



THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER
For The People & The Press

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

THE VIEW BEFORE 9/11:
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD
A Special Analysis on Foreign Policy Attitudes Before the Attacks

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THE VIEW BEFORE 9/11: AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

America's view of the world changed dramatically, and perhaps permanently, on Sept. 11. But in order to measure the nature and extent of these changes it is important to understand where attitudes toward international issues stood before the attacks occurred. A three-month survey by the Pew Research Center, in collaboration with the Council on Foreign Relations – completed in early September – provides a detailed snapshot of the worldview of “before” America.

The quadrennial survey, titled *America's Place in the World*, found that American opinion leaders and the public had a mixed approach to international affairs. No single issue or concern was dominant. While the spread of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism were ranked among the top threats to the United States, the elites and the public also expressed concern over a varied list of global problems ranging from infectious diseases to international financial instability. China was seen as the country that posed the greatest danger to the United States, but the dominant view among both the public and the elites is that China is a problem to be managed, not an enemy to be defeated. Most elite groups saw the spread of radical Islam as a greater threat to U.S. interests than China's emergence as a world power.

Both the opinion leaders and the public sensed that the peace and prosperity of the 1990s were coming to an end. Compared to four years earlier, several of the elite groups expressed far less satisfaction in the state of the world – among foreign affairs experts, for instance, satisfaction fell from 60% in 1997 to 34%. Much of this dissatisfaction was linked to concerns about President Bush's handling of foreign policy – specifically, the contention he paid too little heed to the interests and concerns of traditional allies. While there was a strong consensus among most elites in favor of aggressive multilateralism – a “first among equals” role for the United States – the general public wants the nation to be no more or less active than others.

For its part, the public, while giving Bush much higher marks, saw the world as a much more dangerous place than the influentials. And there were signs that the public was rousing itself from its long inattention to international affairs. A majority supported the continued deployment of U.S. forces in the Balkans and most backed military intervention to prevent an African genocide. A growing minority of Americans (29%) said the media is not providing enough coverage of foreign news, although a majority expressed satisfaction with the amount of overseas news.

Both the public and influentials believed that foreign terrorists posed a much greater risk of deploying a weapon of mass destruction against the United States than even hostile military powers. For opinion leaders, this translated into broad opposition of Bush's missile defense proposal. A majority of the public, however, continued to express support for the plan.

This study provides the context for analyzing post-attack attitudes on such issues as multilateralism, globalization and the use of American force. It also raises questions about how the various attitudinal trends reflected here will be reshaped by the events of Sept. 11:

- 1) *Priorities.* Obviously, American policy priorities, both domestically and internationally, will be dominated by terrorism for the foreseeable future. But what will become of the broad support for other goals, like preventing the spread of infectious diseases, dealing with global warming and preventing genocide? Before the attacks, these were regarded as at least as important as traditional geo-political concerns.
- 2) *Bush's Foreign Policy.* American influentials expressed deep reservations about Bush's go-it-alone approach. Europeans were even more withering in their criticism of the president's foreign policy – an August survey by the Pew Research Center, in association with the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Herald Tribune, showed that more than seven-in-ten people in each of four major European nations said Bush makes decisions based entirely on U.S. interests (see “Bush Unpopular in Europe, Seen as Unilateralist,” Aug. 15, 2001). Will this skepticism, at home and abroad, now be subordinated to the strength of the anti-terrorism coalition Bush is able to assemble?
- 3) *Missile Defense.* How do the terror attacks affect the skepticism among most elites, and the moderate public support, that existed before the attacks? A missile defense system would have been ineffective in the face of a suicide assault, but at a time when there is a clamor for homeland defense, public backing for a missile shield may prove resilient.
- 4) *Globalization.* The elites strongly endorsed expanding trade and globalization – with the exception of the labor sample, at least seven-in-ten in every group said they believed globalization is a good thing for the United States. A majority of the public (60%) agreed – but 42% said they shared some concerns of anti-globalization protesters. These concerns were largely ill-defined, but a significant number (16%) pointed to globalization's environmental impact. Does the economic downturn now intensify public opposition to trade and globalization?

- 5) *Public Engagement.* Certainly, public interest in international affairs has soared since the crisis began, but will it continue? In the past, international crises have produced spikes in public attention to foreign affairs, but they proved temporary. The question now is whether the struggle against terrorism will generate increased interest in overseas issues over the long term. This issue also has a political dimension. In the *post* post-Cold War era, will Americans continue to elect presidents primarily on their ability to deal with domestic matters?

Sample

The purpose of the Pew Research Center and Council on Foreign Relations survey, conducted June 21-Sept. 10, was primarily to elicit the views of the nation's leadership elites on America's role in the post-Cold War world. These leadership respondents, whom we call America's *Influentials* or *Opinion Leaders*, consist of 631 men and women chosen from recognized lists of top individuals in various fields or by virtue of their leadership positions.

The Foreign Affairs group represents a random selection of members of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Pacific Council on International Policy, and the Board of Directors of the Washington D.C. and Los Angeles World Affairs Councils.

The Security group represents a random selection of American members of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

The Science and Engineering group represents a random selection of members of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering.

The State and Local Government group consists of mayors of major cities and state governors. Mayors were selected at random from the pool of all mayors of cities with populations over 80,000. Governors of all 50 states were asked to participate in the survey.

The Business and Finance group consists of CEOs and management level executives from *Fortune 1000's* list of leading companies.

Academic respondents were selected randomly from a list of chief administrators of all private universities rated as “most difficult” to enter and all public universities rated as “very difficult” or “most difficult” to enter by *Peterson’s Guide to Four-Year Colleges 2001*. The Think Tank portion of the Academics sample includes the heads of major think tanks listed in *The Capital Source*.

The group of Religious Leaders were selected from the leadership of, among others, all Protestant denominations with memberships over 700,000; each of the 32 Catholic Archdioceses in the country; four mainstream Jewish movements, and one Islamic organization.

News Media respondents were selected randomly from among top individuals in network and cable television, national and local newspapers, radio networks, news magazines and periodicals, news wire services, as well as a sampling of major columnists.

Labor union leaders of the nation’s 50 largest unions were contacted to make up the Labor Union group.

Capitol Hill staff were selected from committees and subcommittees handling international affairs in both the House and the Senate, along with key personal staffers of members serving on these committees.

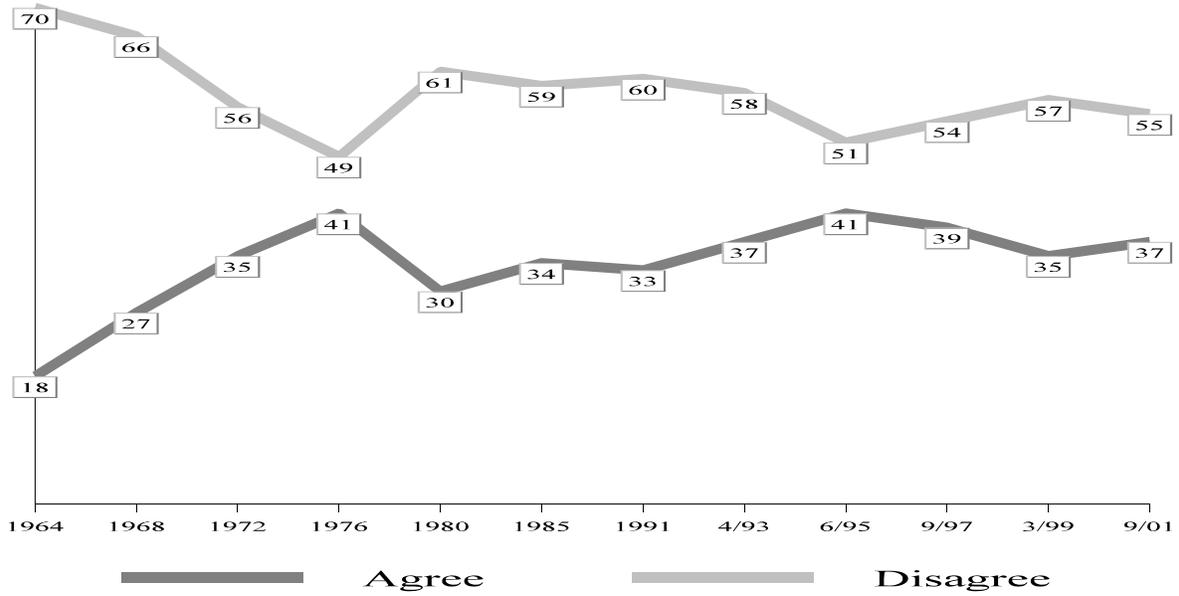
PUBLICS INTERVIEWED

| | |
|---------------------------|--------|
| General Public | (2001) |
| Media | (75) |
| Business and Finance | (47) |
| Foreign Affairs | (89) |
| Security | (58) |
| Governors and Mayors | (64) |
| Think Tanks and Academics | (93) |
| Religious Leaders | (49) |
| Science and Engineering | (92) |
| Labor Union | (20) |
| Congressional staff | (44) |

The parallel public survey, conducted Aug. 21-Sept. 5, was undertaken to compare with the Influentials. It polled 2,001 adults who form a cross-section of American society in all of the various demographic measures.

SELECTED TABLES

INTERNATIONALIST/ISOLATIONIST TREND
(General Public)



Question: The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.

Satisfaction Gaps

| | <u>Satisfied</u> | <u>Dissatisfied</u> | <u>Neither/ DK</u> |
|--|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| <i>With the way things are going in...</i> | % | % | % |
| <i><u>The World:</u></i> | | | |
| All Influentials | 41 | 46 | 13=100 |
| General Public | 27 | 64 | 9=100 |
| <i><u>United States:</u></i> | | | |
| General Public | 41 | 53 | 6=100 |

Satisfaction Down From '97

....With the Way Things Are Going in the World

| | <u>Satisfied</u> | <u>Dissatisfied</u> | <u>DK</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % |
| News Media | | | |
| 1993 | 27 | 70 | 3=100 |
| 1997 | 59 | 30 | 11=100 |
| 2001 | 52 | 36 | 12=100 |
| Bus/Finance | | | |
| 1993 | 33 | 58 | 9=100 |
| 1997 | 66 | 34 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 66 | 26 | 8=100 |
| Foreign Aff | | | |
| 1993 | 26 | 67 | 7=100 |
| 1997 | 60 | 36 | 4=100 |
| 2001 | 34 | 54 | 12=100 |
| Security | | | |
| 1993 | 15 | 73 | 12=100 |
| 1997 | 61 | 32 | 7=100 |
| 2001 | 45 | 40 | 15=100 |
| Gov./Mayors | | | |
| 1993 | 28 | 66 | 6=100 |
| 1997 | 51 | 44 | 5=100 |
| 2001 | 48 | 41 | 11=100 |
| Think/Academ | | | |
| 1993 | 35 | 53 | 12=100 |
| 1997 | 59 | 32 | 9=100 |
| 2001 | 32 | 50 | 18=100 |
| Religious Leaders | | | |
| 1993 | 15 | 74 | 11=100 |
| 1997 | 50 | 42 | 8=100 |
| 2001 | 27 | 59 | 14=100 |
| Sci/Engineers | | | |
| 1993 | 31 | 56 | 13=100 |
| 1997 | 58 | 36 | 6=100 |
| 2001 | 37 | 50 | 13=100 |
| Labor Union* | | | |
| 1997 | 58 | 42 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 15 | 80 | 5=100 |
| Hill Policy Staff* | | | |
| 1997 | 67 | 30 | 3=100 |
| 2001 | 54 | 39 | 7=100 |

* Labor Union leaders and Capitol Hill staff were not interviewed in 1993.

Top Five Foreign Policy Priorities

News Media

Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing the spread of AIDS
Promoting democracy

Business/Finance

Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks
Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Promoting U.S. business & economic interests abroad
Reducing the spread of AIDS

Foreign Affairs

Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks
Reducing the spread of AIDS
Dealing with global warming
Protecting groups threatened with genocide

Security

Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing the spread of AIDS
Dealing with global warming

Governors/Mayors

Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing the spread of AIDS
Getting other countries to assume costs of world order

Think Tank/Academics

Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks
Reducing the spread of AIDS
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Dealing with world hunger

Religious Leaders

Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Dealing with world hunger
Protecting groups threatened with genocide
Reducing the spread of AIDS
Promoting & defending human rights

Scientists/Engineers

Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks
Reducing the spread of AIDS
Dealing with global warming

Labor Unions

Protecting jobs of American workers
Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Reducing the spread of AIDS
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks
Dealing with world hunger

Hill Policy Staff

Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing the spread of AIDS
Promoting democracy

General Public

Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks
Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction
Protecting jobs of American workers
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing the spread of AIDS

International Concerns for the U.S.

(Percent Considering Each a Major Threat)

| | News Media | Bus./ Finance | Foreign Affairs | Security | Gov./ Mayors | Think/ Academ. | Religious Leaders | Sci./ Engineers | Labor Union | Hill Policy Staff | Gen. Public* |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|----------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Mass destruction weapons | 76 | 79 | 80 | 86 | 78 | 79 | 76 | 75 | 70 | 86 | 74 |
| International terrorism | 71 | 79 | 52 | 53 | 78 | 53 | 59 | 64 | 70 | 82 | 64 |
| Global environment | 58 | 47 | 69 | 57 | 51 | 65 | 55 | 68 | 60 | 37 | 53 |
| Intl. financial stability | 48 | 60 | 65 | 71 | 56 | 68 | 57 | 44 | 50 | 43 | 47 |
| Spread of infectious diseases | 45 | 58 | 64 | 52 | 56 | 53 | 59 | 60 | 60 | 57 | 66 |
| Spread of Islamic fundamentalists | 47 | 62 | 41 | 42 | 56 | 40 | 63 | 69 | 55 | 64 | n/a |
| Russia's instability | 47 | 43 | 63 | 64 | 50 | 52 | 31 | 55 | 50 | 55 | 27 |
| China/Taiwan conflict | 37 | 38 | 43 | 60 | 39 | 47 | 47 | 39 | 45 | 46 | 36 |
| International drug cartels | 33 | 36 | 46 | 42 | 50 | 32 | 59 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 68 |
| China as a world power | 45 | 41 | 38 | 38 | 45 | 42 | 39 | 37 | 65 | 39 | 51 |

* General public numbers are from "Modest Support for Missile Defense, No Panic on China" June 11, 2001.

Favorability Ratings for International Organizations

| | News Media | Bus./ Finance | Foreign Affairs | Security | Gov./ Mayors | Think/ Academ. | Religious Leaders | Sci./ Engineers | Labor Union | Hill Policy Staff | Gen. Public* |
|---------------------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|----------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| <i>Favorable opinion of ...</i> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NATO | 82 | 92 | 85 | 90 | 91 | 87 | 86 | 83 | 85 | 96 | 71 |
| The European Union | 70 | 70 | 80 | 83 | 70 | 86 | 65 | 77 | 75 | 59 | 38 |
| The United Nations | 66 | 49 | 74 | 79 | 80 | 77 | 80 | 79 | 85 | 61 | 77 |
| The World Trade Org. | 54 | 72 | 79 | 83 | 59 | 73 | 49 | 63 | 5 | 68 | 66 |
| The World Bank | 54 | 60 | 73 | 78 | 61 | 73 | 51 | 59 | 15 | 59 | 52 |
| The Intl. Monetary Fund | 55 | 62 | 70 | 74 | 69 | 70 | 43 | 53 | 15 | 66 | 46 |

How Dangerous is the World?

