

AMERICA'S

PLACE

IN THE

WORLD II

October 1997

FOREWORD

Four years ago, our Center undertook a comprehensive survey of the American public and of the nation's opinion leaders to determine how they viewed the world and the country in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. As we reported in *America's Place in the World*, they saw it as a still dangerous place and showed a distinct tendency to turn inward, to emphasize a foreign policy that would serve a distinctly domestic agenda.

Now, almost a decade after the end of the Cold War, we have repeated the study to examine how American opinion leaders and the general public have changed, if at all, in their attitudes toward the new opportunities and dangers abroad. We asked what America's economic, diplomatic, security and environmental policies should be, and what world leadership role the United States should play in pursuing its national interests into the next millennium.

We drew a sample of 2,000 American adults from all walks of life for our public poll. For our leadership poll we added two groups -- labor union leaders and key Congressional aides engaged in foreign policy issues -- while retaining eight other groups, including foreign affairs and national security specialists, scholars, scientists, religious leaders, governors and mayors, top business executives and senior media figures.

We present the results in *America's Place in the World, Part II*, in keeping with our mission, begun as the Times Mirror Center, of providing information to help people gain the knowledge they need to work, live and govern themselves.

As before, we owe a special debt of gratitude to Robert C. Toth, who with the help of Claudia Deane, guided the project to completion and is the primary author of the report. His years of experience as a diplomatic and foreign correspondent greatly enriched the design and analysis of the survey.

Andrew Kohut
Director
Pew Research Center For The People & The Press

Opinion Leaders Say, Public Differs **MORE COMFORT WITH POST-COLD WAR ERA**

Overview

The post-Cold War era may be less than a decade old, but Americans whose views help shape U.S. foreign policy have grown remarkably comfortable with it. Compared to four years ago when they were deeply troubled, American Opinion Leaders today see the world as a better place, where U.S. influence is enhanced and there are fewer worries about potential trouble spots. In striking contrast, the American public's global view remains bleak.

Among Opinion Leaders, a substantial increase in confidence in the Clinton administration plays a significant part in this decidedly different climate of opinion. Four years ago, the then-new president received at best a mixed review from a similar group of Influential Americans. Today solid majorities in each group --- ranging from corporate CEOs to religious leaders --- approve of his overall performance in office. Specifically, Influential Americans credit Clinton for his trade policies, handling of Bosnia and for the quality of his foreign policy appointments.

The public shares this much improved opinion of President Clinton and his foreign policy, but those sentiments have not affected its view of the world. Opening a new and dramatic opinion gap with America's Opinion Leaders, the general public remains dissatisfied with world conditions and sees no change in America's influence. The dichotomy between ordinary Americans and Opinion Leaders in part may reflect the public's scant knowledge of international affairs and a media focus on violence, conflict and instability.

Moreover, most Americans fundamentally doubt the relevance of international events to their own lives. While the percentage of people holding isolationist views did not increase (as it had in previous surveys in this series), majorities -- sometimes large majorities -- say events in Europe, Mexico, Asia and Canada have little or no impact on them.

These are the principal findings of a four year trend survey that included foreign affairs and security experts, journalists, scholars, scientists, religious leaders, governors and mayors, top business executives, Congressional staff and labor leaders. The Center interviewed nearly 600 of these *Opinion Leaders* (or *Influentials*) culled from these ten different groups or professions for the report. A representative sample of two thousand adults was surveyed by phone between September 4 and 11 as well.

A Post, Post -Cold War View

Influential Americans are much more confident about this country’s place in the world now compared to four years ago when they were anxious about the future in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. They are also much more satisfied with the way things are going both in the world and in the United States.

Twice as many Americans in leadership positions believe the United States plays a more important role in the world today than thought so in 1993 when the Center conducted its first poll in this series. Four out of five still prefer a *shared leadership* role for the nation, but several Influential groups are now more inclined to say the United States should be the *single world leader*.

Far more are willing to keep defense spending the same than four years ago, 50% vs. 31%, with even some greater sentiment for actually increasing it, despite the lack of an enemy that structured the overarching national strategy of Cold War years. Most of the Influentials surveyed support the current level of preparedness as consistent with U.S. strategy of being able to fight two wars, in Europe and in Asia, at the same time.

American Opinion Leaders have also changed their mind on Bosnia, although not to such a significant degree. Bosnia was the foreign policy issue on which Influentials were most critical of President Clinton four years ago. Now a plurality rate U.S. efforts to bring peace to the Balkans only fair, about on a par with U.S. efforts to deal with China as an emerging world power, but this is higher than they grade U.S. efforts to cope with several other foreign policy problems such as stopping the flow of illegal immigrants or protecting the global environment. Moreover, majorities in all Influential groups, often large majorities, would support extending the U.S. military mission in Bosnia if peace depended on its presence.

