



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.

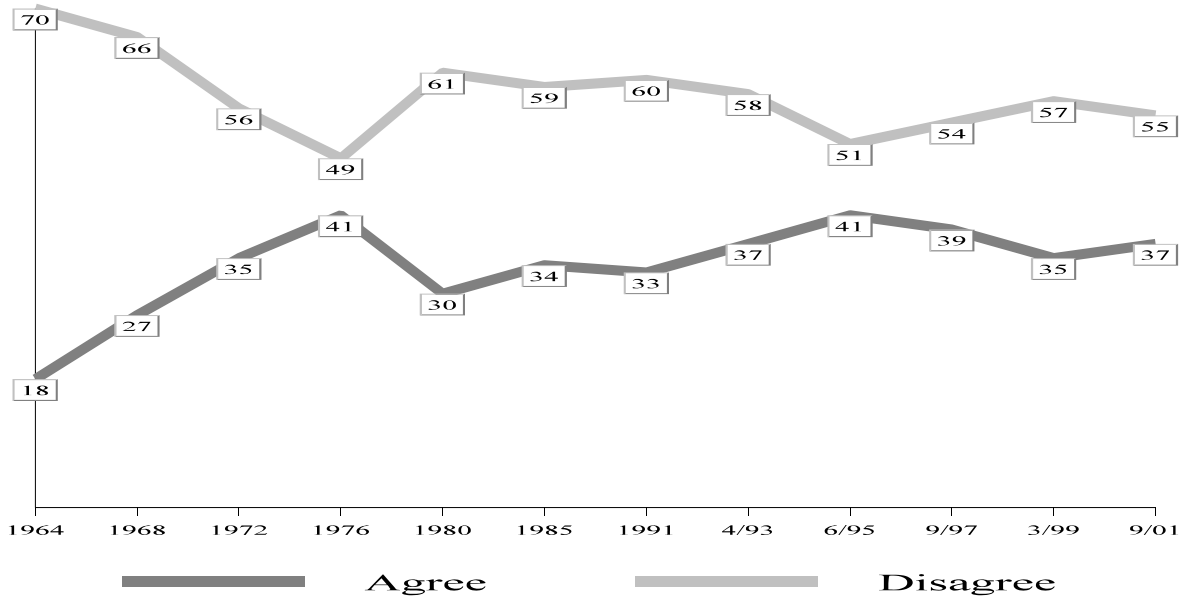
PUBLICS INTERVIEWED

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>		
	National Interests	Allies Interests	Too Little	Right Amount	Other Answer
	%	%	%	%	%
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>
	%	%	%
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	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 ...

	<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
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>	
	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		

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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 Media		Business/ Finance		Foreign Affairs		Security		State/ Local Govt.		Think Tanks/ Academics		Religious Leaders		Scientists/ Engineers		Labor Union		Hill Policy Staff	
	'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 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
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>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Staff</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>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Staff</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 <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
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 <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
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 Having treaties that would limit the arms race and help control the spread of nuclear weapons	17	38	10	7	23	11	19	9	0	21
(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 meddlesome
- 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								
		Feb	Sept	Sept	Jan	June	Oct	July	Aug	May
		2001	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1994	1990	1990
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
		1997	1995	1994	1994	1994
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 1993	April 1993	Jan 1993	Feb 1992	March 1990
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?

		Sept 1997
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	
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	
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
<u>4</u>	Don't know (VOL)	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
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)
<u>6</u>	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-	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/imbbalances/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