Compared To 10 Years Ago ...

| | <u>More</u> | <u>Less</u> | <u>Same</u> | <u>DK</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| News Media | 13 | 67 | 17 | 3=100 |
| Bus/Finance | 25 | 45 | 30 | 0=100 |
| Foreign Affairs | 25 | 60 | 11 | 4=100 |
| Security | 28 | 47 | 22 | 3=100 |
| Gov./Mayors | 14 | 58 | 23 | 5=100 |
| Think/Academ | 14 | 57 | 26 | 3=100 |
| Religious Leaders | 12 | 49 | 35 | 4=100 |
| Sci/Engineers | 10 | 67 | 21 | 2=100 |
| Labor Union | 20 | 50 | 20 | 10=100 |
| Hill Policy Staff | 32 | 36 | 27 | 5=100 |
| General Public | 53 | 14 | 30 | 3=100 |

Greatest Single Danger to the U.S.

| <i>Country ...</i> | News | Bus./ | Foreign | | Gov./ | Think/ | Religious | Sci./ | Labor | Hill | Gen. |
|----------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| | <u>Media</u> | <u>Finance</u> | <u>Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>Mayors</u> | <u>Academ.</u> | <u>Leaders</u> | <u>Engineers</u> | <u>Union</u> | <u>Staff</u> | <u>Public</u> |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| China | 45 | 30 | 33 | 24 | 39 | 46 | 41 | 40 | 30 | 39 | 32 |
| Iraq | 23 | 23 | 15 | 17 | 20 | 15 | 10 | 14 | 15 | 9 | 16 |
| Russia/former Soviet Union | 8 | 4 | 16 | 21 | 3 | 11 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 9 |
| Middle East (other) | 4 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 17 | 3 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 7 | 8 |
| Iran | 3 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 4 | 5 |

Elites, Public Differ on U.S. Role

| | World's Single Leader | Shared Leadership | | None | DK |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------|--------|
| | | Most Active | No More Active | | |
| Influentials | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1993 | 8 | 58 | 29 | 1 | 5=100 |
| 1997 | 15 | 50 | 27 | 1 | 7=100 |
| 2001 | 10 | 53 | 27 | * | 10=100 |
| General Public | | | | | |
| 1993 | 10 | 27 | 52 | 7 | 4=100 |
| 1997 | 12 | 22 | 50 | 11 | 5=100 |
| 2001 | 13 | 25 | 49 | 8 | 5=100 |

American Leadership Role

| | U. S. Role As World Leader vs. 10 Years Ago | | | |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------|-----------------|-------|
| | More Important | Less Important | As Important | DK |
| | % | % | % | % |
| News Media | | | | |
| 1993 | 29 | 46 | 25 | 0=100 |
| 1997 | 49 | 14 | 37 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 29 | 23 | 47 | 1=100 |
| Bus/Finance | | | | |
| 1993 | 18 | 49 | 33 | 0=100 |
| 1997 | 31 | 20 | 49 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 36 | 17 | 47 | 0=100 |
| Foreign Affairs | | | | |
| 1993 | 26 | 41 | 32 | 1=100 |
| 1997 | 48 | 17 | 35 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 35 | 25 | 40 | 0=100 |
| Security | | | | |
| 1993 | 14 | 54 | 32 | 0=100 |
| 1997 | 46 | 19 | 35 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 43 | 14 | 41 | 2=100 |
| Gov/Mayors | | | | |
| 1993 | 36 | 26 | 38 | 0=100 |
| 1997 | 49 | 11 | 40 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 47 | 6 | 47 | 0=100 |
| Think/Academics | | | | |
| 1993 | 26 | 33 | 40 | 1=100 |
| 1997 | 48 | 14 | 37 | 1=100 |
| 2001 | 41 | 20 | 39 | 0=100 |
| Religious Leaders | | | | |
| 1993 | 24 | 38 | 38 | 0=100 |
| 1997 | 44 | 14 | 42 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 45 | 14 | 41 | 0=100 |
| Sci/Engineers | | | | |
| 1993 | 21 | 33 | 46 | 0=100 |
| 1997 | 54 | 13 | 32 | 1=100 |
| 2001 | 19 | 18 | 63 | 0=100 |
| Labor Union | | | | |
| 1997 | 50 | 8 | 42 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 60 | 10 | 30 | 0=100 |
| Hill Policy Staff | | | | |
| 1997 | 49 | 11 | 40 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 52 | 11 | 36 | 0=100 |
| General Public | | | | |
| 1993 | 37 | 30 | 31 | 2=100 |
| 1997 | 35 | 23 | 40 | 2=100 |
| 2001 | 33 | 26 | 38 | 3=100 |

Bush a Unilateralist? Elites, Public Disagree

| | <i>U.S. Should Formulate Policy Based on...</i> | | <i>Bush Taking Into Account Allies Views...</i> | | |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|---------------------|---------------------|
| | <i>National Interests</i> | <i>Allies Interests</i> | <i>Too Little</i> | <i>Right Amount</i> | <i>Other Answer</i> |
| | <i>%</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>%</i> |
| News Media | 21 | 58 | 57 | 32 | 11=100 |
| Bus/Finance | 17 | 70 | 36 | 64 | 0=100 |
| Foreign Affairs | 7 | 70 | 79 | 18 | 3=100 |
| Security | 12 | 60 | 76 | 24 | 0=100 |
| Gov/Mayors | 17 | 72 | 53 | 38 | 9=100 |
| Think/Academics | 13 | 62 | 73 | 24 | 3=100 |
| Religious Leaders | 16 | 74 | 41 | 47 | 12=100 |
| Sci/Engineers | 17 | 63 | 60 | 34 | 6=100 |
| Labor Union | 15 | 75 | 80 | 20 | 0=100 |
| Hill Policy Staff | 36 | 46 | 54 | 46 | 0=100 |
| General Public | 38 | 48 | 22 | 42 | 36=100 |

G.W. Bush's Job Approval Rating*

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>DK</u> |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | <i>%</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>%</i> |
| News Media | | | |
| 1993 | 38 | 40 | 22=100 |
| 1997 | 45 | 25 | 30=100 |
| 2001 | 40 | 40 | 20=100 |
| Bus/Finance | | | |
| 1993 | 16 | 77 | 7=100 |
| 1997 | 54 | 46 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 75 | 19 | 6=100 |
| Foreign Aff | | | |
| 1993 | 54 | 36 | 10=100 |
| 1997 | 72 | 19 | 9=100 |
| 2001 | 20 | 66 | 14=100 |
| Security | | | |
| 1993 | 47 | 46 | 7=100 |
| 1997 | 55 | 40 | 5=100 |
| 2001 | 40 | 52 | 8=100 |
| Gov./Mayors | | | |
| 1993 | 51 | 42 | 7=100 |
| 1997 | 59 | 35 | 6=100 |
| 2001 | 47 | 39 | 14=100 |
| Think/Academ | | | |
| 1993 | 63 | 27 | 10=100 |
| 1997 | 79 | 16 | 5=100 |
| 2001 | 23 | 60 | 17=100 |
| Religious Leaders | | | |
| 1993 | 45 | 40 | 15=100 |
| 1997 | 50 | 42 | 8=100 |
| 2001 | 55 | 31 | 14=100 |
| Sci/Engineers | | | |
| 1993 | 69 | 22 | 9=100 |
| 1997 | 78 | 12 | 10=100 |
| 2001 | 30 | 61 | 9=100 |
| Labor Union | | | |
| 1997 | 92 | 8 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 5 | 90 | 5=100 |
| Hill Policy Staff | | | |
| 1997 | 51 | 49 | 0=100 |
| 2001 | 54 | 41 | 5=100 |

* 1993 and 1997 numbers refer to Bill Clinton.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
& COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD, III
AMERICAN INFLUENTIALS
FINAL TOPLINE
June 21 - September 10, 2001
N=631**

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research on behalf of The Council on Foreign Relations and The Pew Research Center regarding a letter that Les Gelb and Andrew Kohut wrote to (Name of Respondent). May I speak with (Title of Respondent)? **(IF UNABLE TO REACH - ASK TO SET UP AN APPOINTMENT)**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?¹

| | <u>News Media</u> | | | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | | | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | | | <u>Security</u> | | | <u>State/Local Government</u> | | | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | | | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | | | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | | | <u>Labor Union</u> | | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------|
| | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 |
| Approve | 38 | 45 | 40 | 16 | 54 | 75 | 54 | 72 | 20 | 47 | 55 | 40 | 51 | 59 | 47 | 63 | 79 | 23 | 45 | 50 | 55 | 69 | 78 | 30 | 92 | 5 | 51 | 54 |
| Disapprove | 40 | 25 | 40 | 77 | 46 | 19 | 36 | 19 | 66 | 46 | 40 | 52 | 42 | 35 | 39 | 27 | 16 | 60 | 40 | 42 | 31 | 22 | 12 | 61 | 8 | 90 | 49 | 41 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>22</u> | <u>30</u> | <u>20</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>5</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of Interviews: | (79) | (73) | (75) | (69) | (35) | (47) | (69) | (69) | (89) | (68) | (57) | (58) | (69) | (75) | (64) | (78) | (93) | (93) | (47) | (36) | (49) | (91) | (92) | (92) | (24) | (20) | (37) | (44) |

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the nation's foreign policy?

| | <u>News Media</u> | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | <u>Labor Union</u> | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Approve | 31 | 70 | 20 | 36 | 41 | 21 | 53 | 34 | 15 | 55 |
| Disapprove | 48 | 24 | 70 | 59 | 48 | 69 | 33 | 70 | 80 | 43 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>21</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

¹ In 1993 and 1997 the question was asked about Bill Clinton.

Q.3 What is America's most important international problem today? (**RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY — DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.**)

| | <u>News Media</u> '01 | <u>Business/ Finance</u> '01 | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '01 | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '01 | <u>Religious Leaders</u> '01 | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '01 | <u>Labor Union</u> '01 | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '01 |
|--|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| Dealing with an emerging China/Presence of a new China/Managing the relationship with China | 4 | 8 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 9 | 8 | 13 | 5 | 18 |
| Middle East (unspecific) | 13 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| International violence/security problems/threats of terrorism | 5 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 10 | 14 |
| Environmental issues/Global warming | 3 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| Global economic relationships worldwide (unspecific) | 15 | 11 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 |
| Balance being world power with member of global community/Cooperation | 3 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 2 |
| Developed vs. underdeveloped/Gap between rich and poor nations/Inequality of wealth/Poverty | 5 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 10 | 2 |
| Maintaining world peace/peace keeper/resolution of international disputes | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 11 | 6 | 4 | 8 | 0 | 4 |
| Relations with/Instability of/the evolution of the former USSR/potential problems in the | 3 | 2 | 9 | 9 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 |
| Maintaining relationships/alliances/Seek greater unity with Europe/our allies | 3 | 0 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 4 |

Q.3 CONTINUED ...

| | <u>News Media</u> '01 | <u>Business/ Finance</u> '01 | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '01 | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '01 | <u>Religious Leaders</u> '01 | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '01 | <u>Labor Union</u> '01 | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '01 |
|--|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| Assuming/maintaining leadership role in post war era/ Finding a new role in the post-Cold War world | 3 | 2 | 3 | 10 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 7 |
| Nuclear proliferation/control of nuclear weapons/"loose nukes" ⁷ | | 0 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 |
| Trade/Global trade/Trade expansion | 4 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 15 | 4 |
| Situation in Israel/situation with Israel and Arab neighbors | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 12 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| Peace/Unrest in the Middle East/Middle East crisis | 1 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Dealing with threat of "Weapons of mass destruction" | 3 | 0 | 4 | 10 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| World conflicts/wars/chaos/world wide unrest/ethnic conflicts, etc. | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| Globalization/Adjusting to globalization | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 2 |
| All other mentions ² | 36 | 38 | 39 | 36 | 39 | 28 | 45 | 44 | 40 | 25 |
| Nothing | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Don't know/Refused | 5 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 2 |
| GLOBAL INSTABILITY (NET) | 28 | 6 | 35 | 31 | 28 | 36 | 18 | 29 | 30 | 32 |
| SPECIFIC GEOPOLITICAL CONCERNS (NET) | 24 | 28 | 26 | 19 | 28 | 24 | 39 | 33 | 15 | 36 |

²

Comprised of categories which were mentioned by less than 3% of Influentials overall.

Q.3 CONTINUED ...

| | <u>News Media</u> | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | <u>Labor Union</u> | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> |
|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| U.S. LEADERSHIP ROLE (NET) | 13 | 15 | 21 | 22 | 9 | 18 | 20 | 13 | 5 | 11 |
| ECONOMICS (NET) | 23 | 30 | 12 | 7 | 20 | 12 | 4 | 11 | 25 | 11 |
| SOCIAL ISSUES (NET) | 7 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 10 | 6 | 10 | 2 |

Q.4 All in all, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the WORLD these days?

| | <u>News Media</u> | | | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | | | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | | | <u>Security</u> | | | <u>State/ Local Government</u> | | | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | | | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | | | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | | | <u>Labor Union</u> | | | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----|-----|--------------------------|-----|-----|------------------------|-----|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------------------|-----|-----|--------------------------|-----|------|------------------------------|-----|-----|--------------------|-----|-----|--------------------------|-----|-----|
| | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 |
| Satisfied | 27 | 59 | 52 | 33 | 66 | 66 | 26 | 60 | 34 | 15 | 61 | 45 | 28 | 51 | 48 | 35 | 59 | 32 | 15 | 50 | 27 | 31 | 58 | 37 | 58 | 15 | 67 | 54 | | |
| Dissatisfied | 70 | 30 | 36 | 58 | 34 | 26 | 67 | 36 | 54 | 73 | 32 | 40 | 66 | 44 | 41 | 53 | 32 | 50 | 74 | 42 | 59 | 56 | 36 | 50 | 42 | 80 | 30 | 39 | | |
| Don't know/Refused | 3 | 11 | 12 | 9 | 0 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 12 | 12 | 7 | 15 | 6 | 5 | 11 | 12 | 9 | 18 | 11 | 8 | 14 | 13 | 6 | 13 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 7 | | |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 1000 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

Q.5 So far, what are the BEST things about the Bush Administration's handling of foreign policy? (OPEN-END)(CODE UP TO 3 RESPONSES)

| | <u>News Media</u> | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | <u>Labor Union</u> | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> |
|--|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Good foreign policy appointees (i.e. Powell/Rice/advisors/State Dept.) | 12 | 11 | 18 | 21 | 16 | 18 | 22 | 13 | 10 | 9 |
| Working to establish relations/meet with leaders of other nations/allies | 3 | 15 | 8 | 7 | 11 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Relationship with Mexico/Trip to Mexico/Latin America | 7 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 14 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 9 |
| All mentions of former USSR/Russia | 0 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 11 | 0 | 4 |

Q.5 CONTINUED ...

| | <u>News Media</u> '01 | <u>Business/ Finance</u> '01 | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '01 | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '01 | <u>Religious Leaders</u> '01 | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '01 | <u>Labor Union</u> '01 | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '01 |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| Openness/flexibility dealing with issues/problems/Willing to adjust/change/Retreat from campaign rhetoric | 3 | 4 | 9 | 9 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 4 |
| Clarity of U.S. position/Straightforward/Consistent articulation of policy | 5 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 10 | 0 | 7 |
| Bush himself/a positive image/symbol/Brought credibility/integrity to the office | 4 | 13 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| Handling of the China spy plane incident | 7 | 0 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 15 | 2 |
| All mentions of Mideast/Mideast Peace Talks | 5 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 12 | 6 | 0 | 4 |
| Defense/Missile defense plan/"Weapons of mass destruction" | 4 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Puts America's interests first/Never loses sight of what is best for U.S. | 4 | 8 | 3 | 12 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| On the right track with China | 4 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| All other ability to handle issues/problems | 0 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 9 |
| Trip to Europe was successful/Firming relations with Europe/Good personal relationships with European leaders | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Good identification of issues/problems (specified and/or unspecified) | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| Cautious/doesn't rush into situation/statements/Patient | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 2 |
| All other mentions ³ | 28 | 23 | 26 | 45 | 22 | 38 | 29 | 21 | 15 | 30 |

3

Comprised of categories which were mentioned by less than 3% of Influentials overall.

Q.5 CONTINUED ...