The World A Better Place!			
....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
Bus/Finance			
1993	33	58	9=100
1997	66	34	0=100
Foreign Aff			
1993	26	67	7=100
1997	60	36	4=100
Security			
1993	15	73	12=100
1997	61	32	7=100
Gov./Mayors			
1993	28	66	6=100
1997	51	44	5=100
Think/Academ			
1993	35	53	12=100
1997	59	32	9=100
Religious Leaders			
1993	15	74	11=100
1997	50	42	8=100
Sci/Engineers			
1993	31	56	13=100
1997	58	36	6=100
Labor Union*			
1997	58	42	0=100
Hill Policy Staff*			
1997	67	30	3=100

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

The Public Differs

The public, in contrast, does not see a more rosy world. Whereas four years ago the public and the Influentials were essentially in lock-step in their sour evaluation of world conditions (only 28% and 25% satisfied, respectively), the public today remains unchanged in its assessment (29% satisfied) while the Opinion Leaders register 58% satisfaction. Similarly, the public and the Influentials were close together four years ago in assessing the nation (20% and 25% satisfied, respectively); while both are more satisfied now in this respect, the public is considerably less positive than the Opinion Leaders (45% and 73% satisfied, respectively).

Satisfaction Gaps			
	<u>Satisfied</u> %	<u>Dissatisfied</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
<i>Satisfaction With The Way Things Are Going In...</i>			
<u>The World:</u>			
All Influentials	58	36	6=100
General Public	29	65	6=100
<u>United States:</u>			
All Influentials	73	21	6=100
General Public	45	49	6=100

The American public does not think the United States today plays a greater global role than it did a decade ago. It is no more inclined to have the United States act as single world leader than before, nor any more generous with money for the military (although support for keeping spending at current levels remains high at 57%). It is also no more willing to use U.S. forces abroad in potential trouble spots than it was four years ago.

Average Americans are not enamored by U.S. activities in Bosnia, either. Barely half (48%) would support continuing the mission of American forces there even if it was necessary to keep the peace. A larger percentage (61%) does not believe U.S. and other NATO forces have improved chances so far for a permanent end to the fighting in the Balkans. A majority (55%) complains that Clinton has not adequately explained the purpose of U.S. forces there, up significantly in two years.

China: A Problem, Not An Adversary

American Influentials in the Pew Center survey also express little alarm about international problems. Concerns about global instability, including nuclear proliferation, continue to be the greatest general worries. China is the one geopolitical problem that attracts most attention. But in a number of ways Opinion Leaders express only moderate concern about most other potential problems.

Varied Concerns		
<i>America's Most Important International Problem:</i>		
	1st	2nd
	<u>Choice</u>	<u>Choice</u>
News Media	Global instability	China
Business/Finance	Trade	Global instability
Foreign Affairs	China	Global instability
Security	Global instability	US leadership role
Gov./Mayors	Global instability	Trade
Think/Academic	Global instability	Economic growth
Religious Leaders	Human rights	Global instability
Sci/Engineers	Global instability	US leadership role
Labor Union	Trade	Economic growth
Hill Policy Staff	Global instability	China

- Pluralities in eight of the ten Influential groups polled see less chance of an attack on the United States with weapons of mass destruction now compared to ten years ago. Security experts notably take a more pessimistic view-- with a 63% majority seeing a greater chance of attack.
- All Influential groups see much less risk of a nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan than they did in 1993.
- Quebec's secession from Canada is deemed unlikely despite the near success of the separatist referendum two years ago; and if Quebec does secede, only minor difficulties are anticipated for the United States as a result.
- Most Opinion Leaders are sanguine about the effects of European economic and political integration on the U.S.
- Few envision a civil war in Turkey.

While Influentials are twice as certain as in 1993 that China will become an assertive world power, most regard China as *a serious problem* rather than an *adversary*. Most are optimistic about the continued economic prosperity in Hong Kong under mainland rule. Opinion Leaders would advocate significant change in U.S. policy toward China after rather grave actions such as invading Taiwan or eliminating civil liberties in Hong Kong.

Significant majorities of all Opinion Leader groups would oppose U.S. insistence on applying American human and civil rights standards throughout the world if it seriously risked antagonizing friendly nations that follow different traditions. But there is a hint of increased priority being placed on protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression even if U.S. vital interests are not at stake.

