

School of International Service  
American University  
Spring 2007

Dr. Shoon Murray  
Office Hours:  
T 11:00-1:00, Th 11:00-1:00,  
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**Seminar in Domestic Sources of U.S. Foreign Policy  
SIS-688**

**1. Discussion and Reading Schedule**

**Jan. 17: Introduction (Prof. Peter Howard)**

**Jan. 24: Background (Prof. Peter Howard).**

**Political Culture and Post-WWII Political Context: Are there core American values which persist through time and shape U.S. foreign policy in a distinctive manner? What characterizes the post-Vietnam and post-Cold War domestic political environment? How has the relationship between the president and Congress changed since the Vietnam War? How has the foreign policy establishment changed? Do presidents now face a greater challenge in maintaining support for foreign policy initiatives?**

Samuel P. Huntington (1982), "American Ideals versus American Institutions," *Political Science Quarterly*. Available through JSTOR.

I.M. Destler, Leslie H. Gelb, and Anthony Lake (1988), "Breakdown: The Impact of Domestic Politics on American Foreign Policy," chap. 1 in Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf eds., *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy*, first edition. Available on blackboard.

Shoon Murray and Christopher Spinoso (2004), "The Post-9/11 Shift in Public Opinion: How Long Will It Last?" chap. 7 in Eugene Wittkopf and James McCormick, eds., *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy*, fourth edition. Available on blackboard.

**Jan. 31: The Media and the White House (Prof. Elizabeth Cohn)**

**What are the dominant factors that determine what is reported? How adversarial and independent is the media? To what extent does it rely on official sources? What are the political implications of doing so?**

W. Lance Bennett (2007; seventh edition) *News the Politics of Illusion*, chaps. 5-7. Available on blackboard, and on reserve.

Timothy E. Cook (1998) *Governing with the News*, chaps.1, 4-5. Available on blackboard.

**Feb. 7: Presidents and Image-Making: How important is presidential image and popularity to governance? How does the White House try to control media coverage? Why do modern presidents “go public”? When does spin become deception?**

Richard Waterman et al (1999) *The Image-is-Everything Presidency*, chaps. 1, 5. Available on blackboard.

Samuel Kernell (2006; fourth edition) *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, chaps. 1-3, 5.

Shanto Iyengar, Mark D. Peters, Donald R. Kinder (1982), “Experimental Demonstrations of the “Not-So-Minimal” Consequences of Television News Programs,” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 76, No. 4. (Dec. 1982), pp. 848-858. Available through JSTOR

Mark Hertsgaard (1984) “How Reagan Seduced Us,” *The Village Voice*, Sept. 18, 1984. Available on blackboard.

**Case Study: Grenada**

Eldon Kenworthy (1984), “Grenada as Theater,” *World Policy Journal*, Spring 1984, pp. 625-647. Available on blackboard.

**Feb. 14: The Power of the Bully Pulpit and the Public’s Susceptibility to Persuasion: How much can the president change public perceptions and preferences on national security issues? Under what conditions is the president more likely to be able to mold public opinion?**

Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, Hazel Gaudet (1948), *The People’s Choice*, chaps. 1-2, 8-11 (pp. 1-15, 73-104), on reserve.

John Zaller (1994), “Elite Leadership of Mass Opinion,” in W. Lance Bennett and David Paletz, eds., *Taken By Storm: The Media, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*, pp. 186-205. Available on blackboard.

George C. Edwards, III (2003) *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*, chaps. 1-3.

**Case Study: KAL007**

Robert Entman (2004) *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy*, chaps. 1-2. Available on blackboard, and on reserve.

**Feb. 21: The Quality and Impact of Public Opinion: How rational is the public? Should leaders follow mass opinion? To what extent does public opinion influence policy? Under what conditions is it more likely to do so?**

Ole Holsti (2004; revised edition) *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*, chaps. 2-3 (pp. 25-69). Available on blackboard, and reserve.

Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro (1992), *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences*, chaps. 1-2 (pp. 1-26, 37-66). Available on blackboard, and on reserve.