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Hasn't done anything yet/Too early to tell/Needs more time | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 2 |
| Nothing/None | 4 | 6 | 7 | 0 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 20 | 7 |
| Don't know/No comment/Refused | 13 | 4 | 10 | 3 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 13 | 15 | 0 |
| ABILITY TO HANDLE ISSUES/PROBLEMS (NET) | 29 | 40 | 37 | 47 | 47 | 39 | 35 | 34 | 30 | 43 |
| HANDLING OF FOREIGN CONFLICTS (NET) | 12 | 19 | 17 | 17 | 8 | 15 | 12 | 18 | 0 | 14 |
| DEMONSTRATES CAUTION/RESTRAINT (NET) | 9 | 13 | 8 | 12 | 5 | 9 | 14 | 10 | 0 | 9 |
| TRADE/ECONOMIC ISSUES (NET) | 3 | 6 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 4 |

Q.6 So far, what are the **WORST** things about the Bush Administration's handling of foreign policy? (OPEN-END)(CODE UP TO 3 RESPONSES)

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Rejection/handling of Kyoto Protocol/position on global warming, etc. | 16 | 19 | 18 | 21 | 16 | 22 | 12 | 23 | 15 | 11 |
| Missile defense system proposal | 20 | 11 | 18 | 14 | 14 | 16 | 6 | 18 | 10 | 25 |
| Fails to consult with our allies/the international community/worsens relations | 7 | 11 | 17 | 21 | 3 | 14 | 4 | 6 | 15 | 9 |
| All mentions of Mideast/Mideast Peace Talks | 8 | 13 | 10 | 5 | 12 | 8 | 20 | 10 | 10 | 7 |
| Unilateral approach to decisions/Perception of unilateralism/ Tendency toward unilateral action | 9 | 4 | 15 | 21 | 3 | 15 | 0 | 2 | 10 | 11 |

Q.6 CONTINUED ...

| | <u>News Media</u> '01 | <u>Business/ Finance</u> '01 | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '01 | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '01 | <u>Religious Leaders</u> '01 | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '01 | <u>Labor Union</u> '01 | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '01 |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| All mentions of China (includes "spy plane incident") | 5 | 11 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 14 |
| Threat of end to ABM Treaty/previous agreement on strategic arms limitations | 3 | 6 | 1 | 12 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 9 | 10 | 4 |
| Lacks foreign policy direction/goals/No clear vision/ Inability to articulate policy | 4 | 13 | 10 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| Response to America's treaty commitments | 4 | 2 | 9 | 10 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 15 | 2 |
| Environment/Slow to take action on environmental issues/back-peddling | 5 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| Arrogance/Lack of diplomacy | 7 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 0 | 6 | 5 | 2 |
| Lack of knowledge/understanding (specified or unspecified) | 1 | 0 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| All mentions of former USSR/Russia | 8 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| All mentions of North Korea/Korean situation | 7 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 |
| All other mentions ⁴ | 35 | 30 | 38 | 26 | 34 | 41 | 49 | 23 | 45 | 46 |
| Hasn't failed yet/Too early to tell/Needs more time | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Nothing | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Don't know/No comment/Refused | 11 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 12 | 4 | 14 | 9 | 5 | 7 |

4

Comprised of categories which were mentioned by less than 3% of Influentials overall.

Q.6 CONTINUED ...

| | <u>News Media</u> '01 | <u>Business/ Finance</u> '01 | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '01 | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '01 | <u>Religious Leaders</u> '01 | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '01 | <u>Labor Union</u> '01 | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '01 |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| UNILATERALISM/LACK OF COOPERATION (NET) | 20 | 17 | 35 | 48 | 12 | 31 | 10 | 10 | 40 | 27 |
| ENVIRONMENT (NET) | 21 | 21 | 24 | 21 | 20 | 26 | 16 | 30 | 15 | 11 |
| HANDLING OF FOREIGN CONFLICTS (NET) | 24 | 23 | 18 | 21 | 25 | 15 | 33 | 21 | 20 | 25 |
| MISSILE DEFENSE (NET) | 21 | 13 | 19 | 26 | 16 | 23 | 10 | 24 | 20 | 30 |
| INDECISIVE/SLOW/INEXPERIENCED (NET) | 17 | 26 | 26 | 14 | 14 | 27 | 16 | 12 | 10 | 18 |
| TRADE/ECONOMIC ISSUES (NET) | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 15 | 4 |

Q.7 In formulating U.S. foreign policy, is the Bush administration taking into account the interests and views of our allies... Too much, too little, or about the right amount?

| | <u>News Media</u> '01 | <u>Business/ Finance</u> '01 | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '01 | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '01 | <u>Religious Leaders</u> '01 | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '01 | <u>Labor Union</u> '01 | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '01 |
|--------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| Too much | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Too little | 57 | 36 | 79 | 76 | 53 | 73 | 41 | 60 | 80 | 54 |
| Right amount | 32 | 64 | 18 | 24 | 38 | 24 | 47 | 34 | 20 | 46 |
| Don't Know/Refused | <u>8</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.8 So far, how do you judge the leadership role the Bush administration is taking in trying to solve international problems: Would you say the administration is taking too much of a HANDS ON or too much of a HANDS OFF approach, or is it acting about right?

| | <u>News Media</u> | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | <u>Labor Union</u> | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Hands on | 4 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 11 | 4 | 14 | 5 | 4 |
| Hands off | 43 | 30 | 53 | 43 | 44 | 44 | 37 | 26 | 60 | 48 |
| About right | 37 | 64 | 21 | 45 | 45 | 26 | 55 | 43 | 25 | 41 |
| Don't Know/Refused | <u>16</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>20</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>19</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>7</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.9 Critics have charged that the Bush administration policies are too much influenced by Cold War thinking. Do you think this is a valid criticism or not?

| | <u>News Media</u> | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | <u>Labor Union</u> | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> |
|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Valid criticism | 37 | 40 | 65 | 48 | 58 | 55 | 41 | 39 | 60 | 36 |
| Not valid criticism | 56 | 58 | 32 | 48 | 37 | 38 | 53 | 53 | 30 | 62 |
| Don't Know/Refused | <u>7</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Now thinking about some international organizations...

Q.10 Do you have a generally favorable or unfavorable view of (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE)? How about (ITEM)?

| | News Media | Business/ Finance | Foreign Affairs | Security | State/ Local Govt. | Think Tanks/ Academics | Religious Leaders | Scientists/ Engineers | Labor Union | Hill Policy Staff |
|---------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| a. The World Trade Organization | | | | | | | | | | |
| Favorable | 54 | 72 | 79 | 83 | 59 | 73 | 49 | 63 | 5 | 68 |
| Unfavorable | 21 | 15 | 11 | 5 | 25 | 12 | 31 | 12 | 80 | 18 |
| Never Heard of | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Can't Rate/Refused | <u>25</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>20</u> | <u>25</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>14</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| b. The United Nations | | | | | | | | | | |
| Favorable | 66 | 49 | 74 | 79 | 80 | 77 | 80 | 79 | 85 | 61 |
| Unfavorable | 25 | 40 | 16 | 14 | 17 | 13 | 14 | 11 | 0 | 34 |
| Never Heard of | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Can't Rate/Refused | <u>9</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>5</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| c. The European Union | | | | | | | | | | |
| Favorable | 70 | 70 | 80 | 83 | 70 | 86 | 65 | 77 | 75 | 59 |
| Unfavorable | 15 | 13 | 15 | 12 | 13 | 2 | 8 | 9 | 0 | 34 |
| Never Heard of | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Can't Rate/Refused | <u>15</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>25</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>25</u> | <u>7</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| d. The World Bank | | | | | | | | | | |
| Favorable | 54 | 60 | 73 | 78 | 61 | 73 | 51 | 59 | 15 | 59 |
| Unfavorable | 27 | 23 | 19 | 14 | 22 | 16 | 25 | 16 | 65 | 23 |
| Never Heard of | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Can't Rate/Refused | <u>19</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>22</u> | <u>24</u> | <u>20</u> | <u>18</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.10 CONTINUED ...

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| e. The International Monetary Fund | | | | | | | | | | |
| Favorable | 55 | 62 | 70 | 74 | 69 | 70 | 43 | 53 | 15 | 66 |
| Unfavorable | 25 | 23 | 18 | 16 | 12 | 15 | 24 | 14 | 60 | 20 |
| Never Heard of | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Can't Rate/Refused | <u>20</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>19</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>33</u> | <u>32</u> | <u>25</u> | <u>14</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| f. NATO | | | | | | | | | | |
| Favorable | 82 | 92 | 85 | 90 | 91 | 87 | 86 | 83 | 85 | 96 |
| Unfavorable | 11 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 11 | 10 | 0 |
| Never Heard of | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Can't Rate/Refused | <u>7</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

On another subject...

Q.11 It has been 10 years since the end of the Cold War. In your opinion, is the world now more dangerous, less dangerous, or about the same compared to ten years ago?

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| More dangerous | 13 | 25 | 25 | 28 | 14 | 14 | 12 | 10 | 20 | 32 |
| Less dangerous | 67 | 45 | 60 | 47 | 58 | 57 | 49 | 67 | 50 | 36 |
| About the same | 17 | 30 | 11 | 22 | 23 | 26 | 35 | 21 | 20 | 27 |
| Don't Know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>5</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.12 In your opinion, what country in the world, if any, represents the greatest danger to the United States? (OPEN-END)

| | <u>News Media</u> | | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | | <u>Security</u> | | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> | | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | | <u>Labor Union</u> | | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----|--------------------------|-----|------------------------|-----|-----------------|-----|---------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|-----|------------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|--------------------------|--|
| | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '01 | '01 | | |
| China | 9 | 45 | 9 | 30 | 10 | 33 | 21 | 24 | 12 | 39 | 17 | 46 | 9 | 41 | 12 | 40 | 30 | 39 | | |
| Iraq | 15 | 23 | 12 | 23 | 9 | 15 | 3 | 17 | 17 | 20 | 10 | 15 | 15 | 10 | 11 | 14 | 15 | 9 | | |
| Russia and former Soviet Union | 8 | 8 | 18 | 4 | 13 | 16 | 22 | 21 | 10 | 3 | 13 | 11 | * | 4 | 7 | 6 | 10 | 14 | | |
| Other Middle East | 4 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 9 | * | 2 | 5 | 17 | 7 | 3 | 9 | 10 | 2 | 11 | 10 | 7 | | |
| Iran | 13 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 25 | 7 | 15 | 0 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 1 | 13 | 8 | 19 | 9 | 10 | 4 | | |
| United States | 8 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 2 | | |
| North Korea | 4 | 3 | 1 | 6 | * | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 1 | * | 8 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 4 | | |
| Japan | 9 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Other | 4 | 4 | 8 | 13 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 12 | * | 6 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 20 | 7 | | |
| No one country | 8 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 13 | 3 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 5 | 17 | 2 | 9 | 0 | 11 | 1 | 5 | 2 | | |
| None | 19 | 3 | 14 | 4 | 14 | 2 | 19 | 3 | 13 | 2 | 10 | 2 | 13 | 4 | 19 | 2 | 0 | 4 | | |
| Don't Know/Refused | 1 | 12 | 6 | 11 | * | 14 | * | 34 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 13 | 13 | 14 | 1 | 15 | 10 | 7 | | |

Q.13 I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns for the U.S. Do you think that **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE)** is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to the well being of the United States? What about **(INSERT ITEM)**?

| | News Media '01 | Business/ Finance '01 | Foreign Affairs '01 | Security '01 | State/ Local Govt. '01 | Think Tanks/ Academics '01 | Religious Leaders '01 | Scientists/ Engineers '01 | Labor Union '01 | Hill Policy Staff '01 |
|---|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. China's emergence as a world power | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 45 | 41 | 38 | 38 | 45 | 42 | 39 | 37 | 65 | 39 |
| Minor threat | 37 | 36 | 35 | 52 | 39 | 37 | 43 | 39 | 20 | 48 |
| Not a threat | 15 | 21 | 20 | 8 | 16 | 14 | 14 | 21 | 15 | 9 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| b. Political and economic instability in Russia | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 47 | 43 | 63 | 64 | 50 | 52 | 31 | 55 | 50 | 55 |
| Minor threat | 49 | 51 | 32 | 33 | 45 | 43 | 63 | 41 | 45 | 43 |
| Not a threat | 4 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 0 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| c. The possibility of international financial instability | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 48 | 60 | 65 | 71 | 56 | 68 | 57 | 44 | 50 | 43 |
| Minor threat | 46 | 38 | 29 | 29 | 39 | 29 | 33 | 45 | 50 | 53 |
| Not a threat | 3 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 2 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| d. Ethnic conflict in the Balkans | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 17 | 11 | 17 | 21 | 19 | 18 | 25 | 14 | 25 | 32 |
| Minor threat | 63 | 72 | 71 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 59 | 74 | 70 | 66 |
| Not a threat | 17 | 15 | 10 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 16 | 10 | 0 | 2 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.13 CONTINUED ...

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| e. Saddam Hussein's continued rule in Iraq | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 37 | 30 | 20 | 40 | 38 | 25 | 31 | 24 | 20 | 39 |
| Minor threat | 58 | 66 | 69 | 58 | 56 | 63 | 61 | 64 | 70 | 55 |
| Not a threat | 5 | 4 | 11 | 2 | 6 | 11 | 6 | 11 | 10 | 4 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| f. Fidel Castro's continued rule in Cuba | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| Minor threat | 44 | 53 | 36 | 45 | 52 | 32 | 49 | 31 | 55 | 50 |
| Not a threat | 53 | 47 | 63 | 55 | 48 | 68 | 47 | 66 | 45 | 46 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| g. Sectional or tribal warfare in Africa | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 8 | 4 | 10 | 5 | 14 | 8 | 27 | 11 | 25 | 7 |
| Minor threat | 64 | 64 | 61 | 72 | 65 | 61 | 53 | 57 | 60 | 71 |
| Not a threat | 27 | 32 | 28 | 21 | 19 | 28 | 20 | 30 | 15 | 20 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| h. The spread of weapons of mass destruction | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 76 | 79 | 80 | 86 | 78 | 79 | 76 | 75 | 70 | 86 |
| Minor threat | 23 | 21 | 18 | 14 | 17 | 19 | 20 | 23 | 25 | 14 |
| Not a threat | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.13 CONTINUED ...

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| International drug cartels | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 33 | 36 | 46 | 42 | 50 | 32 | 59 | 44 | 45 | 46 |
| Minor threat | 57 | 53 | 47 | 55 | 44 | 61 | 39 | 48 | 55 | 52 |
| Not a threat | 7 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 2 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Possible military conflict between China and Taiwan | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 37 | 38 | 43 | 60 | 39 | 47 | 47 | 39 | 45 | 46 |
| Minor threat | 55 | 58 | 48 | 35 | 56 | 49 | 47 | 47 | 55 | 52 |
| Not a threat | 7 | 4 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 13 | 0 | 2 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| International terrorism | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 71 | 79 | 52 | 53 | 78 | 53 | 59 | 64 | 70 | 82 |
| Minor threat | 28 | 17 | 44 | 43 | 20 | 44 | 39 | 36 | 25 | 18 |
| Not a threat | 0 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Global environmental problems | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 58 | 47 | 69 | 57 | 51 | 65 | 55 | 68 | 60 | 37 |
| Minor threat | 37 | 47 | 27 | 38 | 44 | 25 | 31 | 27 | 40 | 59 |
| Not a threat | 5 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 12 | 5 | 0 | 2 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.13 CONTINUED ...

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| m. The rapid spread of infectious diseases from country to country | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 45 | 58 | 64 | 52 | 56 | 53 | 59 | 60 | 60 | 57 |
| Minor threat | 47 | 40 | 33 | 45 | 42 | 45 | 39 | 37 | 40 | 41 |
| Not a threat | 5 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| n. The potential for countries such as North Korea, Iraq and Iran to launch missile attacks against the United States | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 31 | 32 | 25 | 24 | 39 | 28 | 37 | 22 | 45 | 41 |
| Minor threat | 60 | 60 | 65 | 64 | 51 | 58 | 53 | 61 | 50 | 55 |
| Not a threat | 9 | 8 | 8 | 12 | 5 | 12 | 8 | 15 | 0 | 2 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| o. Possible military conflict between India and Pakistan | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 41 | 19 | 24 | 36 | 33 | 37 | 23 | 22 | 30 | 36 |
| Minor threat | 47 | 64 | 70 | 55 | 56 | 55 | 63 | 73 | 55 | 59 |
| Not a threat | 8 | 17 | 4 | 7 | 9 | 2 | 10 | 5 | 10 | 2 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.13 CONTINUED ...