Absent the single enemy that united disparate interests during the Cold War, Opinion Leaders surveyed show markedly different degrees of willingness to use America's military might in potential conflict situations. Majority support increased in favor of the use of U.S. forces in two of the four cases posed -- if Iraq invaded Saudi Arabia and if Arab forces invaded Israel -- and remains steady in the case of North Korea invading South Korea. Majorities of all but one Influential group oppose the fourth case -- use of force if the Mexican government were falling to revolution or civil war.

Nuclear Proliferation And Energy Top Goals

The consensus among Influentials on the greatest dangers to world stability remains much the same as four years ago: nationalism and ethnic hatred followed by proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Reflecting these worries, Influentials overwhelmingly want the main U.S. foreign policy goal to be halting the spread of weapons of mass destruction: fully 86% give it top priority. Second, also as it was four years ago, is insuring adequate energy supplies for the United States (61%). Third is combating international drug trafficking. Fewer respondents now see strengthening the United Nations as a top priority goal. Reducing foreign trade deficits also has lost urgency.

Improving the global environment rates much higher for Union leaders, Governors and Mayors, and Scientists than for Business leaders or Security experts. Improving living standards in developing nations receives much greater support from Religious leaders than from any other group. Reducing foreign trade deficits looms as much more important for Governors and Mayors.

Other notable attitudes found among American Opinion Leaders include:

- Majorities, usually large majorities, endorse the expansion of NATO into Central Europe. Least enthusiasm for the move comes from the Security and Foreign Affairs groups, with Security experts only marginally in favor of including Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic. There is somewhat less support among Opinion Leaders for a second round of expansion, though majorities in most groups remain in favor, with the Security and Foreign Policy experts again most dubious.

- Overwhelming majorities believe NAFTA is a good thing, except Labor Union leaders, more than two thirds of whom say it is a bad thing. Smaller majorities in most Influential groups favor extending the pact to other Latin American countries. Here again, Union Leaders are the exception -- three to one against it. Governors and Mayors, while supportive overall, are the next most reserved about expansion of the free trade association.
- Most Influential groups believe that the major lines of future conflict will be between civilizations rather than nations, a thesis advocated by Harvard Prof. Samuel Huntington, but majorities of Security and Foreign Policy experts disagree.
- Majorities, sometimes large majorities, of Influentials favor either major reforms of the Central Intelligence Agency or its outright abolition in favor of a new agency. Capitol Hill staffers oppose abolition and lean more than other groups to only minor reforms.

The Public's Agenda

Public responses suggest that it has not yet caught up to changed conditions over the past few years. While the public at large continues to have a gloomy international outlook, the very small percentage of Americans who are well informed about foreign affairs and have a college degree (about 4% of all Americans) have a positive view of world conditions -- one that approaches that of Opinion Leaders. (See box on page 14.)

Much of the broader public also does not consider foreign affairs important to their lives. Majorities of varying sizes say events in Europe, Asia, Mexico and Canada have little or no impact on them. Similarly large majorities say the news media carries about the right amount of foreign news. Knowledge of international policy and events is minimal. Fully 63% support expansion of NATO, but only 10% can correctly name any one of the three nations to be admitted.

Personal Relevance of Events in Other Countries			
<i>Does It Matter To Your Life?</i>			
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<i>What Happens In:</i>			
Western Europe	36	61	3=100
Mexico	42	55	3=100
Asia	35	61	4=100
Canada	31	66	3=100

As found four years ago, the public differs with Influentials on the top U.S. foreign policy priority. Protecting American jobs is given most priority, an effort which draws comparatively little attention among Influential groups except for Union leaders and Governors and Mayors. After this bread and butter issue, the public falls into line with Opinion Leaders, giving high priority to preventing nuclear proliferation, as well as to issues with domestic effects such as stopping drug trafficking, protecting U.S. energy supplies and safeguarding the global environment.

Sample

The purpose of the Pew Center survey was primarily to learn what America's leadership elites believe America's role in the post Cold War world should be. These leadership respondents, whom we call America's *Influentials* or *Opinion Leaders*, consisted of 591 men and women chosen from recognized lists of top individuals in various fields or by virtue of their leadership positions.¹

The Business and Finance group consisted of chief executive officers in industry and finance picked at random from these categories of **Fortune 1000**'s list of leading companies. The Foreign Affairs group was selected at random from the membership list of the Council on Foreign Relations. The Security group was selected at random from the list of American members of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. The Science and Engineering group was picked at random from members of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineers. Governors and mayors were chosen from among the fifty state governors and mayors of cities with populations over 80,000.