John Aldrich and John Sullivan, "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience?'" *American Political Science Review*, vol. 83, no. 1, March 1989, pp. 123-138, available through JSTOR.

Brandice Canes-Wrone (2006), *Who Leads Whom?*, chaps 1-3 (pp. 1-49). Available on blackboard, and on reserve.

Shoon Murray (2006), "Private Polls and Presidential Policymaking: Reagan as a Facilitator of Change," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 70, no.4, pp. 477-498. Available through Proquest.

**Case Studies: Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and Start of Iraq War**

Terry Diebel, "The Death of a Treaty," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 2002, available through Lexis-Nexis.

Douglas Foyle (2004) "Leading the Public to War? The Influence of American Public Opinion on the Bush Administration's Decision to Go to War in Iraq," *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*: vol. 16, 3. Available through Proquest.

**Feb. 28: The Impact of Public Opinion (continued).**

James A. Stimson. 2004. *Tides of Consent. How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*, entire.

**March 7: Public Opinion and War (Do presidents use force for domestic political reasons? Can presidents count on a rally of public support when they use force? Why does the public rally around the president in times of crisis? Under what circumstances does the public support military intervention? Will the public continue to support the use of military force when there are casualties?)**

Richard Brody (1984) "International Crises: A Rallying Point for the President?" in *Public Opinion* vol. 6 no.6, pp. 41-43. Available on blackboard.

Bradley Lian and John Oneal (1993), "Presidents, The Use of Military Force, and Public Opinion," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 277-300, available through JSTOR.

Shoon Murray (2006), "Tough Talk, Public Predispositions, and Military Action: Reassessing the Rally-'Round-the-Flag-Phenomenon," Chap. 7 in Harvey Starr, ed., *Approaches, Levels and Methods of Analysis in International Relations*. Available on blackboard.

Richard C. Eichenberg, "Victory Has Many Friends: The American Public and the Use of Military Force, 1981-2004," *International Security* (summer 2005) available at [www.ase.tufts.edu/polsci/faculty/eichenberg/web.asp](http://www.ase.tufts.edu/polsci/faculty/eichenberg/web.asp)

**Case Studies: Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq**

Eric V. Larson and Bogdan Savych (2005) *American Support for U.S. Military Operations from Mogadishu to Baghdad*, chaps. 2-5.

**Suggested:**

John Mueller (1972), *War, Presidents and Public Opinion*, pp. 23-65.

Bruce Jentleson (1992), "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 36: 49-74, available through JSTOR.

**March 21: Presidential Framing, Elite Competition, and Intervention**

Jon Western (2005) *Selling Intervention and War*, entire.

**March 28: The Media During Wartime (How much freedom does the press have during wartime? How much freedom should it have? What has been the history of media/military relations? What were the lessons of Vietnam? Has a new "CNN Effect" developed with the rise of new technologies? How does an 'embedded' media during the Iraq War fit into the larger historical pattern?)**

Trevor Thrall (2000), *War in the Media Age*, chaps. 2-4, 6.

Daniel Hallin, (1984) "The Media, the War in Vietnam and Public Support," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 46, 2-24, available through JSTOR.

Warren Strobel (1996), "The Media and U.S. Policies Toward Intervention," chap. 25 in *Managing Global Chaos*, edited by Chester Crocker and Fen Olson Hampson (on blackboard).

A Brookings/Harvard Forum (2002) "'The CNN Effect': How 24-Hour News Coverage Affects Government Decisions and Public Opinion." Available at [www.brookings.edu/comm/transcripts/20020123.htm](http://www.brookings.edu/comm/transcripts/20020123.htm)

**Suggested:**

Christopher Paul and James J. Kim (2004) *Reporters on the Battlefield: The Embedded*

*Press System in Historical Context*, Chap. 2, Chap 3 (pp. 50-61), available at [www.rand.org](http://www.rand.org).

**April 4: Ethnic Lobbies and Think Tanks: How much do ethnic lobbies influence policymaking? What makes an ethnic group effective? How powerful is the Israel Lobby? How do policy entrepreneurs in think tanks affect the agenda?**

Eric Uslaner, (2002), "Cracks in the Armor? Interest Groups and Foreign Policy?" in *Interest Group Politics*, eds. Allan Cigler and Burdett Loomis, sixth edition. Available on blackboard.