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| p. The rising power of fundamentalist Islamic political movements across the Middle East and Central Asia | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 47 | 62 | 41 | 42 | 56 | 40 | 63 | 69 | 55 | 64 |
| Minor threat | 45 | 38 | 54 | 48 | 33 | 52 | 35 | 25 | 40 | 34 |
| Not a threat | 1 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>7</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| q. The possibility that Japan may not recover economically | | | | | | | | | | |
| Major threat | 29 | 49 | 40 | 45 | 45 | 37 | 41 | 30 | 30 | 27 |
| Minor threat | 60 | 36 | 42 | 46 | 39 | 48 | 39 | 56 | 65 | 61 |
| Not a threat | 7 | 15 | 12 | 7 | 16 | 11 | 18 | 14 | 5 | 11 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.14 These days, do you think there is more of a danger of an attack with a weapon of mass destruction by a military power or by a terrorist group?

IF RESPONDENT SAID "MILITARY POWER" (Q.14=1), ASK:

Q.15 What kind of military power is the greater threat: A rogue nation or a major nation?

IF RESPONDENT SAID "TERRORIST GROUP" (Q.14=2), ASK:

Q.16 What kind of terrorist group is the greater threat: A domestic terrorist group or a foreign terrorist group?

| | News <u>Media</u> | Business/ <u>Finance</u> | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> | Religious <u>Leaders</u> | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> | Labor <u>Union</u> | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> |
|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Military power | 13 | 4 | 18 | 14 | 6 | 15 | 8 | 15 | 15 | 11 |
| Rogue nation | 9 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 9 | 2 | 5 | 10 | 7 |
| Major nation | 3 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 4 |
| Don't know/Refused | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Terrorist group | 75 | 90 | 75 | 78 | 89 | 79 | 84 | 78 | 75 | 84 |
| Domestic terrorist group | 1 | 7 | 7 | 21 | 6 | 11 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 9 |
| Foreign terrorist group | 68 | 77 | 65 | 52 | 77 | 58 | 76 | 70 | 70 | 71 |
| Don't know/Refused | 6 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 10 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 4 |
| Attack not likely (VOL) | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>9</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.17 Do you think the United States plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to ten years ago, a less important role, or about as important a role as a world leader as it did ten years ago?

| | <u>News Media</u> | | | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | | | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | | | <u>Security</u> | | | <u>State/Local Government</u> | | | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | | | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | | | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | | | <u>Labor Union</u> | | | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> | |
|--------------------|-------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|
| | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | |
| More important | 29 | 49 | 29 | 18 | 31 | 36 | 26 | 48 | 35 | 14 | 46 | 43 | 36 | 49 | 47 | 26 | 48 | 41 | 24 | 44 | 45 | 21 | 54 | 19 | 50 | 60 | 49 | 52 | |
| Less important | 46 | 14 | 23 | 49 | 20 | 17 | 41 | 17 | 25 | 54 | 19 | 14 | 26 | 11 | 6 | 33 | 14 | 20 | 38 | 14 | 14 | 33 | 13 | 18 | 8 | 10 | 11 | 11 | |
| As important | 25 | 37 | 47 | 33 | 49 | 47 | 32 | 35 | 40 | 32 | 35 | 41 | 38 | 40 | 47 | 40 | 37 | 39 | 38 | 42 | 41 | 46 | 32 | 63 | 42 | 30 | 40 | 36 | |
| Don't know/Refused | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.18 What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it be the SINGLE world leader, or should it play a SHARED leadership role, or shouldn't it play any leadership role?

IF ANSWERED 2 "SHARED LEADERSHIP ROLE," ASK:

Q.19 Should the United States be the most assertive of the leading nations, or should it be no more or less assertive than other leading nations?

| | <u>News Media</u> | | | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | | | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | | | <u>Security</u> | | | <u>State/Local Government</u> | | | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | | | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | | | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | | | <u>Labor Union</u> | | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|
| | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 |
| Single leader | 9 | 15 | 12 | 12 | 28 | 13 | 7 | 15 | 9 | 17 | 17 | 12 | 1 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 8 | 12 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 43 | 25 |
| Shared leadership | 87 | 80 | 83 | 87 | 69 | 83 | 92 | 84 | 91 | 83 | 81 | 81 | 99 | 83 | 87 | 93 | 90 | 93 | 96 | 89 | 86 | 91 | 90 | 90 | 96 | 95 | 57 | 70 |
| Most assertive | 62 | 52 | 54 | 62 | 46 | 58 | 68 | 54 | 55 | 58 | 60 | 60 | 77 | 48 | 61 | 60 | 52 | 59 | 53 | 36 | 39 | 48 | 48 | 33 | 63 | 70 | 38 | 50 |
| No more or less assertive | 22 | 21 | 20 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 16 | 24 | 22 | 17 | 18 | 14 | 17 | 27 | 20 | 25 | 31 | 25 | 38 | 42 | 41 | 40 | 35 | 54 | 33 | 25 | 19 | 14 |
| Don't know/Refused | 4 | 7 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 14 | 8 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 4 | 11 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| No leadership | 3 | 1 | 0 | -- | 3 | 0 | -- | 1 | 0 | -- | 0 | 0 | -- | 0 | 0 | -- | 0 | 0 | -- | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>1</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>7</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | -- | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | -- | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>5</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.20 All in all, how should the U.S. determine its foreign policy? Should it be based predominantly on its own estimates of the American national interest, or should it be developed taking into full account the interests and views of its traditional allies?

| | <u>News Media</u> | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>State/Local Govt.</u> | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | <u>Labor Union</u> | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Own estimates of national interest | 21 | 17 | 7 | 12 | 17 | 13 | 16 | 17 | 15 | 36 |
| Interests and views of allies | 58 | 70 | 70 | 60 | 72 | 62 | 74 | 63 | 75 | 46 |
| Both (VOL) | 12 | 11 | 18 | 23 | 11 | 23 | 6 | 16 | 10 | 16 |
| Neither (VOL) | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Don't Know/Refused | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.21 As I read a list of possible LONG-RANGE foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me how much priority you think each should be given. First, **(READ AND ROTATE)**, do you think this should have top priority, some priority, or no priority at all:⁵

| | <u>News Media</u> | | | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | | | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | | | <u>Security</u> | | | <u>State/Local Government</u> | | | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | | | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | | | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | | | <u>Labor Union</u> | | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> | | |
|----|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|-----|----------|----------------------------|-----|----------|-----------------|-----|----------|-----------------------------------|-----|----------|-----------------------------------|-----|----------|------------------------------|-----|----------|----------------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|------------------------------|----------|----------|
| | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| a. | Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Top Priority | 86 | 85 | 82 | 80 | 86 | 89 | 90 | 88 | 83 | 78 | 93 | 90 | 86 | 75 | 91 | 86 | 85 | 87 | 83 | 83 | 86 | 85 | 89 | 79 | 96 | 75 | 92 | 96 |
| | Some Priority | 13 | 15 | 17 | 19 | 14 | 11 | 10 | 12 | 17 | 22 | 7 | 8 | 14 | 24 | 9 | 14 | 14 | 13 | 11 | 17 | 10 | 14 | 11 | 20 | 4 | 25 | 8 | 4 |
| | Not a Priority | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | -- | 0 | 0 | -- | 0 | 0 | -- | 1 | 0 | -- | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Don't know | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| b. | Dealing with global warming ⁶ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Top Priority | 34 | 41 | 49 | 22 | 26 | 30 | 42 | 49 | 56 | 25 | 32 | 50 | 45 | 65 | 50 | 42 | 55 | 53 | 45 | 55 | 37 | 63 | 65 | 57 | 71 | 55 | 22 | 23 |
| | Some Priority | 60 | 56 | 44 | 68 | 57 | 66 | 55 | 44 | 41 | 68 | 63 | 43 | 52 | 31 | 45 | 54 | 41 | 42 | 55 | 42 | 51 | 34 | 31 | 40 | 29 | 45 | 73 | 70 |
| | Not a Priority | 6 | 3 | 5 | 10 | 17 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 4 | -- | 3 | 10 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 7 |
| | Don't know | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| c. | Helping improve the living standards in developing nations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Top Priority | 15 | 23 | 35 | 9 | 14 | 30 | 25 | 31 | 48 | 13 | 12 | 28 | 19 | 27 | 36 | 24 | 37 | 40 | 43 | 72 | 53 | 26 | 34 | 38 | 46 | 45 | 13 | 27 |
| | Some Priority | 74 | 71 | 61 | 75 | 72 | 70 | 66 | 62 | 50 | 77 | 76 | 66 | 72 | 69 | 61 | 75 | 60 | 55 | 55 | 25 | 45 | 66 | 63 | 61 | 54 | 55 | 84 | 73 |
| | Not a Priority | 11 | 4 | 3 | 16 | 14 | 0 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 10 | 12 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| | Don't know | -- | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | -- | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | -- | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

⁵ In 1993 answer categories were "top priority, priority but not top priority, or no priority at all."

⁶ In 1993 and 1997 the item was "Improving the global environment."

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

| | <u>News Media</u> | | | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | | | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | | | <u>Security</u> | | | <u>State/Local Government</u> | | | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | | | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | | | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | | | <u>Labor Union</u> | | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> | |
|----------------|---|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|
| | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 |
| | d. Insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 56 | 62 | 67 | 70 | 77 | 89 | 60 | 57 | 48 | 35 | 60 | 67 | 71 | 75 | 75 | 50 | 50 | 56 | 58 | 61 | 61 | 54 | 58 | 69 | 75 | 60 | 57 | 71 |
| Some Priority | 35 | 34 | 29 | 22 | 20 | 11 | 36 | 35 | 45 | 55 | 37 | 26 | 26 | 24 | 22 | 45 | 47 | 40 | 36 | 39 | 37 | 41 | 40 | 28 | 25 | 40 | 43 | 25 |
| Not a Priority | 8 | 4 | 0 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Don't know | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| e. Promoting democracy in other nations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 20 | 25 | 50 | 13 | 17 | 30 | 28 | 32 | 44 | 26 | 16 | 29 | 29 | 31 | 44 | 17 | 22 | 37 | 15 | 25 | 35 | 20 | 18 | 27 | 46 | 50 | 46 | 50 |
| Some Priority | 64 | 70 | 43 | 67 | 66 | 66 | 62 | 56 | 54 | 68 | 79 | 66 | 64 | 64 | 53 | 68 | 69 | 57 | 66 | 75 | 61 | 63 | 72 | 66 | 54 | 45 | 54 | 48 |
| Not a Priority | 15 | 5 | 4 | 20 | 17 | 4 | 10 | 9 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 15 | 9 | 6 | 19 | 0 | 4 | 15 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 |
| Don't know | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

| | <u>News Media</u> | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | <u>Labor Union</u> | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> |
|----------------|--|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| | f. Promoting U.S. business and economic interests abroad | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 32 | 72 | 33 | 36 | 50 | 39 | 35 | 28 | 5 | 50 |
| Some Priority | 58 | 26 | 63 | 60 | 48 | 58 | 59 | 66 | 85 | 48 |
| Not a Priority | 7 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 10 | 2 |
| Don't know | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

| | <u>News Media</u> | | | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | | | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | | | <u>Security</u> | | | <u>State/Local Government</u> | | | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | | | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | | | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | | | <u>Labor Union</u> | | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> | |
|--|-------------------|----------|----------|------------------------------|----------|----------|----------------------------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------|----------|-----------------------------------|----------|----------|-----------------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------------|----------|----------|----------------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|------------------------------|----------|
| | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| g. Protecting the jobs of American workers | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 34 | 31 | 37 | 32 | 40 | 26 | 19 | 16 | 17 | 21 | 12 | 19 | 61 | 68 | 39 | 26 | 23 | 20 | 55 | 39 | 35 | 32 | 25 | 35 | 83 | 90 | 30 | 48 |
| Some Priority | 52 | 58 | 50 | 54 | 37 | 57 | 65 | 65 | 70 | 54 | 63 | 67 | 33 | 27 | 56 | 65 | 67 | 69 | 43 | 56 | 61 | 62 | 64 | 56 | 17 | 10 | 59 | 50 |
| Not a Priority | 11 | 8 | 9 | 13 | 23 | 13 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 22 | 23 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 9 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 9 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 2 |
| Don't know | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| h. Strengthening the United Nations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 29 | 21 | 17 | 25 | 9 | 19 | 45 | 32 | 37 | 32 | 14 | 35 | 35 | 24 | 37 | 28 | 17 | 22 | 46 | 30 | 41 | 43 | 29 | 34 | 33 | 30 | 13 | 11 |
| Some Priority | 53 | 60 | 59 | 61 | 57 | 53 | 48 | 55 | 53 | 53 | 70 | 52 | 52 | 53 | 52 | 63 | 65 | 67 | 43 | 53 | 49 | 50 | 58 | 50 | 67 | 60 | 62 | 64 |
| Not a Priority | 18 | 19 | 23 | 14 | 34 | 28 | 7 | 12 | 10 | 15 | 16 | 10 | 12 | 23 | 11 | 9 | 18 | 9 | 9 | 17 | 10 | 7 | 12 | 13 | 0 | 10 | 22 | 25 |
| Don't know | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| i. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 32 | 36 | 36 | 9 | 9 | 19 | 22 | 28 | 43 | 21 | 14 | 24 | 20 | 28 | 30 | 22 | 23 | 39 | 56 | 75 | 71 | 29 | 21 | 32 | 54 | 55 | 30 | 45 |
| Some Priority | 63 | 63 | 60 | 59 | 77 | 81 | 71 | 65 | 53 | 69 | 79 | 67 | 79 | 67 | 70 | 75 | 77 | 59 | 38 | 25 | 25 | 61 | 74 | 63 | 46 | 45 | 67 | 55 |
| Not a Priority | 5 | 1 | 1 | 32 | 14 | 0 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 10 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Don't know | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Reducing U.S. military commitments overseas | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 4 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 20 | 8 | 18 | 15 | 0 | 2 |
| Some Priority | 68 | 79 | 55 | 40 | 58 | 59 | 57 | 48 | 70 | 52 |
| Not a Priority | 24 | 15 | 34 | 51 | 22 | 32 | 25 | 36 | 30 | 46 |
| Don't know | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

| | News <u>Media</u> '97 '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '97 '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '97 '01 | <u>Security</u> '97 '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '97 '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '97 '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '97 '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '97 '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '97 '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '97 '01 |
|--|---------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|--|--|--|----------------------------------|---|
| Combating international drug trafficking | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 45 40 | 74 34 | 36 35 | 42 39 | 73 55 | 36 26 | 75 63 | 37 37 | 79 50 | 57 32 |
| Some Priority | 49 54 | 23 60 | 52 59 | 53 57 | 25 40 | 59 67 | 22 37 | 55 54 | 21 45 | 43 68 |
| Not a Priority | 6 3 | 3 6 | 12 6 | 5 2 | 2 5 | 5 6 | 3 0 | 8 8 | 0 5 | 0 0 |
| Don't know | <u>0</u> <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> <u>0</u> |
| | 100 100 | 100 100 | 100 100 | 100 100 | 100 100 | 100 100 | 100 100 | 100 100 | 100 100 | 100 100 |

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Reducing the spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 56 | 60 | 58 | 55 | 69 | 62 | 71 | 63 | 70 | 57 |
| Some Priority | 41 | 40 | 42 | 41 | 31 | 38 | 29 | 37 | 30 | 43 |
| Not a Priority | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Don't know | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

| | <u>News Media</u> '01 | <u>Business/ Finance</u> '01 | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '01 | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '01 | <u>Religious Leaders</u> '01 | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '01 | <u>Labor Union</u> '01 | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '01 |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| m. Getting other countries to assume more of the costs of maintaining world order | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 28 | 36 | 27 | 26 | 56 | 20 | 33 | 32 | 35 | 36 |
| Some Priority | 58 | 58 | 62 | 60 | 39 | 74 | 63 | 62 | 55 | 62 |
| Not a Priority | 11 | 6 | 11 | 12 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 10 | 2 |
| Don't know | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| n. Dealing with the problem of world hunger | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 49 | 45 | 49 | 26 | 48 | 55 | 78 | 51 | 65 | 32 |
| Some Priority | 47 | 55 | 46 | 69 | 47 | 44 | 28 | 48 | 35 | 66 |
| Not a Priority | 1 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Don't know | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| o. Protecting groups or nations that are threatened with genocide | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 45 | 45 | 49 | 46 | 53 | 40 | 74 | 40 | 55 | 46 |
| Some Priority | 52 | 49 | 51 | 50 | 42 | 59 | 26 | 53 | 35 | 54 |
| Not a Priority | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Don't know | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.21 CONTINUED ...

| | <u>News Media</u> | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | <u>Labor Union</u> | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| p. Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top Priority | 77 | 92 | 62 | 72 | 86 | 63 | 69 | 65 | 70 | 82 |
| Some Priority | 20 | 4 | 36 | 26 | 14 | 37 | 31 | 32 | 25 | 18 |
| Not a Priority | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| Don't know | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Now a few questions about our defense policies:

Q.22 Would you approve or disapprove of the use of U.S. military forces in the following situations: **(READ; ROTATE)**

| | <u>News Media</u> | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | <u>Labor Union</u> | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| a. If an ethnic group in Africa were threatened by genocide | | | | | | | | | | |
| Approve | 59 | 60 | 66 | 67 | 60 | 62 | 76 | 60 | 85 | 52 |
| Disapprove | 32 | 38 | 23 | 29 | 31 | 27 | 16 | 37 | 15 | 37 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>9</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>11</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

| | <u>News Media</u> | | | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | | | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | | | <u>Security</u> | | | <u>State/Local Government</u> | | | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | | | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | | | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | | | <u>Labor Union</u> | | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|----------|-----------|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|-----------|------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|
| | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | | |
| b. If Arab forces invaded Israel | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Approve | 67 | 77 | 73 | 63 | 80 | 81 | 76 | 70 | 68 | 66 | 67 | 74 | 69 | 76 | 81 | 70 | 82 | 71 | 53 | 61 | 63 | 55 | 69 | 62 | 75 | 95 | 78 | 80 |
| Disapprove | 27 | 19 | 16 | 34 | 17 | 19 | 20 | 23 | 26 | 25 | 31 | 19 | 22 | 20 | 13 | 26 | 17 | 23 | 38 | 33 | 25 | 42 | 27 | 35 | 25 | 5 | 19 | 16 |
| Don't know | <u>6</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.22 CONTINUED ...