Among respondents selected on a non-random basis, Academics were taken from a list of leaders of the private universities rated as "most difficult" to enter and those state universities rated as "very difficult" to enter. The Think Tank portion of the Academic sample included the heads of major think tanks listed in *The Capitol Source*. Religion respondents were selected from the leadership of, among others, all Protestant denominations with memberships over 700,000; each of the 33 Catholic Archdioceses of the country; and the three mainstream Jewish movements. Media respondents were selected from among top individuals in television, newspapers, radio and news magazines. Union Leaders were selected from top officials of the nation's 50 largest unions. And the Capitol Hill staff were selected from committees handling international affairs and the personal staffs of members serving on such committees.

¹ The sample is described in detail in the Methodology section appended to this report.

PUBLICS INTERVIEWED

General Public	(2000)
Media	(73)
Business and Finance	(35)
Foreign Affairs	(69)
Security	(57)
Governors and Mayors	(75)
Think Tanks and Academics	(93)
Religious Leaders	(36)
Science and Engineering	(92)
Labor Union	(24)
Congressional staff	(37)

Demographically, Influential respondents were mostly male, white and highly educated: 94% held university degrees, including 27% with masters degrees and 46% with doctorates. About one third (34%) had served in the military. Democrats outnumbered Republicans 41% to 26% overall, with another 32% self-described Independents. Half the sample (50%) described themselves as moderates, with another 27% describing themselves as liberal and 20% as conservative. The 1997 Influential sample closely parallels the 1993 sample in all respects.

The parallel public survey was undertaken to compare with the Influentials. It polled 2,000 adults who form a cross-section of American society in all of the various demographic measures.

HOW THINGS ARE GOING

The reversal of assessments by the Influentials compared to four years ago is striking. Every group of Opinion Leaders has gone from overwhelming dissatisfaction with the way things were going in the world and the nation to overwhelming satisfaction. The great anxieties of the post-Cold War world, led by nuclear proliferation and anarchy in the former Soviet bloc, have not materialized so far. The conflicts in Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti have faded from the forefront of concerns. And the American economy is experiencing unprecedented growth and stability. From the American perspective, "This terrible century has -- or appears to be having -- a happy ending," as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. writes.²

Satisfaction

On average, almost six out of ten Influentials are satisfied with *conditions in the world* today, whereas two out of three were dissatisfied in 1993. Most satisfied now are Capitol Hill staffers and Business leaders; least are Religious leaders -- for whom protecting human rights and improving living standards in developing nations continue to be matters of primary concern-- and Governors and Mayors.

Even greater satisfaction exists with *conditions in the country*. Three out of four Influentials are satisfied now, whereas two out of three were dissatisfied four years ago. Most satisfied are Capitol Hill staffers and Academicians; again, Religious leaders express least satisfaction, although even in this group, a majority *is* satisfied.

The public remains dissatisfied with the way things are going in the world -- 65% now, 66% in 1993 -- as well as with things in the United States, although here it admits to considerable improvement in the state of the country. Four years ago fully 75% of Americans said they were dissatisfied with conditions in the country, down to 49% now. Women are significantly more dissatisfied than men regarding conditions *both* in the world and the nation. Politically, Republicans and Independents are more dissatisfied with conditions in the country, but no more or less dissatisfied with conditions in the world. More extensive examination of the public follows in a separate section. (See page 13.)

²

"Has Democracy A Future?" Foreign Affairs, September/October 1997, p2.

President Clinton's *job approval rating* has risen among all Influential groups, reflecting very closely the public's assessment of how he is handling his job (58% approval, up from 43% in four years) as well how he is handling the *economy* (60%, up from 38% in mid-1994). Among Influentials, Clinton registers his largest approval *gain* with the Business and Finance leaders. Rating him most highly, however, are Union leaders, Academicians, Scientists and Foreign Affairs specialists. Most disapproving are Hill staffers, Religious leaders, Security experts, and Business leaders (despite their changed opinion).

Clinton's Approval Rating			
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
News Media			
1993	38	40	22=100
1997	45	25	30=100
Bus/Finance			
1993	16	77	7=100
1997	54	46	0=100
Foreign Aff			
1993	54	36	10=100
1997	72	19	9=100
Security			
1993	47	46	7=100
1997	55	40	5=100
Gov./Mayors			
1993	51	42	7=100
1997	59	35	6=100
Think/Academ			
1993	63	27	10=100
1997	79	16	5=100
Religious Leaders			
1993	45	40	15=100
1997	50	42	8=100
Sci/Engineers			
1993	69	22	9=100
1997	78	12	10=100
Labor Union			
1997	92	8	0=100
Hill Policy Staff			
1997	51	49	0=100

Best And Worst

Asked what are the *best things* about the Clinton Administration’s handling of foreign policy, the Influentials most often *volunteer* its trade and economic policies. Also mentioned is the Administration’s handling of foreign conflicts, with Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia leading the way, followed by the Mideast and Russia. Foreign Affairs specialists, Security experts and Hill staffers who focus on international affairs -- the three groups who are arguably the most familiar with foreign policy -- give the Administration highest grades for trade agreements, foreign policy appointments, NATO expansion efforts and work on the Mideast. Many Opinion Leaders also point to general caution and restraint, flexibility and the use of a multilateral approach as good points of Administration foreign policy.