U.S. Dept. of State, "The Role of Think Tanks in US Foreign Policy" (November 2002). Available at <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/1102/ijpe/ijpe1102.htm>.

**Case Study: Israel Lobby**

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt (March 2006), "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," Working Paper, Harvard University. Available at <http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP06-011>

Michael Massing, "The Storm Over the Israel Lobby," *The New York Review of Books*, vol. 53, no. 10, June 8, 2006. Available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19062?email>

Mitchell Geoffrey Bard (1994) "The Influence of Ethnic Groups on American Middle East Policy," in Wittkopf, ed., *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy*. Available on blackboard.

**Case Studies: Missile Defense and Iraq War**

Michael Mazaar, (2007) "The Iraq War and Agenda-Setting", in *Foreign Policy Analysis*. Available through AU electronic journals.

Donald Abelson (2006) *A Capitol Idea: Think Tanks and US Foreign Policy*, Chaps. 8-9. Available on blackboard.

**Suggested:**

Patrick Haney and Walt Vanderbush, (1999), "The Role of Ethnic Groups in U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 43, No. 2, (June), 341-358. Available through JSTOR.

**April 11: Corporations and Social Movements ( 1) How much power do corporations—particularly the defense industry--have in influencing foreign policy? 2) When are social movements successful?)**

Gordon Adams, (1988), "The Iron Triangle: Inside the Defense Policy Process," in Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf, *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy*. Available on blackboard.

Kenneth Mayer, *The Political Economy of Defense Contracting*, chap 1, 4-5 (pp. 1-10, 74-130), on reserve.

**Case Studies: China MFN Debate, Nuclear Freeze, Vietnam Protests, Free South Africa Movement**

John W. Dietrich (1999) "Interest Groups and Foreign Policy: Clinton and China MFN Debate." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. Available through Proquest.

Jeffrey Knopf (1997) "The Nuclear Freeze Movement's Effect on Policy," in Thomas Rochan and David Meyer, eds., *Coalitions and Political Movements: the Lessons of the Nuclear Freeze*. Available on blackboard.

Adam Garfinkle (1995), *Telltale Hearts: The Origins and Impact of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, chap. 1. Available on blackboard.

Elizabeth Rogers, "The Conflicting Roles of American Ethnic and Business Interests in U.S. Economic Sanctions Policy," chap. 7 in *The Limits of State Autonomy*, edited by David Skidmore and Valerie Hudson, pp.185-204. Available on blackboard.

**April 18: Student Paper Presentations**

**April 25: Student Paper Presentations**

## 2. Course Requirements:

A take-home final exam (worth 40%), one paper (40%), and class participation (20%). **Final Due on May 9th.**

**Paper:** Students are required to write a 15 page (approx.) research paper on a topic of their choice. The papers should extend a methodological and/or analytical approach presented in one of the readings to a new case or time period. Students are required to give a brief presentation of their research to the class, and to distribute copies of their papers before that class session. The whole class will discuss the papers and offer suggestions for improvement. An abstract and bibliography must be turned in by **March 7**; the final version of the paper is due on **April 30**.

**Class Participation:** Students must come prepared to discuss the reading each week. There is a substantial amount of reading, so it is important to set aside time to finish it. I will grade students based on the quality of their weekly contributions to general discussion, and on their performance as discussion-leader for one class section.

## 3. Books:

I have ordered the following books:

Samuel Kernell (2007; 4<sup>th</sup> edition) *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*.

George C. Edwards, III (2003) *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*.

A. Trevor Thrall (2000), *War in the Media Age*.

Jon Western (2005) *Selling Intervention and War*.

Eric V. Larson and Bogdan Savych (2005) *American Support for U.S. Military Operations from Mogadishu to Baghdad*.

James A. Stimson (2004) *Tides of Consent*.

All other materials are available through the library (either blackboard, electronic journals, or the reserve reading room) or through the internet.