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| c. If China attacked Taiwan | | | | | | | | | | |
| Approve | 66 | 60 | 51 | 72 | 50 | 62 | 51 | 47 | 40 | 80 |
| Disapprove | 27 | 38 | 39 | 21 | 36 | 26 | 37 | 39 | 45 | 18 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>7</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| d. If drug traffickers took power in Colombia | | | | | | | | | | |
| Approve | 29 | 43 | 26 | 34 | 44 | 20 | 45 | 27 | 25 | 23 |
| Disapprove | 58 | 57 | 70 | 59 | 52 | 69 | 45 | 70 | 70 | 70 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>13</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>7</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.23 Do you favor or oppose continuing to have U.S. troops deployed in Kosovo and Bosnia as part of a NATO peacekeeping force?

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Favor | 85 | 79 | 85 | 93 | 72 | 89 | 84 | 78 | 95 | 82 |
| Oppose | 12 | 19 | 9 | 7 | 25 | 8 | 16 | 19 | 5 | 14 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.24 Do you think the U.S. should put into effect a national missile defense system, or don't you think so?

IF YES "1" IN Q. 24 ASK:

Q.25 Do we have a pressing need for this system right now or is this something we should put off into the future?

| | <u>News Media</u> | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | <u>Labor Union</u> | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> |
|--|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Yes, U.S. should put into effect a national missile defense system | 29 | 60 | 25 | 40 | 38 | 26 | 39 | 30 | 25 | 61 |
| Need the system right now | 15 | 36 | 8 | 17 | 27 | 14 | 31 | 15 | 10 | 36 |
| Should put it off into the future | 13 | 19 | 14 | 21 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 11 | 15 | 25 |
| Don't Know/Refused | 1 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| No, U.S. should not | 63 | 34 | 64 | 55 | 53 | 65 | 49 | 65 | 60 | 32 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>8</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>7</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Now, some questions about different regions of the world...

Q.26 The United States has had strong political, economic and military ties with the nations of Europe, on the one hand, and with Japan and the Pacific Rim nations of Asia, on the other hand. Which area do you think is most important to the United States:⁷

| | <u>News Media</u> | | | <u>Business/ Finance</u> | | | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> | | | <u>Security</u> | | | <u>State/Local Government</u> | | | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> | | | <u>Religious Leaders</u> | | | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> | | | <u>Labor Union</u> | | | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------|----------|----------|--------------------------|--|--|
| | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '93 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | | |
| Europe | 34 | 30 | 44 | 26 | 34 | 45 | 33 | 35 | 44 | 45 | 42 | 47 | 30 | 36 | 33 | 33 | 38 | 30 | 38 | 31 | 37 | 33 | 23 | 39 | 63 | 70 | 24 | 30 | | |
| Pacific Rim | 39 | 42 | 19 | 51 | 57 | 32 | 35 | 27 | 20 | 28 | 30 | 15 | 47 | 49 | 36 | 43 | 44 | 29 | 50 | 53 | 26 | 27 | 41 | 16 | 29 | 10 | 52 | 45 | | |
| Equally important (VOL) | 24 | 26 | 32 | 19 | 9 | 23 | 26 | 35 | 32 | 24 | 25 | 36 | 19 | 15 | 28 | 19 | 14 | 33 | 6 | 11 | 33 | 31 | 30 | 42 | 8 | 20 | 24 | 23 | | |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | | |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |

7

In 1993 question was "The United States has had strong political, economic and military ties with friendly nations of Europe, on the one hand, and with Japan and the Pacific Rim nations of Asia, on the other hand. Which area do you think is most important to the United States."

Q.27 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

| | News | | Business/ | | Foreign | | State/ | | Think | | Religious | | Scientists/ | | Labor | | Hill | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|----------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|--------------|----------|------------------|----------|----------------|----------|------------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|----|----------|
| | <u>Media</u> | | <u>Finance</u> | | <u>Affairs</u> | | <u>Govt.</u> | | <u>Academics</u> | | <u>Leaders</u> | | <u>Engineers</u> | | <u>Union</u> | | <u>Staff</u> | | | |
| | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | '93 | '01 | | |
| Israel | 44 | 53 | 56 | 49 | 38 | 35 | 51 | 38 | 62 | 56 | 40 | 32 | 26 | 20 | 48 | 37 | -- | 50 | -- | 62 |
| Palestinians | 18 | 9 | 10 | 13 | 32 | 20 | 17 | 24 | 12 | 2 | 21 | 18 | 42 | 39 | 19 | 22 | -- | 20 | -- | 14 |
| Both (VOL) | 16 | 15 | 21 | 23 | 25 | 21 | 14 | 22 | 7 | 14 | 30 | 20 | 21 | 23 | 20 | 17 | -- | 15 | -- | 11 |
| Neither (VOL) | 13 | 15 | 9 | 13 | 4 | 17 | 14 | 9 | 12 | 19 | 9 | 28 | 9 | 12 | 11 | 21 | -- | 10 | -- | 11 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>9</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>*</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | -- | <u>5</u> | -- | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | 100 | | 100 |

Q.28 Is European economic and political integration a good thing for the U.S., a bad thing for the U.S., or doesn't it matter for the U.S.?

| | News | | Business/ | | Foreign | | State/ | | Think | | Religious | | Scientists/ | | Labor | | Hill | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|----------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|--------------|----------|------------------|----------|----------------|----------|------------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|-----------|----------|----------|
| | <u>Media</u> | | <u>Finance</u> | | <u>Affairs</u> | | <u>Govt.</u> | | <u>Academics</u> | | <u>Leaders</u> | | <u>Engineers</u> | | <u>Union</u> | | <u>Staff</u> | | | |
| | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | | |
| Good thing | 67 | 65 | 60 | 70 | 87 | 84 | 79 | 86 | 75 | 75 | 78 | 71 | 69 | 55 | 70 | 81 | 75 | 60 | 76 | 57 |
| Bad thing | 6 | 3 | 6 | 9 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 20 | 8 | 0 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 16 | 25 |
| Doesn't matter | 26 | 24 | 34 | 17 | 13 | 10 | 16 | 5 | 12 | 14 | 17 | 17 | 8 | 31 | 25 | 12 | 9 | 25 | 3 | 16 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>1</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.29 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today... Do you think China is **(READ)**:

| | News <u>Media</u> | | Business/ <u>Finance</u> | | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> | | Security | | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> | | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> | | Religious <u>Leaders</u> | | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> | | Labor <u>Union</u> | | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> | |
|--|----------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|---------------------------|----------|----------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|--------------------------------|----------|
| | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 |
| An adversary | 19 | 8 | 17 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 14 | 7 | 16 | 11 | 7 | 10 | 6 | 10 | 7 | 11 | 21 | 30 | 16 | 25 |
| A serious problem, but not an adversary | 67 | 80 | 54 | 66 | 67 | 66 | 70 | 74 | 72 | 77 | 82 | 73 | 89 | 78 | 66 | 67 | 67 | 65 | 73 | 66 |
| OR, | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not much of a problem | 11 | 11 | 29 | 23 | 20 | 24 | 16 | 19 | 11 | 12 | 10 | 17 | 5 | 12 | 23 | 21 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 9 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.30 All in all, in deciding U.S. policy about China, what's more important.. **(READ AND ROTATE)**

| | News <u>Media</u> | Business/ <u>Finance</u> | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> | Security | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> | Religious <u>Leaders</u> | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> | Labor <u>Union</u> | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> |
|--|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Maintaining a good and friendly relationship between the U.S. and China | 43 | 73 | 49 | 55 | 53 | 42 | 45 | 63 | 15 | 32 |
| OR | | | | | | | | | | |
| The U.S. promoting democracy and human rights in China | 43 | 21 | 26 | 21 | 31 | 27 | 39 | 20 | 70 | 57 |
| (DO NOT READ) Both are equally important | 10 | 4 | 19 | 19 | 16 | 22 | 14 | 15 | 10 | 4 |
| (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused | <u>4</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>7</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Now, a few questions on trade:

Q.31 Please tell me if you favor or oppose giving the president trade negotiating authority to reach international trade agreements that Congress can only approve or disapprove, but not change?

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | Security <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Favor | 67 | 85 | 78 | 83 | 64 | 74 | 67 | 57 | 10 | 80 |
| Oppose | 25 | 15 | 20 | 15 | 30 | 23 | 29 | 28 | 90 | 20 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>8</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.32 Do you favor or oppose expanding NAFTA to include other countries within the Western Hemisphere?

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | Security <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Favor | 79 | 94 | 91 | 85 | 72 | 85 | 80 | 75 | 5 | 80 |
| Oppose | 12 | 6 | 7 | 12 | 23 | 10 | 18 | 10 | 90 | 16 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>9</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.33 So far, do you think that NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?

| | News | | Business/ | | Foreign | | State/ | | Think | | Religious | | Scientists/ | | Labor | | Hill | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|----------|-----------|
| | <u>Media</u> | <u>Finance</u> | <u>Finance</u> | <u>Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>Govt.</u> | <u>Local</u> | <u>Academics</u> | <u>Leaders</u> | <u>Engineers</u> | <u>Union</u> | <u>Staff</u> | | |
| | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | '97 | '01 | | |
| Good thing | 81 | 80 | 91 | 94 | 91 | 89 | 95 | 91 | 76 | 73 | 88 | 92 | 78 | 82 | 75 | 76 | 29 | 0 | 92 | 70 |
| Bad thing | 11 | 5 | 9 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 20 | 11 | 5 | 3 | 17 | 6 | 13 | 3 | 71 | 90 | 8 | 16 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>8</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>21</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>14</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.34 In deciding U.S. policies about trading with other countries, how much priority should be given to each of the following. First, (INSERT ITEM; ROTATE). Do you think this should have top priority, some priority or no priority at all?

| | | News | | Business/ | | Foreign | | State/ | | Think | | Religious | | Scientists/ | | Labor | | Hill | |
|----|--|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | <u>Media</u> | <u>Finance</u> | <u>Finance</u> | <u>Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | <u>Govt.</u> | <u>Local</u> | <u>Academics</u> | <u>Leaders</u> | <u>Engineers</u> | <u>Union</u> | <u>Staff</u> |
| | | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| a. | Protecting the jobs of American workers | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Top priority | 28 | 23 | 11 | 17 | 48 | 19 | 49 | 28 | 95 | 39 | | | | | | | | |
| | Some priority | 62 | 49 | 77 | 74 | 45 | 68 | 51 | 64 | 5 | 57 | | | | | | | | |
| | No priority | 5 | 28 | 11 | 7 | 5 | 11 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>5</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | | | | | | | | |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| b. | Promoting and defending human and worker rights in other countries | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Top priority | 28 | 8 | 26 | 19 | 20 | 15 | 41 | 22 | 75 | 30 | | | | | | | | |
| | Some priority | 64 | 75 | 65 | 79 | 74 | 79 | 55 | 73 | 25 | 61 | | | | | | | | |
| | No priority | 5 | 17 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 9 | | | | | | | | |
| | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | | | | | | | | |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |

Q.34 CONTINUED ...

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| c. Protecting the global environment | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top priority | 43 | 28 | 52 | 41 | 48 | 55 | 55 | 54 | 60 | 30 |
| Some priority | 50 | 62 | 46 | 59 | 50 | 40 | 43 | 45 | 40 | 59 |
| No priority | 4 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 11 |
| Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>3</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| d. Keeping the American economy growing | | | | | | | | | | |
| Top priority | 82 | 79 | 73 | 79 | 80 | 66 | 55 | 57 | 85 | 93 |
| Some priority | 13 | 15 | 25 | 21 | 19 | 32 | 43 | 42 | 15 | 7 |
| No priority | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Now, a few final questions...

Q.35 We hear a lot about globalization these days. What does this mean to you? (RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY — DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.)

| | News <u>Media</u> '01 | Business/ <u>Finance</u> '01 | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> '01 | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> '01 | Religious <u>Leaders</u> '01 | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> '01 | Labor <u>Union</u> '01 | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> '01 |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Interdependence of people/events impact everyone/ borderless/shrinking world/global village | 31 | 28 | 27 | 28 | 31 | 44 | 35 | 22 | 15 | 18 |
| Free trade/free flow of goods and services/ International marketplace | 27 | 40 | 26 | 24 | 20 | 17 | 8 | 26 | 0 | 25 |
| Global economy/economic interdependency | 16 | 21 | 24 | 16 | 25 | 26 | 10 | 11 | 15 | 32 |
| Rapid travel/technology/communication/exchange of ideas | 4 | 2 | 19 | 17 | 19 | 19 | 12 | 4 | 0 | 14 |

Q.35 CONTINUED ...

| | <u>News Media</u> '01 | <u>Business/ Finance</u> '01 | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '01 | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '01 | <u>Religious Leaders</u> '01 | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '01 | <u>Labor Union</u> '01 | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '01 |
|--|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| Dominance of multinational companies/common business practices on world-wide basis/increased influence of business | 8 | 21 | 10 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 4 | 21 | 25 | 7 |
| Democratization/global government by consensus/decisions made in context of entire planet | 3 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 10 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 9 |
| Increasing interdependence economically and politically | 5 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Interconnection among politics, economics and culture | 3 | 2 | 10 | 9 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Increased economic prosperity/improved standard of living/more opportunity | 7 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 2 |
| All other mentions ⁸ | 17 | 8 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 19 | 31 | 21 | 40 | 20 |
| Don't Know/Refused/Not interested | 4 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| ECONOMIC/GLOBAL ECONOMY (NET) | 53 | 72 | 56 | 41 | 55 | 40 | 35 | 59 | 70 | 54 |
| SMALLER, FASTER WORLD (NET) | 40 | 36 | 54 | 60 | 56 | 69 | 53 | 27 | 15 | 34 |
| POLITICAL AND CULTURAL (NET) | 8 | 2 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 18 | 18 | 13 | 5 | 11 |

8

Comprised of categories which were mentioned by less than 3% of Influentials overall.