Clinton’s Foreign Policy Successes		
	<u>Top</u>	<u>2nd Mention</u>
News Media	Bosnia	Trade/Econ. agenda
Business/Finance	Trade/Econ. agenda	No armed conflicts
Foreign Affairs	Trade/Econ. agenda	Foreign policy appointments
Security	Trade/Econ. agenda	NATO Exp.
Gov./Mayors	Trade/Econ. agenda	Multilateral approach
Think/Academics	Trade/Econ. agenda	Demonstrates caution/restraint
Religious Leaders	Flexibility	Mideast peace efforts
Science/Engineers	Trade/Econ. agenda	Demonstrates caution/restraint
Labor Union	Multilateral approach	Identifying & Attacking Problems/Issues
Hill Policy Staff	Trade/Econ. agenda	Mideast peace efforts

Indecision and lack of direction is the largest category of criticism volunteered by respondents when asked to name the *worst things* about the Administration’s foreign policy record. Critical groups range from Religious and Media influentials to Foreign Affairs and Security specialists. Handling of conflicts is the second highest category of criticism, with Bosnia and China most often cited, followed by NATO expansion, particularly by Security experts.

Foreign Policy Evaluations

In terms of evaluating the U.S. government on specific matters, Influentials award their *best grades* for efforts to promote U.S. business interests abroad, followed by success in dismantling the former Soviet nuclear arsenal. The Opinion Leaders are more guarded, but still very positive, about American efforts in dealing with trade and economic disputes with Japan, promoting democracy in Russia and seeking a permanent peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

Poorest grades, by far and away, go to government activities to stop illegal immigration and international drug trafficking. Less poor grades go to efforts as disparate as protecting the global environment, dealing with the emergence of China as a world power and achieving peace in the Balkans. Most critical on China are the Security experts, the Media, Religious leaders and Capitol Hill staff; least critical are Union leaders and Academicians. On China, differences between Foreign and Security specialists

emerge, with the latter more critical of government efforts. Least critical on the Balkans are Union leaders, Scientists and Hill staffers.

Grading U. S. Foreign Policy			
	<u>% Saying Excellent/ Good*</u>	<u>Highest Grader</u>	<u>Lowest Grader</u>
Aiding interests of U.S. business abroad	67	Unions	Bus/Fin
Dismantling the nuclear arsenals of Russia & the former Soviet Republics	57	Unions	Scientists
Dealing w/trade & economic disputes with Japan	46	Foreign Aff.	Bus/Fin
Promoting democracy in Russia	46	Unions	Security
Bringing about peace between Israel & the Palestinians	44	Hill staff	Bus/Fin
Achieving peace in the Balkans	36	Unions	Gov./Mayors
Dealing with emergence of China as a world power	33	Unions	Security
Protecting global environment	18	Bus/Fin	Media
Stopping flow of illegal immigrants	11	Think/Acad	Bus/Fin
Reducing international drug trafficking	7	Unions	Media
* Among all Influentials aggregated.			

THE PUBLIC AND FOREIGN POLICY

The public four years ago was less satisfied with the way things were going in the country (20% satisfied) than the way things were going in the world (28%), which was remarkable in view of the greater turmoil beyond our borders. Now it perceives the nation to be comparatively better (45% satisfied) while the world is just as bad (29% satisfied).

American women are much more dissatisfied with the state of the world than American men (71% vs. 57%) and marginally more dissatisfied with the state of the country (53% vs. 45%). This is the same pattern as in 1993 regarding the world (73% vs. 59%), while there was no difference then between women and men in their assessments of the country (76% vs. 75% dissatisfied).

A Center study has shown that while there has been little gender difference in news interest generally over the past ten years, women are slightly less attentive to *international* news than men (23% vs. 17% followed such stories very closely). On knowledge, however, women scored lower than men when asked about specific foreign events and people (29% vs. 46% correct on average).³ In the present public survey, twice as many men correctly answered at least two of the three information questions on the poll (36% vs. 17%). There is little difference in the education levels of men and women in the sample.

More broadly, college graduates as a whole are less dissatisfied with the world than respondents with less than a high school education, much as in 1993. The better educated are also less dissatisfied with the nation now, while four years ago there was little difference in this measure.

