (March 31). It will cover only material covered after Feb 24 (topics 2.1 – 2.5). 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 25 points and 25% of your grade.

Homework Assignment #2: Original Poll Retrieval and Cross-tabulation Analysis Memo. This is a 2-3 page memo due in class on April 16 and also posted to Trunk (Assignments). I will discuss in class and distribute/post an assignment sheet. It is worth 10 points and 10% of your grade.

Hour Exam #2 (May 5, 12:00-1:15pm). This is a 75 minute exam, covering only material covered after Exam 1 (topics 3-6). It will be held in our normal classroom. It is worth 25 points and 25% of your grade.

Class Attendance and Participation. Your participation will be based on the following: regular attendance in class and recitation; 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 5 points and 5% of your grade. A note on participation: I 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.

E-mail etiquette. 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 and/or posted to Trunk.

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 are usually downloaded and placed in the folder “Resources/Class Readings”. However, if there is no download visible, use the author and title to find the article yourself in Tisch electronic journals (using Google scholar within Tisch webpage is a good way to do this):
   http://scholar.google.com.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/scholar?q=&btnG=&hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C22
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 “Resources/Readings” folder on Trunk.

**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 hour exams, which are short-answer only. It also requires you to keep up. In the past, grades have fallen on the short-answer exams, and I suspect this is because the exams cover reading more intensively than usual.

1. FOREIGN POLICY AS GRAND STRATEGY

1.1 Grand Strategy: Choices and Dilemmas in Foreign Policy

1/22 & 1/27: Introduction to Foreign Policy as “Grand Strategy”
Kenan, Truman and Eisenhower: A first time through the dilemmas of containment
Stephen Walt, “Making the Grade: Is there really a way to judge if foreign policy is successful?”
Foreign Policy blog, January 6, 2014.

1/29: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Domestic Meaning of Vietnam
JG, Strategies of Containment, 197-271

2/3: Nixon and Carter: Escaping Containment Altogether?
JG, Strategies of Containment, 272-349

2/5: Ronald Reagan: Successful Containment? at High Cost
JG, Strategies of Containment, 349-379 (includes appendix)

2/10: Bush I, Clinton, and the Post-Cold War Era (and the Post-Post Cold War Era)
Stephen Walt, “Two Cheers for Clinton’s Foreign Policy”, *Foreign Affairs*, (Jan-Feb 2000).
Condoleezza Rice, “Promoting the National Interest,” *Foreign Affairs*, (Jan-Feb 2000) [a critique of Clinton]
2/12: Iraq War Film: viewing and discussion
(take home essay exam questions also distributed 2/12–due in class 2/24 and by posting to Trunk before 10:30am)

2/17: Presidents’ Day holiday


2/20: What is the Grand Strategy of President Barack Obama? (and what should it be?)


2/24: Take Home Essay Examination Due in Class and also posted to Trunk by 10:30am (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). No class after papers are collected.

2/24: Homework Memo #1 assignment sheet distributed today

2. PUBLIC OPINION ON FOREIGN POLICY

2/26: Demonstration and Workshop on Web sources of polls and Web-based analysis of polls


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!

B. From Single questions to a public “mood”
  - JS, Tides of Consent, xi-95.
  - Required: study this graph on Stimson’s home page closely
3/10: 2.2 The “Rationality” Of Citizen Opinions (And: How do they do that?)

- OH, chs 2-3.

3/12: 2.3 The Downsian Center and How Public Opinion Changes


Review JS, Tides of Consent, xi-xvii.

Homework memo #1 is due in class 3/12 and by posting to Trunk by 10:30am

3/24: 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.

3/26: 2.5 Gender Differences on National Security Issues


3/31: Hour Exam #1. In class. Definitions and short answer (list and explain) only on topics 2.1-2.5
3. REPRESENTATION: (HOW) DO CITIZEN OPINIONS AFFECT FOREIGN POLICY?

Background introduction to this topic: OH, ch 1.

4/2: 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"


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

4/7: 3.2 Citizen Impact Between Elections (with major focus on defense spending)


NB: review of Wlezien for March 12 would be useful.

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

4/9: 4.1 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

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).


4/14: 4.2 Public Opinion and the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan


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).


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

4/16: 4.3 Public Opinion on Civil Liberties, Torture, and the “war against terror”

-Homework memo #2 is due in class 4/16 and by posting to Trunk by 10:30am


Adam Berinsky, In Time of War, chapter 7.


4/23: 4.4 Public Opinion and International Trade


4/28: 4.5 How Others See Us: Global Public Opinion About the United States

German Marshall Fund of the United States, Transatlantic Trends 2013. In addition to the link in Resources/Class readings, 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 in our Trunk folder, you can use this:

Pew Global Attitudes Project, “Global Opinion of Obama Slips,”
http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/06/13/global-opinion-of-obama-slips-international-policies-faulted/

July 18, 2013.

5/5: Hour exam #2, 12:00-1:15 pm (in our normal final exam block in this room, but the exam will only cover material from Topics 3-4). Note: the exam is 75 minutes