Q.36 All in all, would you say that globalization is a good thing or a bad thing for the U.S.?

| | News <u>Media</u> | Business/ <u>Finance</u> | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> | Security | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> | Religious <u>Leaders</u> | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> | Labor <u>Union</u> | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Good thing | 72 | 94 | 88 | 84 | 78 | 85 | 68 | 82 | 25 | 77 |
| Bad thing | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 14 | 4 | 40 | 7 |
| Both (VOL) | 7 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 12 | 8 | 15 | 7 |
| Neither (VOL) | 5 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 7 |
| Don't know/Refused | <u>11</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.37 Thinking about the globalization protestors, do you share many, some, few, or none of their concerns?

| | News <u>Media</u> | Business/ <u>Finance</u> | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> | Security | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> | Religious <u>Leaders</u> | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> | Labor <u>Union</u> | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Many | 7 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 55 | 4 |
| Some | 36 | 15 | 35 | 27 | 33 | 41 | 37 | 28 | 30 | 30 |
| Few | 33 | 43 | 38 | 45 | 30 | 35 | 22 | 34 | 10 | 32 |
| None | 20 | 40 | 18 | 26 | 26 | 19 | 25 | 28 | 5 | 32 |
| Don't Know/Refused | <u>4</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

IF RESPONDENT SHARES GLOBALIZATION PROTESTORS CONCERNS (Q.37=1, 2, OR 3), ASK:

Q.38 Which concerns do you share? (RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY — DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.)

| | <u>News Media</u> '01 | <u>Business/ Finance</u> '01 | <u>Foreign Affairs</u> '01 | <u>Security</u> '01 | <u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '01 | <u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '01 | <u>Religious Leaders</u> '01 | <u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '01 | <u>Labor Union</u> '01 | <u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '01 |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| Environmental issues (includes "energy" mentions) | 56 | 57 | 41 | 36 | 38 | 37 | 15 | 31 | 21 | 45 |
| Labor standards being lowered/Exploitation of workers in poor countries/ Workers' rights | 51 | 21 | 30 | 19 | 19 | 20 | 12 | 21 | 42 | 28 |
| Widening of gap between rich and poor/Leaving some behind/ Exploitation/Abuse of poor/weak by the wealthy/strong | 16 | 18 | 13 | 33 | 12 | 22 | 26 | 8 | 32 | 17 |
| Governance/Accountability/Fairness/Concentration of power | 7 | 11 | 9 | 21 | 7 | 19 | 12 | 5 | 16 | 14 |
| Human rights | 16 | 14 | 14 | 5 | 12 | 14 | 6 | 3 | 16 | 10 |
| Power of Big Business/ Corporate abuses/greed | 2 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 0 | 16 | 32 | 14 |
| Global economic issues/Role of the World Bank (includes "one currency") | 2 | 4 | 7 | 12 | 12 | 4 | 12 | 7 | 0 | 10 |
| Loss of American jobs | 7 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 10 | 4 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 7 |
| Loss of cultural/ethnic identity | 5 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 9 | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| Negative impact of U.S. economy/standard of living | 4 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| Loss of national identity/sovereignty/U.S. supremacy | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 9 | 3 | 0 | 7 |
| Trade issues/imbances/World Trade Organization | 2 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Other | 7 | 0 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 7 |

Q.38 CONTINUED...

| | News <u>Media</u> | Business/ <u>Finance</u> | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> | Religious <u>Leaders</u> | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> | Labor <u>Union</u> | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> |
|------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Nothing | 2 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Don't know/Refused | 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 10 | 5 | 0 |
| Number of Interviews: | (57) | (28) | (69) | (42) | (42) | (73) | (34) | (61) | (19) | (29) |

Q.39 In the future, how do you think the U.S. would be best protected... **(READ AND ROTATE)?**

| | News <u>Media</u> | Business/ <u>Finance</u> | Foreign <u>Affairs</u> | <u>Security</u> | State/ Local <u>Govt.</u> | Think Tanks/ <u>Academics</u> | Religious <u>Leaders</u> | Scientists/ <u>Engineers</u> | Labor <u>Union</u> | Hill Policy <u>Staff</u> |
|--|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 | '01 |
| Building a national missile defense system that would protect us from attack OR | 17 | 38 | 10 | 7 | 23 | 11 | 19 | 9 | 0 | 21 |
| Having treaties that would limit the arms race and help control the spread of nuclear weapons | 60 | 41 | 72 | 52 | 59 | 75 | 63 | 75 | 95 | 50 |
| (DO NOT READ) Both equally important | 9 | 17 | 11 | 33 | 16 | 11 | 10 | 15 | 0 | 27 |
| (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused | <u>13</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>2</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
& COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD, III
GENERAL PUBLIC
FINAL TOPLINE**

Aug. 21 - Sept. 5, 2001

N=2,001 [FORM A N=1,000; FORM B N=1,001]

NOTE: QUESTIONS ARE ORGANIZED ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF THE ELITE TOPLINE.

A.1/B.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>Don't Know</u> |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| September, 2001 | 51 | 34 | 15=100 |
| August, 2001 | 50 | 32 | 18=100 |
| July, 2001 | 51 | 32 | 17=100 |
| June, 2001 | 50 | 33 | 17=100 |
| May, 2001 | 53 | 32 | 15=100 |
| April, 2001 | 56 | 27 | 17=100 |
| March, 2001 | 55 | 25 | 20=100 |
| February, 2001 | 53 | 21 | 26=100 |

On another topic...

A.13/

B.14 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the nation's foreign policy? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the nation's foreign policy? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>Don't Know</u> |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| September, 2001 | 46 | 34 | 20=100 |
| August, 2001 ⁹ | 45 | 32 | 23=100 |
| Clinton: June, 1999 | 52 | 37 | 11=100 |
| Clinton: Early September, 1998 | 61 | 30 | 9=100 |
| Clinton: September, 1997 | 54 | 34 | 12=100 |
| Clinton: January, 1996 | 52 | 39 | 9=100 |
| Clinton: June, 1995 | 39 | 52 | 9=100 |
| Clinton: October, 1994 | 50 | 42 | 8=100 |
| Clinton: July, 1994 | 38 | 53 | 9=100 |
| Clinton: September, 1993 | 47 | 33 | 20=100 |
| Bush, Sr.: May, 1990 | 58 | 30 | 12=100 |

⁹

In August 2001, roughly half the sample was asked about Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

THE VIEW BEFORE 9/11: AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

A.4/B.2 Now I'd like your views on the state of the nation. All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

| | <u>Satisfied</u> | <u>Dissatisfied</u> | <u>No Opinion</u> |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| September, 2001 | 41 | 53 | 6=100 |
| June, 2001 | 43 | 52 | 5=100 |
| March, 2001 | 47 | 45 | 8=100 |
| February, 2001 | 46 | 43 | 11=100 |
| January, 2001 | 55 | 41 | 4=100 |
| September, 2000 | 51 | 41 | 8=100 |
| June, 2000 | 47 | 45 | 8=100 |
| April, 2000 | 48 | 43 | 9=100 |
| August, 1999 | 56 | 39 | 5=100 |
| January, 1999 | 53 | 41 | 6=100 |
| November, 1998 | 46 | 44 | 10=100 |
| Early September, 1998 | 54 | 42 | 4=100 |
| Late August, 1998 | 55 | 41 | 4=100 |
| Early August, 1998 | 50 | 44 | 6=100 |
| February, 1998 | 59 | 37 | 4=100 |
| January, 1998 | 46 | 50 | 4=100 |
| September, 1997 | 45 | 49 | 6=100 |
| August, 1997 | 49 | 46 | 5=100 |
| January, 1997 | 38 | 58 | 4=100 |
| July, 1996 | 29 | 67 | 4=100 |
| March, 1996 | 28 | 70 | 2=100 |
| October, 1995 | 23 | 73 | 4=100 |
| June, 1995 | 25 | 73 | 2=100 |
| April, 1995 | 23 | 74 | 3=100 |
| July, 1994 | 24 | 73 | 3=100 |
| March, 1994 | 24 | 71 | 5=100 |
| October, 1993 | 22 | 73 | 5=100 |
| September, 1993 | 20 | 75 | 4=100 |
| May, 1993 | 22 | 71 | 7=100 |
| January, 1993 | 39 | 50 | 11=100 |
| January, 1992 | 28 | 68 | 4=100 |
| November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | 5=100 |
| <i>Late February, 1991 (Gallup)</i> | <i>66</i> | <i>31</i> | <i>3=100</i> |
| August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | 5=100 |
| May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | 5=100 |
| January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | 5=100 |
| September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 45 | 5=100 |
| May, 1988 | 41 | 54 | 5=100 |
| January, 1988 | 39 | 55 | 6=100 |

And thinking about the world...

A.5 What is America's most important INTERNATIONAL problem today? [OPEN-END] [PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION]

17 SPECIFIC GEOPOLITICAL CONCERNS (NET)

13 Relating to the Middle East (Sub-Net)

- 5 Middle East
- 4 Situation in Israel/Situation with Israel and Arab neighbors
- 3 Peace/Unrest in the Middle East/Middle East crisis
- 2 Situation in Iraq
- * All other Middle East Mentions

4 Relating to other specific global areas (Sub-Net)

- Dealing with an emerging China/Presence of a new China/Managing the relationship with
- 3 China
- Situation in Bosnia/Former Yugoslavia/Reducing threat of conflict in Eastern Europe/the
- 1 Balkans
- * Mentions of North or South Korea
- 1 All other specific global areas

* Relating to the former USSR

15 GLOBAL INSTABILITY (NET)

- 4 International violence/security problems/Threats of terrorism (focus on terrorism not war)
- 4 World conflicts/Wars/Chaos/World wide unrest/Ethnic conflicts, etc.
- 3 Maintaining world peace/Peace keeper/Resolution of international disputes
- Developed vs. underdeveloped/Gap between rich and poor nations/Inequality of
- 2 wealth/Poverty
- 1 Nuclear proliferation/control of nuclear weapons/ "loose nukes"
- 1 Keeping U.S. out of war
- * Weapons/Arms control, unspecified
- * Missile defense system/ "Star Wars"
- * NATO/Support NATO efforts
- * Dealing with threat of "Weapons of mass destruction"
- 1 All other peace/world unrest mentions

10 U.S. LEADERSHIP ROLE (NET)

- 6 Too big a role as peacekeeper/too much intervention/too meddling
- 1 Global image
- 1 Balance being world power with member of global community/Cooperation
- 1 Our/U.S. credibility/Maintaining the respect of other nations
- * What it means/Responsibilities of being (a/world's only) superpower
- Assuming/maintaining leadership role in post-Cold War era/Finding a new role in the
- * post- Cold War world
- * Loss of leadership/Declining as a world leader/power
- 1 All other U.S. leadership role mentions

10 SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)

- 3 Immigration/Controlling immigration to the U.S.A./Displaced people
- 3 Hunger
- 2 Loss of jobs to foreign workers/foreign countries
- 1 Human rights issues
- 1 AIDS/World Health problems
- 1 Loss of jobs to immigrants
- * All other social issue mentions

A.5 CONTINUED ...

- 9 ECONOMICS (NET)**
 - 5 Miscellaneous economy (Sub-Net)
 - 3 Global economic relationships worldwide, unspecified
 - * Assisting/encouraging economic growth/development worldwide
 - * Economic stabilization
 - 2 All other economic mentions
 - 4 Trade imbalance/Deficit (Sub-Net)
 - 2 Deficit imbalance/Reduction of trade deficit, generally or unspecified
 - 1 Trade/Global trade/Trade expansion
 - 2 All other trade imbalance/deficit mentions
- 4 International drug trafficking mentions/Drugs
- 4 Too much foreign aid/Better to take care of our problems at home
- 4 Domestic policy/problem
- 3 Energy crisis/concerns/Dependence on foreign oil
- 3 Environmental issues/Global warming/U.S. over-consumption of world's resources
- 1 Reestablishing relations with other countries, unspecified
- 1 Future of U.S. Armed Forces mentions/Defense
- * Isolationism
- * Maintaining relationships/alliances/Seek greater unity with Europe/our allies
- * Globalization/Adjusting to globalization
- 6 All other mentions
- * Nothing
- 21 Don't know/No answer

A.6/B.3 All in all, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the WORLD these days?

| | | <u>Sept 1997</u> | <u>Oct 1993</u> | <u>Sept 1993</u> |
|----------|--------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 27 | Satisfied | 29 | 12 | 28 |
| 64 | Dissatisfied | 65 | 81 | 66 |
| 6 | Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (VOL) | 4 | 4 | * |
| <u>3</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>6</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ROTATE A.14-A.16

A.14 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is dealing with Mexico? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is dealing with Mexico? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

| | | ----- Clinton ----- | |
|-----------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| | | <u>Sept 1997</u> | <u>Oct 1996</u> ¹⁰ |
| 33 | Approve | 35 | 43 |
| 32 | Disapprove | 40 | 31 |
| <u>35</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>25</u> | <u>26</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

¹⁰ In October 1996 the question was worded "... Clinton is handling relations with Mexico."

A.15 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the situation in the Middle East? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the situation in the Middle East? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

| | | ----- Clinton ----- | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| | | Gallup/CNN/USA Today | | | |
| | | Oct 1-2 | Oct 2-3 | Oct | |
| | | Sept 1997 | 1996 | 1996 | 1994 |
| 45 | Approve | 50 | 52 | 51 | 56 |
| 35 | Disapprove | 36 | 34 | 35 | 35 |
| <u>20</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>14</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>9</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

A.16 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the economy? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the economy? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

| | | ----- Clinton ----- | | | | | | | -- Bush, Sr. -- | |
|----------|--------------------|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------------|-----------|
| | | Early | | | | | | | Aug | May |
| | | Feb | Sept | Sept | Jan | June | Oct | July | 1990 | 1990 |
| | | 2001 | 1998 | 1997 | 1996 | 1995 | 1994 | 1994 | | |
| 47 | Approve | 50 | 71 | 60 | 50 | 46 | 45 | 38 | 40 | 42 |
| 44 | Disapprove | 22 | 23 | 34 | 42 | 46 | 46 | 56 | 52 | 47 |
| <u>9</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>28</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>11</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

ROTATE QUESTIONS B.15-B.17

B.15 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling international trade issues? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling international trade issues? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

| | | ----- Clinton ----- | | |
|-----------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | | Sept | Sept | Aug |
| | | 1997 | 1993 | 1993 |
| 38 | Approve | 44 | 38 | 49 |
| 34 | Disapprove | 38 | 39 | 25 |
| <u>28</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>18</u> | <u>23</u> | <u>26</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 |

B.16 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the environment? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the environment? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

| | | Bush, Sr. |
|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|
| | | May 1990 |
| 42 | Approve | 44 |
| 42 | Disapprove | 45 |
| <u>16</u> | Don't know/Refused (VOL) | <u>11</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

B.17 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is dealing with China? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is dealing with China? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

| | | <u>Clinton</u> <u>Sept 1997</u> | <u>Bush, Sr.</u> <u>May 1990</u> |
|-----------|--------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 38 | Approve | 37 | 44 |
| 31 | Disapprove | 37 | 29 |
| <u>31</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>26</u> | <u>27</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

B.22 FORM 2 ONLY [N=502]:

B.22F2 In formulating U.S. foreign policy, is the Bush administration taking into account the interests and views of our allies... Too much, too little, or about the right amount?

| | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| 19 | Too much |
| 22 | Too little |
| 42 | Right amount |
| <u>17</u> | Don't Know/Refused |
| 100 | |

A.8/B.4 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely? **[INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]**

| FORM A ITEMS: | | <u>Very</u> <u>Closely</u> | <u>Fairly</u> <u>Closely</u> | <u>Not too</u> <u>Closely</u> | <u>Not at all</u> <u>Closely</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| A.8a | Talks between American and Russian officials about revising the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty | 12 | 28 | 28 | 31 | 1=100 |
| A.8b | The disappearance of Chandra Levy, a former Washington, DC intern July, 2001 | 26 16 | 35 33 | 24 25 | 14 24 | 1=100 2=100 |
| A.8c | NATO peacekeeping forces being sent to Macedonia | 8 | 24 | 30 | 36 | 2=100 |
| A.8d | The worldwide AIDS epidemic | 19 | 35 | 28 | 17 | 1=100 |
| A.8e | Wild fires in the west | 28 | 37 | 24 | 11 | *=100 |
| A.8f | Shark attacks occurring in Florida this summer | 28 | 39 | 24 | 8 | 1=100 |

A.8/B.4 CONTINUED ...

| FORM B ITEMS: | | <u>Very</u> | <u>Fairly</u> | <u>Not too</u> | <u>Not at all</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------|--|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| | | <u>Closely</u> | <u>Closely</u> | <u>Closely</u> | <u>Closely</u> | |
| B.4a | Recent anti-globalization protests in the United States and abroad | 8 | 19 | 29 | 42 | 2=100 |
| | April, 2000 ¹¹ | 6 | 18 | 32 | 43 | 1=100 |
| | December, 1999 ¹² | 18 | 30 | 27 | 24 | 1=100 |
| B.4b | Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's overall review of the U.S. Department of Defense and the military | 7 | 18 | 26 | 47 | 2=100 |
| B.4c | Continued violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis | 21 | 33 | 25 | 20 | 1=100 |
| | April, 2001 ¹³ | 22 | 34 | 24 | 19 | 1=100 |
| | Mid-October, 2000 | 30 | 38 | 18 | 13 | 1=100 |
| | Early October, 2000 | 21 | 30 | 27 | 21 | 1=100 |
| | January, 1997 | 12 | 23 | 29 | 35 | 1=100 |
| | October, 1996 | 17 | 34 | 26 | 23 | *=100 |
| | May, 1988 | 18 | 37 | 34 | 9 | 2=100 |
| B.4d | The spread of mad cow disease in Europe | 18 | 34 | 27 | 20 | 1=100 |
| | March, 2001 ¹⁴ | 22 | 33 | 22 | 22 | 1=100 |
| B.4e | George W. Bush's decision on federal funding for stem-cell research | 31 | 34 | 18 | 15 | 2=100 |

11 In April 2000 the story was listed as "The protests in Washington, DC at the annual meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund."