Blacks are again more dissatisfied with the world than whites, even taking education into account, but both see the country in similar terms.

³ “Ten Years of the Pew News Interest Index,” by Kimberly Parker and Claudia Deane, Pew Research Center for The People & The Press, Washington, DC, April 1997.

One possible explanation for the gap between Opinion Leaders and the public is that Americans as a whole may not have caught up to the fact that the world is a more hospitable place today than it was four years ago. Several bits of evidence can be marshaled in support of the argument. The small segment of the public (8% of respondents) which is most knowledgeable about international matters,⁴ is significantly more satisfied with the world than the public as a whole. In fact, among college graduates in this highly informed segment, a majority express satisfaction with conditions in the world.

The More You Know, the Better You Feel			
<i>W/ Way Things Are Going in World</i>			
	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Number Of Quiz Questions Answered Correctly:</i>			
0/1	26	67	7=100
2	35	60	5=100
3	46	50	4=100
3 right & college grad	51	43	6=100

But while satisfaction is related to knowledge, it is not related to news attentiveness. In fact, in the current survey, those who follow international news closely are more dissatisfied with the state of the world than those who do not. This is particularly true of the less educated Americans who are attentive to world news. It would seem that international news in the media, being heavily weighted toward conflict and confrontation, may be frightening the casual consumer of world news.

With the media focus on conflict in its world coverage, it may be argued that political leaders have not communicated the good news about world events adequately to Americans. A majority (55%) of the public, for example, complains that President Clinton has not explained the situation in Bosnia well enough for them to understand why American troops are there.

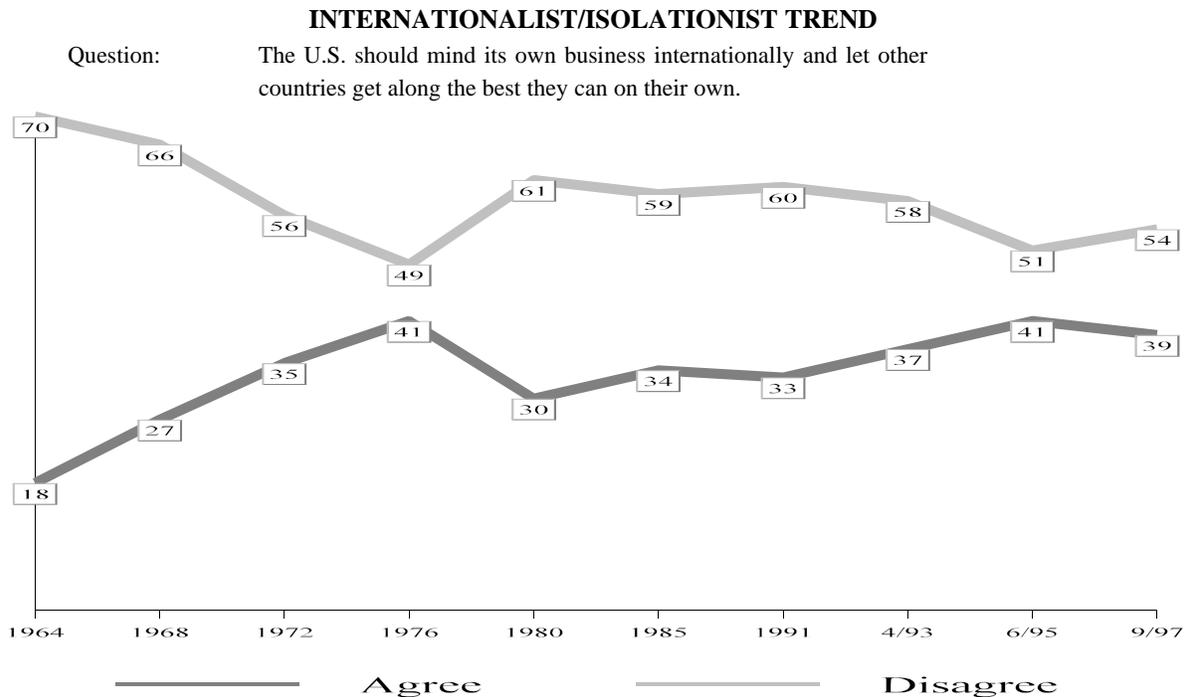
The public appears to be satisfied with the amount of foreign news it gets: 62% said international events get the “right amount of attention” in the media, with the rest split evenly between too much and too little. Those who believe there is too much foreign coverage are somewhat more dissatisfied with the world compared to the majority who are happy with what they get.

⁴ These respondents correctly answered all three knowledge questions in the poll: the name of the president of Russia, one of the three nations to be admitted to NATO, and the Canadian province threatening to secede.

