

Preface to the Revised Edition

The first edition of *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy* was generally well received, but that is not sufficient reason to bring out a revised and updated version of the book. The rationale for a new edition can be found in a number of developments since 1995, when the first edition went to press. In addition to important evidence about public attitudes provided by the Gallup Organization and other major polling firms, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the Program on International Policy Attitudes, the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, the Foreign Policy Leadership Project, and the Triangle Institute for Security Studies have undertaken major surveys that focus on various important aspects of America's foreign relations. These have been especially helpful because each of them has included samples of opinion leaders, a sector of American society that has not frequently been the subject of special attention from Gallup and other commercial polling firms. Almost all of the tables appearing in the first edition have been redone to reflect new evidence from these surveys.

A second important development has been the recent publication of major studies that have probed the most difficult and complex issue regarding public opinion—its impact on the political process. Steven Kull, I. M. Destler, Lawrence Jacobs, Robert Shapiro, Richard Sobel, Douglas Foyle, and others have been at the forefront of efforts to combine archival research with interviews of public officials and in some cases of pollsters, thereby providing a better understanding of how public opinion enters the policy-making process, the uses to which it is put, and its impact on policy outcomes. These works and other works have provided important new evidence for the discussions in chapter 3 and elsewhere.

The end of the Cold War and increasing democratization are

among the developments that have opened up opportunities for public opinion studies in countries where such research, especially by Westerners, would have been quite unthinkable even a few years ago. This book focuses on the United States, but the growth of comparative cross-national research provides a much richer understanding of the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy—for example, which findings about that relationship are limited to the American political context, and which may have more universal validity?

A major theme of the first edition of this book is that research and theory on public opinion and foreign policy have often been shaped by such key events as the two world wars of the twentieth century and the war in Vietnam. Several studies have shown that many post-Vietnam aspects of public attitudes have persisted beyond the end of the Cold War. However, the enormity of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York and Washington raises anew questions about continuity and change. As many analysts have asserted, has everything changed since 9/11, including public attitudes toward foreign affairs, much in the way that the attack on Pearl Harbor six decades earlier drove a stake through the heart of the isolationist argument that national interests, geographical realities, and commonsense prudence dictated a policy of limiting contacts with belligerents or potential belligerents abroad? It is clearly far too early to assess the long-term impact of 9/11 on the American public and its attitudes toward global engagement. Chapter 6, which is wholly new in this edition, nevertheless undertakes at least an interim assessment of the role, if any, that public opinion has played in promoting or sustaining the Bush administration's pronounced preferences, during both the nine months before September 11 and the first two years following the terrorist attacks, for a unilateralist approach to world affairs. The post-9/11 period includes debates and frequent polling on the issue of Iraq, culminating in the March 2003 invasion of that country and the destruction of Saddam Hussein's regime in Baghdad.

In this undertaking I have been extraordinarily fortunate in receiving the counsel, insights, assistance, and encouragement of many persons. I reiterate the many debts acknowledged in the preface to the first edition. Many of those cited there have continued to provide help far beyond the call of collegiality and friendship, and my gratitude for their assistance persists unabated. I have also benefitted immensely from those who pointed

to ways in which the first edition might be improved, including Richard Eichenberg, Beth Fischer, Maxine Isaacs, Brigitte Nacos, and Richard Sobel. As noted earlier, chapter 6 is wholly new in this edition. Comments and suggestions from Bruce Jentleson and Bob Lieber, when some parts of it were discussed at a June 2000 conference at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C., were most useful. John Aldrich, Peter Feaver, Kal Holsti, Bruce Jentleson, Bob Keohane, and Richard Sobel read an initial draft of chapter 6 and provided incisive and useful suggestions for improving it. I am also indebted to two anonymous reviewers who read the entire manuscript and offered their suggestions for revisions. Steve Kull was generous in offering advice and sharing data from his Program on International Policy Attitudes; Chris Whitney was most helpful in providing data from the 2002 Chicago Council on Foreign Relations survey; and Steve Casey provided some useful information about Franklin Roosevelt's views on polling.

Dan Harkins, my friend and associate for more than two decades; Christy Hamilton, Carrie Liken, Janet Newcity, and Kuba Stolarski provided invaluable computer programming assistance on the Foreign Policy Leadership Project and Triangle Institute for Security Studies data sets.

Since August 2000 I have benefitted immensely from Anne Marie Boyd's assistance on all aspects of this project. She is a genius at finding sources, even obscure ones, in the library and on the Internet. Her many talents have had an impact on formatting tables, clarifying sentences, proofreading, indexing, and many other aspects of the project. She has done all these things with such unflinching energy, enthusiasm, good nature, and good humor that working with her has always been a great pleasure.

Working with the University of Michigan Press has also been a pleasant experience. The first edition began with the support of political science editor Malcolm Litchfield and was completed under his successor, Chuck Myers. Jeremy Shine, political science acquisitions editor, provided initial support for this revised edition, and it has been a pleasure working with Jim Reische, Kevin Rennells, and Sarah Mann in bringing this book to fruition.

My heartfelt thanks to all of the above. They are absolved from responsibility for errors that remain. My apologies to anyone whose contributions I may inadvertently have overlooked.

This book has a double dedication. The first is to my wonderful daughter, Maija; her devoted husband, Brad; and their delightful

son, Aksel Eric Anderson, who was born as this project was nearing completion. It is also dedicated to some outstanding undergraduate students whom I had the privilege of teaching during the past decade. They have also demonstrated an extraordinary commitment to public service, both at Duke and after graduation. The greatest joy of E-mail is that they have kept in touch, sharing with me news of their activities in settings as diverse as the Peace Corps; classrooms in Japan, South Korea, and inner-city Boston; NATO headquarters; all three branches of the U.S. government; and a wide range of volunteer undertakings that have helped others and made the world a better place. At a time when every day seems to bring news of still further outrageous misconduct by top leaders in churches, business, finance, accounting, and government, their idealism and energy are a source of great hope for the future of the country and of humankind. The achievements of these exceptional people are a constant source of inspiration, and I cherish their friendship.