12 In December 1999 the story was listed as "The protests in Seattle at the World Trade Organization meeting."

13 In April 2001 the story was listed as "Continued violence in the Middle East." In Mid-October 2000 the story was listed as "Continued violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis." In Early October 2000 the story was listed as "Renewed violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis." In January 1997 the story was listed as "Renewed tensions between Israelis and Palestinians over Hebron." In October 1996 the story was listed as "Renewed violence between Israelis & Palestinians on the West Bank and in Jerusalem." In May 1988 the story was listed as "The conflict in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis in the occupied territories."

14 In March 2001 the story was listed as "The outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease among livestock in Europe."

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about some things that have been in the news. Not everyone will have heard about them.

A.24 [IN AUG. READ "Recently,"/IN SEPT. READ "In August,"] President Bush made a nationally televised, prime-time address to the nation about an important issue. Do you happen to know what this address was about... [IF "YES", ASK:] What was it about? [OPEN]

| | |
|-----------|--|
| | Yes, Stem cell research / Medical research (funding of) / Cloning / anything to do |
| 23 | with embryos or fetuses or cells (<i>correct</i>) |
| 6 | Yes, Any other issue |
| <u>71</u> | No, don't know/Not sure/Refused |
| 100 | |

B.29 FORM 1 ONLY [N=449]:

B.29F1 Do you happen to know the name of the missing Washington D.C. intern who has been romantically linked to a member of Congress? [IF YES, ASK:] Who is it? [OPEN]

| | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| 56 | Yes, Chandra Levy (<i>correct</i>) |
| 15 | Yes, incorrect |
| <u>29</u> | No, don't know/Refused |
| 100 | |

B.29 FORM 2 ONLY [N=502]:

B.29F2 Do you happen to know the name of the Congressman who had been romantically linked to a missing Washington D.C. intern? [IF YES, ASK:] Who is it? [OPEN]

| | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| 60 | Yes, Gary Condit (<i>correct</i>) |
| 11 | Yes, incorrect |
| <u>29</u> | No, don't know/Refused |
| 100 | |

S.1 AND S.2 ASKED AUG 28-SEPT 5 ONLY [N=809]:

S.1 Do you happen to know whether the projected U.S. government budget surplus for this year is larger than expected, smaller than expected, or about what was expected?

| | |
|-----------|--|
| 22 | Larger than expected |
| 42 | Smaller than expected (<i>correct</i>) |
| 11 | About what was expected |
| <u>25</u> | Don't know/Refused |
| 100 | |

S.2 IF the budget surplus is significantly SMALLER than expected, some have said the government may have to cover current expenses by drawing on funds that were set aside for another purpose. Do you happen to know what program these funds were set aside for? [OPEN END – DO NOT READ]

- 53 Social Security
- 2 Medicare/Medicaid
- * Retirement programs
- 3 Other (SPECIFY)
- 42 Don't know/Refused
- 100

A.25/

B.30 Earlier this year, a U.S. spy plane collided with a fighter jet from another country. The American air crew was held for several days. Do you know in what country this took place? [IF "YES" ASK:] Which country? [OPEN]

- 62 Yes, China (correct)
- 9 Yes, Any other country
- 29 No, don't know/Not sure/Refused
- 100

A.26/

B.31 Recently, President Bush withdrew U.S. support for an international treaty known as the Kyoto Protocol. What issue does this agreement address? [OPEN]

- Environment / Global Warming / Greenhouse Gas Emissions / Climate change /
- 14 Pollution / Clean Air / Air Quality / Ozone (correct)
- 5 Any other issue
- 81 Don't Know/Not sure/Refused
- 100

A.27/

B.32 What is the name of the president of Russia? [OPEN]

| | | ----- Boris Yeltsin ----- | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | Sept | June | July | Feb | Jan |
| | | <u>1997</u> | <u>1995</u> | <u>1994</u> | <u>1994</u> | <u>1994</u> |
| 23 | Vladimir Putin (correct) | <u>47</u> | <u>44</u> | <u>46</u> | <u>47</u> | <u>50</u> |
| <u>77</u> | Anything else/Other/DK/Refused | <u>53</u> | <u>56</u> | <u>54</u> | <u>53</u> | <u>50</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

A.9 How have you been getting most of your news about national and international issues? From television, from newspapers, from radio, from magazines, or from the Internet? [ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS: IF ONLY ONE RESPONSE IS GIVEN, PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSE]

[IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION AS EITHER FIRST OR SECOND RESPONSE IN A.9 ASK:]

A.10 Do you get most of your news about national and international issues from network TV news, from local TV news, or from cable news networks such as CNN and MSNBC? [ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS BUT DO NOT PROBE]

| | | Feb <u>2001</u> | Oct <u>1999</u> | Jan <u>1999</u> | Jan <u>1996</u> | Sept <u>1995¹⁵</u> | Jan <u>1994</u> | Sept <u>1993</u> | Jan <u>1993</u> |
|----|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 74 | Television | 76 | 80 | 82 | 88 | 82 | 83 | 83 | 83 |
| 20 | Network TV news | 20 | 22 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 39 |
| 26 | Local TV news | 25 | 31 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 30 |
| 34 | Cable news ¹⁶ | 35 | 35 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 38 |
| 1 | Other | 1 | 2 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 2 |
| * | Don't know | 1 | * | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 |
| 45 | Newspapers | 40 | 48 | 42 | 61 | 63 | 51 | 60 | 52 |
| 18 | Radio | 16 | 19 | 18 | 25 | 20 | 15 | 17 | 17 |
| 6 | Magazines | 4 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 5 |
| 13 | Internet ¹⁷ | 10 | 11 | 6 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1 | Other (VOL) | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 1 |
| * | Don't know/Refused | 1 | * | * | * | 1 | 1 | * | 1 |

A.12 Do you think the news media gives too much attention to foreign news, not enough attention to foreign news, or about the right amount of attention?

| | | <u>Sept 1997</u> |
|----------|--------------------|------------------|
| 12 | Too much | 16 |
| 29 | Not enough | 17 |
| 55 | Right amount | 62 |
| <u>4</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>5</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

15 In September 1995, question wording did not include "international."

16 Beginning in October 1999, "cable news networks such as CNN and MSNBC" was substituted for "CNN."

17 Beginning in February 2001, "Internet" was substituted for "computer online sources."

A.23 Now I'd like your views about some organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE"]

| | | Very Favorable | Mostly Favorable | Mostly Unfavorable | Very Unfavorable | Never Heard Of | Can't Rate |
|----|---------------------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|------------|
| a. | The World Trade Organization | 14 | 52 | 14 | 7 | 3 | 10=100 |
| b. | The United Nations | 23 | 54 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 4=100 |
| | August, 1999 | 19 | 57 | 14 | 5 | * | 5=100 |
| | June, 1999 | 19 | 51 | 16 | 7 | 0 | 7=100 |
| | Early September, 1998 | 14 | 55 | 16 | 7 | * | 8=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 11 | 53 | 19 | 9 | * | 8=100 |
| | February, 1996 | 19 | 46 | 20 | 9 | 1 | 5=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 14 | 53 | 20 | 8 | * | 5=100 |
| | February, 1995 | 13 | 49 | 18 | 8 | * | 12=100 |
| | July, 1994 | 21 | 55 | 14 | 5 | 1 | 4=100 |
| | May, 1993 | 21 | 52 | 13 | 4 | 0 | 10=100 |
| | May, 1990 | 15 | 55 | 13 | 6 | 1 | 10=100 |
| c. | The European Union | 6 | 32 | 18 | 5 | 20 | 19=100 |
| d. | The World Bank | 9 | 43 | 15 | 8 | 8 | 17=100 |
| e. | The International Monetary Fund | 7 | 39 | 13 | 7 | 15 | 19=100 |
| f. | NATO | 19 | 52 | 11 | 5 | 5 | 8=100 |
| | June, 1999 | 17 | 50 | 17 | 8 | 2 | 6=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 9 | 44 | 19 | 9 | 4 | 15=100 |
| | January, 1997 | 9 | 44 | 23 | 8 | 3 | 13=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 8 | 53 | 18 | 7 | 4 | 10=100 |

B.24 It has been ten years since the end of the Cold War. In your opinion, is the world now more dangerous, less dangerous, or about the same compared to ten years ago?

53 More dangerous
 14 Less dangerous
 30 About the same
 $\frac{3}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (VOL)

A.7 In your opinion, what country in the world, if any, represents the greatest danger to the United States? **[DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION. IF MULTIPLE MENTIONS ONLY RECORD EXPLANATION IF NECESSARY FOR CLARIFICATION.]**[OPEN END]¹⁸

| | | Sept <u>1993</u> | April <u>1993</u> | Jan <u>1993</u> | Feb <u>1992</u> | March <u>1990</u> |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 32 | China | 11 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 8 |
| 16 | Iraq | 18 | 14 | 17 | 12 | * |
| 9 | Russia, Soviet Union, CIS | 8 | 16 | 13 | 13 | 32 |
| 8 | Other Middle East | * | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| 5 | Iran | 7 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| 3 | Japan | 11 | 9 | 8 | 31 | 8 |
| 2 | United States | * | 6 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| 2 | Cuba | * | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| 1 | Libya | 1 | * | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 1 | North Korea | 1 | -- | * | * | * |
| 7 | Other | 13 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 13 |
| 1 | None | 6 | 12 | 9 | 5 | 6 |
| 20 | Can't say/Don't know | <u>24</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>21</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>13</u> |
| | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

B.26 Do you think the danger of attack on the United States with a nuclear, biological, or chemical weapon is greater now than it was 10 years ago, less now than it was 10 years ago, or is it about the same?

| | | <u>Sept 1997</u> |
|----------|--------------------|------------------|
| 51 | Greater | 36 |
| 12 | Less | 30 |
| 34 | Same | 32 |
| <u>3</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>2</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

¹⁸ In 2001 the percents add to more than 100 because respondents were allowed to provide more than one answer.

B.27 These days, do you think there is more of a danger of an attack with a weapon of mass destruction by a military power or by a terrorist group?

IF "MILITARY POWER," ASK:

B.27a What kind of military power is the greater threat: A rogue nation or a major nation?

IF "TERRORIST GROUP," ASK:

B.27b What kind of terrorist group is the greater threat: A domestic terrorist group or a foreign terrorist group?

14 Military power
 5 Rogue nation
 8 Major nation
 1 Don't Know/Refused
 79 Terrorist group
 14 Domestic terrorist group
 59 Foreign terrorist group
 6 Don't Know/Refused
 1 Attack not likely (VOL)
 6 Don't know/Refused
 100

Overall...

B.18 Do you think the United States plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to ten years ago, a less important role, or about as important a role as a world leader as it did ten years ago?

| | | <i>Chicago Council on Foreign Relations</i> | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--|
| | | Sept | Dec | Oct | Sept | Nov | Nov | Nov | Nov | Dec | |
| | | 1997 | 1994 | 1993 | 1993 | 1990 | 1986 | 1982 | 1978 | 1974 | |
| 33 | More important | 35 | 40 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 41 | 27 | 29 | 28 | |
| 26 | Less important | 23 | 27 | 26 | 30 | 35 | 26 | 25 | 41 | 39 | |
| 38 | As important | 40 | 29 | 33 | 31 | 24 | 29 | 44 | 24 | 27 | |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused | 2 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6 | |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

A/B.19 What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it be the single world leader, or should it play a shared leadership role, or shouldn't it play any leadership role?

[IF ANSWERED 2 "SHARED LEADERSHIP ROLE" IN A.19, ASK:]

A/B.20 Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be about as active as other leading nations?¹⁹

| | | Sept | June | Oct | Sept |
|-----|---|------|------|------|------|
| | | 1997 | 1995 | 1993 | 1993 |
| 13 | Be the single world leader, or | 12 | 13 | 9 | 10 |
| 75 | Should it play a shared leadership role | 73 | 74 | 78 | 81 |
| 25 | Most active | 22 | 25 | 23 | 27 |
| 49 | About as active | 50 | 47 | 53 | 52 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 8 | Shouldn't it play any leadership role | 11 | 9 | 9 | 7 |
| 4 | Don't know (VOL) | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

¹⁹ Before 1997 the answer categories were "... most active, or should it be no more or less active than other leading nations?"

A.21ASK ALL/B.21 FORM 1 [N=1,499]:

A.21/

B.21F1 All in all, how should the U.S. determine its foreign policy? Should it be based mostly on the national interests of the U.S., or should it strongly take into account the interests of its allies?

38 Own estimates of national interest
 48 Interests and views of allies
 7 Both (VOL)
 1 Neither (VOL)
 6 Don't Know/Refused
 100

A.22/

B.25 As I read a list of possible LONG-RANGE foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me how much priority you think each should be given. First, [READ AND ROTATE], do you think this should have top priority, some priority, or no priority at all.²⁰

| FORM A ITEMS: | | <u>Top</u> <u>Priority</u> | <u>Some</u> <u>Priority</u> | <u>No</u> <u>Priority</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| A.22a | Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction | 78 | 16 | 5 | 1=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 70 | 23 | 6 | 1=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 68 | 21 | 9 | 2=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 69 | 24 | 5 | 1=100 |
| A.22b | Insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S. | 74 | 23 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 58 | 36 | 3 | 3=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 59 | 34 | 3 | 4=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 60 | 34 | 4 | 2=100 |
| A.22c | Promoting democracy in other nations | 29 | 52 | 16 | 3=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 22 | 57 | 18 | 3=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 16 | 57 | 24 | 3=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 22 | 52 | 24 | 2=100 |
| A.22d | Promoting U.S. business and economic interests abroad | 37 | 53 | 8 | 2=100 |
| | September, 1997 ²¹ | 16 | 62 | 20 | 2=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 26 | 50 | 20 | 4=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 27 | 51 | 19 | 3=100 |
| A.22e | Strengthening the United Nations | 42 | 43 | 13 | 2=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 30 | 53 | 14 | 3=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 36 | 45 | 17 | 2=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 41 | 46 | 11 | 2=100 |

²⁰ Before 1997 the answer categories were "... should have top priority, priority but not top priority, or no priority at all."

²¹ In September 1993, June 1995 and September 1997 the item was worded "Aiding the interests of US businesses abroad."