In any case, Americans do not believe foreign events affect their lives very much. Majorities ranging from 55% to 66% say that what happens in Mexico, Western Europe, Asia and Canada has little or no impact on them.

Isolationism Unchanged

No greater degree of isolationism is found in the public today than in 1993. Although isolationism remains a large minority sentiment, it appears to have stabilized in recent years. Somewhat fewer Americans believe the United States “should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems” (72% agree vs. 79% in April 1993). There is no change in the proportion believing the United States “should mind its own business internationally” (39% vs. 37% agree), or in the percentage agreeing that the country, as the most powerful in the world, should “go its own way in international matters” without worrying much about other countries (32% agree vs. 34% four years ago). There is a slight increase in the percentage who do not think the United States should take its allies’ views into consideration when forming foreign policy (18% vs. 13%), but this remains a small minority view. Significantly fewer Americans agree that the United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations, but this question may reflect primarily on volatile attitudes toward the world body per se rather than toward international affairs (59% agree vs.71% in April 1993 but 64% in October 1993).



Moreover, while foreign aid is *generally* quite unpopular, large majorities favor specific types of assistance. Fully 86% support providing food and medical assistance to needy peoples; 76% favor aid to help needy countries develop their economies; and 73% support military aid to allied countries. Perhaps most surprising, support for family planning and birth control in developing nations is 68%. These levels of support did not change whether the question preface spoke of “help to other countries” or “foreign aid.”

PROBLEMS AND GOALS

Peace And Leadership

In naming the nation's most important international problem, American Influentials most often focus on maintaining peace, either in a general sense or in relation to specific world hot spots. Also prominent are mentions of the country's leadership role -- both in terms of *maintaining* and *defining* America's place in the world.

Among regional problems, China is cited most often as a potential problem, much more so than Bosnia and slightly more than the Middle East. This represents a change from 1993 when Bosnia and the former Soviet Union were the major regional concerns and China was hardly noted. Economic problems also rank high for some Influential groups, particularly trade issues.

Hill staff are the most likely to mention concerns about world stability (49% do). Labor Union leaders and Business leaders both name trade problems more often than any other single issue (29% and 23% respectively). Religious leaders bring up human rights far more often than any other group.

The public shares many of these concerns, particularly those centering on maintaining peace and strengthening the global and national economy. The public parts company with Influentials on the salience of several other topics, however. Few Americans volunteer concerns about the United States' leadership role (3%, compared to about one-fourth of the Security group), and only 1% of the public volunteers China as the most pressing international problem. Seven percent of Americans name international drug trafficking as the nation's most important international problem. Less than 1% of Influentials *volunteered* this answer.

Proliferation And Energy Supply Top Goals

As they did four years ago, most Influentials believe that preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction should be the nation's top foreign policy goal. This issue tops the list of every group. And again as in 1993, the second most frequently named priority is insuring adequate energy supplies for the United States. Other goals which are often ranked as top priorities include: improving the global environment and combating international drug trafficking. Environmental protection ranks particularly high among Scientists and Academicians. (See box on page 19.)

A handful of goals are embraced more enthusiastically by some Opinion Leaders than others. Protecting the jobs of American workers is one of the top five priorities for Opinion Leaders with domestic constituencies: Business, Governors and Mayors, and Labor. Promoting and defending human rights is most often named as a top priority by Religious leaders. Reducing the U.S. trade deficit is in the top five priorities only for Business leaders.

Two foreign policy goals have lost some priority over the past several years. Fewer Influentials in every group now say that strengthening the U.N. should be a top priority, and fewer put emphasis on reducing the nation's trade deficit. At the same time, American Opinion Leaders put a slightly higher priority on improving living standards in developing nations compared to 1993.

The public ranks foreign policy goals this year as it did in 1993, with protecting American jobs -- essentially a domestic goal -- at the top of the list (77% say this should be a top priority). In contrast, only one Influential group (Labor) puts protecting jobs among its top three priorities. The public rates stopping nuclear proliferation second (70% say a top priority). Third highest ranked is combating international drug trafficking (67%), followed by maintaining access to energy supplies (58%) and improving the global environment (50%).

Americans continue to show little interest in international altruism as a foreign policy goal. Fewer than three in ten give top priority to defending human rights abroad (27%), improving living standards in developing nations (23%), promoting democracy (22%) or protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression (16%).

Republicans and Democrats rank foreign policy priorities in a similar order, though there are some differences in emphasis. Democrats put more stock in protecting jobs, improving the global environment, strengthening the U.N. and improving living standards in less developed countries than do Republicans.