A.22/B.25 CONTINUED...

| | | <u>Top Priority</u> | <u>Some Priority</u> | <u>No Priority</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------|--|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| FORM A ITEMS: | | | | | |
| A.22f | Reducing U.S. military commitments overseas | 26 | 58 | 14 | 2=100 |
| A.22g | Reducing the spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases | 73 | 23 | 3 | 1=100 |
| A.22h | Protecting groups or nations that are threatened with genocide | 49 | 41 | 5 | 5=100 |
| FORM B ITEMS: | | | | | |
| B.25a | Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks | 80 | 16 | 3 | 1=100 |
| B.25b | Helping improve the living standards in developing nations | 25 | 61 | 12 | 2=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 23 | 63 | 13 | 1=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 16 | 59 | 22 | 3=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 19 | 60 | 20 | 1=100 |
| B.25c | Protecting the jobs of American workers | 77 | 19 | 3 | 1=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 77 | 20 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 80 | 17 | 2 | 1=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 85 | 13 | 2 | *=100 |
| B.25d | Promoting and defending human rights in other countries | 29 | 54 | 14 | 3=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 27 | 56 | 15 | 2=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 21 | 56 | 20 | 3=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 22 | 54 | 22 | 2=100 |
| B.25e | Combating international drug trafficking | 64 | 26 | 9 | 1=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 67 | 24 | 7 | 2=100 |
| B.25f | Getting other countries to assume more of the costs of maintaining world order | 56 | 35 | 6 | 3=100 |
| B.25g | Dealing with the problem of world hunger | 47 | 44 | 7 | 2=100 |
| B.25h | Dealing with global warming | 44 | 39 | 12 | 5=100 |
| | September, 1997 ²² | 50 | 42 | 6 | 2=100 |
| | June, 1995 | 56 | 36 | 6 | 2=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 56 | 37 | 6 | 1=100 |

22

In September 1993, June 1995 and September 1997 the item was worded "Improving the global environment."

ASK ALL:

B.23 Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

| | | RV's | | | | | | | 10- | 10- | 10- | 11/ | 12/ |
|----------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | Sept | Aug | June | Sept | Feb | 10/ | Sept | 11/ | 11/ | -11/ | 11/ | 12/ |
| | | <u>2000</u> | <u>1999</u> | <u>1999</u> | <u>1997</u> | <u>1995</u> ²³ | <u>94+</u> | <u>1993</u> | <u>90+</u> | <u>86+</u> | <u>82+</u> | <u>78+</u> | <u>74+</u> |
| 32 | Increase | 34 | 27 | 31 | 17 | 19 | 18 | 10 | 12 | 21 | 22 | 32 | 13 |
| 44 | Keep same | 48 | 54 | 47 | 57 | 56 | 53 | 52 | 53 | 55 | 52 | 45 | 47 |
| 20 | Cut back | 14 | 16 | 19 | 24 | 24 | 26 | 36 | 32 | 23 | 24 | 16 | 33 |
| <u>4</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>8</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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On some other topics . . .

B.33 Do you favor or oppose continuing to have U.S. troops deployed in Kosovo and Bosnia as part of a NATO peacekeeping force?

| | | <u>March 2000</u> ²⁴ | <u>June 1999</u> ²⁵ |
|-----------|--------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 52 | Favor | 51 | 56 |
| 37 | Oppose | 41 | 37 |
| <u>11</u> | Don't Know/Refused | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

Finally:

B.39 Do you think the U.S. should put into effect a national missile defense system, or don't you think so?

IF 1 "YES" IN B.39 ASK:

B.40 Do we have a pressing need for this system right now or is this something we should put off into the future?

| | | <u>May</u> | <u>Feb</u> |
|----------|--|-------------|---------------------------|
| | | <u>2001</u> | <u>2001</u> ²⁶ |
| 56 | Yes, U.S. should put into effect a national missile defense system | 51 | 54 |
| 35 | Need the system right now | 29 | n/a |
| 19 | Should put it off into the future | 19 | n/a |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused | 3 | n/a |
| 35 | No, U.S. should not | 38 | 32 |
| <u>9</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>11</u> | <u>14</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

23 In 1995 and previous years, the question was worded "Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same or cut it back?"

24 In March 2000 the question was worded "There are now U.S. troops in Kosovo as part of a NATO peacekeeping force to help maintain peace. Do you favor or oppose having U.S. troops in Kosovo for this reason?"

25 In June 1999 the question was worded "The peace agreement calls for sending 7,000 U.S. troops, as part of a NATO peacekeeping force of about 50,000 troops, to help maintain peace in Kosovo now that the military conflict has ended. Do you favor or oppose sending U.S. troops to Kosovo as part of a NATO peacekeeping force?"

26 In February 2001 question was worded slightly different: "Do you favor or oppose the development of a national missile defense system?"

FORM B ASK ALL:

Thinking more generally...

B.28 The United States has had strong political, economic and military ties with the nations of Europe, on the one hand, and with Japan and the Pacific Rim nations of Asia, on the other hand. Which area do you think is most important to the United States: **[READ IN ORDER]**

| | | <u>Sept 1997</u> | <u>Sept 1993</u> ²⁷ |
|-----------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 44 | Europe or | 49 | 50 |
| 34 | The Pacific Rim | 31 | 31 |
| 9 | Both/Equal (VOL) | 6 | 8 |
| <u>13</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>14</u> | <u>10</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

B.35 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

| | | <i>Chicago Council on Foreign Relations</i> | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|---|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| | | <u>Sept 1997</u> | <u>Sept 1993</u> | <u>Oct-Nov 1990</u> | <u>Oct-Nov 1982</u> | <u>Nov 1978</u> |
| 40 | Israel | 48 | 45 | 34 | 41 | 39 |
| 17 | Palestinians | 13 | 21 | 13 | 17 | 12 |
| 6 | Both (VOL) | 5 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| 23 | Neither (VOL) | 16 | 18 | 26 | 19 | 15 |
| <u>14</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>18</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>20</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>13</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 10 |

B.34 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today. . . Do you think China is: **[READ IN ORDER]**

| | | <u>May 2001</u> | <u>March 2000</u> | <u>June 1999</u> | <u>March 1999</u> | <u>Sept 1997</u> |
|----------|---|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 23 | An adversary | 19 | 17 | 18 | 20 | 14 |
| 48 | A serious problem, but not an adversary | 51 | 44 | 53 | 48 | 46 |
| 23 | OR, Not much of a problem | 22 | 26 | 22 | 25 | 32 |
| <u>6</u> | Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ) | <u>8</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>8</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

²⁷ Question was worded "... ties with friendly nations of Europe ..."

Now, a few questions on trade:

A.28 Please tell me if you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose giving the president trade negotiating authority to reach international trade agreements that Congress can only approve or disapprove, but not change?²⁸

| | | <u>Aug 1999</u> | <u>Early Sept 1998</u> |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| 14 | Strongly Favor | 11 | 13 |
| 32 | Favor | 33 | 30 |
| 32 | Oppose | 32 | 29 |
| 14 | Strongly Oppose | 17 | 18 |
| <u>8</u> | Don't Know/Refused | <u>7</u> | <u>10</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

A.29 So far, do you think that NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?

| | | <u>Nov 1997</u> | <u>Sept 1997</u> |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 49 | Good thing | 45 | 47 |
| 29 | Bad thing | 34 | 30 |
| <u>22</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>21</u> | <u>23</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 |

A.30 In deciding U.S. policies about trading with other countries, how much priority should be given to each of the following. First, **[INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]**. Do you think this should have top priority, some priority or no priority at all in deciding U.S. trade policy?

| | | <u>Top Priority</u> | <u>Some Priority</u> | <u>No Priority</u> | <u>(VOL) DK/Ref</u> |
|----|--|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| a. | Protecting the jobs of American workers February, 2000 | 79 78 | 19 19 | 2 2 | *=100 1=100 |
| b. | Promoting and defending human and worker rights in other countries February, 2000 ²⁹ | 34 28 | 52 55 | 11 15 | 3=100 2=100 |
| c. | Protecting the global environment February, 2000 ³⁰ | 64 52 | 31 42 | 3 4 | 2=100 2=100 |
| d. | Keeping the American economy growing February, 2000 | 79 74 | 19 24 | 1 1 | 1=100 1=100 |

²⁸ In August 1999 the question was worded "Giving the president fast track authority to negotiate international trade deals that Congress can only approve or disapprove, but not change." In Early September 1998, the question was worded: "Giving President Clinton fast track authority to negotiate international trade deals that Congress can only approve or disapprove, but not change."

²⁹ In February 2000 the item was "Promoting and defending human rights in other countries."

³⁰ In February 2000 the item was "Improving the global environment."

On another subject...

ROTATE QUESTIONS A.31 AND A.32

A.31 How much of an impact does what happens in Western Europe have on your life? Would you say a great deal of impact, a fair amount, not very much or none at all?

| | | <u>Sept 1997</u> |
|----------|--------------------|------------------|
| 10 | A great deal | 8 |
| 33 | A fair amount | 28 |
| 33 | Not very much | 36 |
| 20 | None at all | 25 |
| <u>4</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

A.32 How much of an impact does what happens in Mexico have on your life? Would you say a great deal of impact, a fair amount, not very much or none at all?

| | | <u>Sept 1997</u> |
|----------|--------------------|------------------|
| 16 | A great deal | 13 |
| 32 | A fair amount | 29 |
| 31 | Not very much | 32 |
| 17 | None at all | 23 |
| <u>4</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

ROTATE QUESTIONS B.36 AND B.37

B.36 How much of an impact does what happens in Asia have on your life? Would you say a great deal of impact, a fair amount, not very much or none at all?

| | | <u>Sept 1997</u> |
|----------|--------------------|------------------|
| 13 | A great deal | 9 |
| 31 | A fair amount | 26 |
| 30 | Not very much | 36 |
| 23 | None at all | 25 |
| <u>3</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>4</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

B.37 How much of an impact does what happens in Canada have on your life? Would you say a great deal of impact, a fair amount, not very much or none at all?

| | | <u>Sept 1997</u> |
|----------|--------------------|------------------|
| 12 | A great deal | 8 |
| 25 | A fair amount | 23 |
| 34 | Not very much | 39 |
| 26 | None at all | 27 |
| <u>3</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>3</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

B.38 How do you think a global economy will affect the financial situation of you and your family in the future? Do you think it will... definitely help, probably help, probably hurt or definitely hurt your future financial situation?

| | | <u>Early Sept 1998</u> |
|-----------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| 6 | Definitely help | 6 |
| 36 | Probably help | 38 |
| 30 | Probably hurt | 26 |
| 11 | Definitely hurt | 8 |
| 5 | Neither hurt nor help (VOL) | 5 |
| <u>12</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>17</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

A.33 Thinking about the growing ties between the economies of the U.S. and other countries... Do you think the trend toward a global economy is a good thing or a bad thing for the country?

| | | <u>Early Sept 1998</u> |
|-----------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| 60 | Good thing | 47 |
| 24 | Bad thing | 30 |
| 2 | Neither good or bad/Both (VOL) | 5 |
| <u>14</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>18</u> |
| 100 | | 100 |

A.34 There has been a lot of talk about globalization these days, and the protests about it. Thinking about the globalization PROTESTERS, do you share many, some, few, or none of their concerns?

| | |
|----------|---|
| 7 | Many |
| 35 | Some |
| 22 | Few |
| 20 | None |
| 12 | Don't know what their concerns are / Don't know what globalization is (VOL) |
| <u>4</u> | No Opinion/Refused |
| 100 | |

IF ANSWERED “MANY, SOME OR FEW” IN A.34 (A.34=1, 2, OR 3), ASK [N=658]:

A.35 Which of their concerns do you share? **[IF UNCLEAR, READ: “Which concerns expressed by the globalization protesters do you share?”] [RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY — DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.]**

- 16 Environmental issues (includes “energy” mentions)
- 6 Loss of American jobs
- 5 Labor standards being lowered/Exploitation of workers in poor countries/ Workers’ rights
- 5 Negative impact on U.S. economy/standard of living
- Widening of gap between rich and poor/Leaving some behind/Exploitation/Abuse of poor/weak by the wealthy/strong
- 4 Governance/Accountability/Fairness/Concentration of power
- 4 Global economic issues/Role of the World Bank (includes “one currency”)
- 3 Human rights
- 3 Trade issues/imbances/World Trade Organization
- 3 Loss of national identity/sovereignty/U.S. supremacy
- 2 Against it/Won’t work/Afraid of the unknown/how it will affect me
- 2 Power of Big Business/Corporate abuses/greed
- 1 Loss of cultural/ethnic identity
- 8 Other
- * Nothing
- 50 Don’t Know/Refused

IF ANSWERED “NONE” IN A.34, (A.34=4), ASK [N=194]:

A.36 Why do you feel that way? **[IF UNCLEAR, READ: “Why do you feel you share none of the concerns of globalization protesters?”] [RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY — DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.]**

- 14 Extremists/Don’t like protesters/their methods/Demonstrations have become too violent/riots
- 12 Not my issue/Doesn’t concern/affect/matter to me
- 11 Need to know more/Don’t keep up
- 8 Believe in globalization/global economy/See benefits/It’s working
- 7 Only care if it affects U.S./me/Mind own business
- 4 They are misinformed/misguided/Views aren’t well thought out
- 10 Other
- 37 Don’t know/Refused

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
& COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
U.S. FOREIGN POLICY OMNIBUS
FINAL TOPLINE
August 28 - September 5, 2001
N = 1,001**

Q.1 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements: **(ROTATE LIST)**

a. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations

| | | March 1999 | Sept 1997 | June 1995 | Feb 1995 | Oct 1993 | April 1993 | 1991 ³¹ | 1985 | 1980 | 1976 | 1972 | 1968 | 1964 |
|-----------|----------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| 58 | Agree | 65 | 59 | 62 | 65 | 64 | 71 | 77 | 56 | 59 | 46 | 63 | 72 | 72 |
| 31 | Disagree | 26 | 30 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 22 | 17 | 35 | 28 | 41 | 28 | 21 | 16 |
| <u>11</u> | DK/Ref | <u>9</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>12</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

b. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies

| | | March 1999 | Sept 1997 | June 1995 | April 1993 | 1991 | 1985 | 1980 | 1976 | 1972 | 1968 | 1964 |
|----------|----------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| 80 | Agree | 82 | 72 | 74 | 80 | 86 | 82 | 79 | 72 | 80 | 84 | 81 |
| 11 | Disagree | 12 | 18 | 18 | 13 | 10 | 12 | 13 | 18 | 12 | 9 | 7 |
| <u>9</u> | DK/Ref | <u>6</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>12</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

c. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not

| | | March 1999 | Sept 1997 | June 1995 | April 1993 | 1991 | 1985 | 1980 | 1976 | 1972 | 1968 | 1964 |
|----------|----------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| 32 | Agree | 26 | 32 | 34 | 34 | 29 | 26 | 26 | 29 | 22 | 23 | 19 |
| 62 | Disagree | 69 | 62 | 60 | 63 | 66 | 70 | 66 | 62 | 72 | 72 | 70 |
| <u>6</u> | DK/Ref | <u>5</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>11</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

d. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own

| | | March 1999 | Sept 1997 | June 1995 | April 1993 | 1991 | 1985 | 1980 | 1976 | 1972 | 1968 | 1964 |
|----------|----------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| 37 | Agree | 35 | 39 | 41 | 37 | 33 | 34 | 30 | 41 | 35 | 27 | 18 |
| 55 | Disagree | 57 | 54 | 51 | 58 | 60 | 59 | 61 | 49 | 56 | 66 | 70 |
| <u>8</u> | DK/Ref | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>12</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

³¹ All data from 1991 and earlier are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research.

- e. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home

| | | March | Sept | June | April | | | | | | | |
|----------|------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| | | 1999 | 1997 | 1995 | 1993 | 1991 | 1985 | 1980 | 1976 | 1972 | 1968 | 1964 |
| 68 | Agree | 68 | 72 | 78 | 79 | 78 | 60 | 61 | 73 | 73 | 60 | 55 |
| 25 | Disagree | 27 | 24 | 18 | 18 | 16 | 34 | 30 | 22 | 20 | 31 | 32 |
| <u>7</u> | DK/Refused | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>13</u> |
| 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Q.2 Would you approve or disapprove of the use of U.S. forces in the following situations: **(ROTATE LIST)**

| | | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----|--|----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| a. | If an ethnic group in Africa were threatened by genocide | 56 | 31 | 13=100 |
| b. | If Arab forces invaded Israel | 45 | 43 | 12=100 |
| | September, 1997 | 45 | 47 | 8=100 |
| | September, 1993 | 45 | 48 | 7=100 |
| c. | If China invaded Taiwan | 41 | 47 | 12=100 |
| d. | If drug traffickers took power in Colombia | 56 | 38 | 6=100 |