Top Five Foreign Policy Priorities

News Media

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Combating intntl. drug trafficking
Improving global environment
Promoting & defending human rights

Business/Finance

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Combating intntl. drug trafficking
Protecting jobs of American workers
Reducing trade deficit

Foreign Affairs

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Improving global environment
Combating intntl. drug trafficking
Promoting democracy

Security

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Combating intntl. drug trafficking
Improving global environment
Reducing illegal immigration

Governors/Mayors

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Combating intntl. drug trafficking
Protecting jobs of American workers
Improving global environment

Think Tank/Academics

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Improving global environment
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Helping improve living standards
Combating intntl. drug trafficking

Religious Leaders

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Promoting & defending human rights
Combating intntl. drug trafficking
Helping improve living standards
Insuring adequate energy supplies

Science/Engineers

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Improving global environment
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Combating intntl. drug trafficking
Helping improve living standards

Labor Unions

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Protecting jobs of American workers
Combating intntl. drug trafficking
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Improving global environment

Hill Policy Staff

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Combating intntl. drug trafficking
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Promoting democracy
Promoting & defending human rights

General Public

Protecting jobs of American workers
Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Combating intntl. drug trafficking
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Improving global environment

Limits To Emphasis On Human Rights

Much like the public, there is little support among Influentials for pressing human and civil

rights concerns on other nations if doing so would risk harming an important international relationship. Majorities in every group would oppose applying these standards abroad if doing so might antagonize friendly nations whose traditions differ from Western ideals. Those in the Business, Governors and Mayors, and Science groups most often oppose pushing human rights standards, while about a third of those in the Media, Foreign Affairs, Religious leaders and Hill staff groups say the United States should insist on such humanitarian behavior whenever it can.

DANGERS TODAY AND TOMORROW

Security Experts Worry More About Attack on U.S.

A plurality of American Influentials believe the danger of attack on the U.S. with a weapon of mass destruction (nuclear, biological or chemical) is *less* than it was ten years ago. But a majority of the Security group -- arguably those with the most professional experience -- say there is *more* of a threat of attack now than there was in the late eighties.

At least six in ten in every group of Opinion Leaders see foreign sponsored *terrorists*, rather than foreign military powers or homegrown terrorists, as the greatest source of potential danger. This is true both in the case of nuclear assault and attack with biological/chemical weapons. Hill staffers are the most likely to see foreign *powers* as a nuclear threat, but still only one in four say that these pose the *greatest* danger. Influentials more often name domestic terrorists as a threat when asked about biological/chemical attacks: 15% overall, compared to 7% who name domestic terrorists as posing the greatest nuclear danger.

	Danger of Attack on U. S. with Weapon of Mass Destruction			
	<i>Compared To 10 Years Ago ...</i>			
	<u>Greater</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%
News Media	32	41	27	0=100
Bus/Finance	26	46	28	0=100
Foreign Affairs	23	55	22	0=100
Security	63	19	18	0=100
Gov./Mayors	20	48	32	0=100
Think/Academ	24	54	20	2=100
Religious Leaders	14	64	22	0=100
Sci/Engineers	16	60	24	0=100
Labor Union	13	58	29	0=100
Hill Policy Staff	38	32	30	0=100

The public is not nearly so sanguine about the fading risk of attack from abroad. Only 30% of Americans say there is less of a danger of attack with a weapon of mass destruction now compared to ten years ago. In fact, slightly more Americans (36%) see a *greater* danger now than in the late eighties. And another third (32%) see the risk level as unchanged. The more educated and those who are more informed about foreign affairs are significantly more likely to agree with Influentials that the threat of attack has decreased.

Foreign sponsored terrorists figure as the primary threat in the eyes of the public as well as Opinion Leaders. More than half of the public (54%) say that terrorists from abroad pose the greatest danger in terms of nuclear attack. Yet the public expresses more concern than most Influential groups about American terrorism -- about a quarter (26%) see domestic terrorists as the greatest threat. And in some groups, such as women under thirty and Hispanics, concern about domestic terrorists rivals fear of foreign terrorists.

Threats To World Stability

Most Influentials identify nationalism and ethnic hatred as either the greatest or the next greatest threat to world stability, a pattern repeated from 1993. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction also remains a prominent danger, ranked at the top of the list by half of the Security group and a majority of Hill staff.

Beyond these primary concerns, population growth, religious fanaticism and international drugs are emphasized by different groups. Scientists and engineers, in a break with the rest of the Influential groups, identify population growth as the greatest danger to world stability. Business leaders are the most likely to see religious fanaticism as a destabilizing force. Drugs and crime are a higher priority for Governors and Mayors, Union leaders and Religious leaders. Other possible sources of global instability -- such as environmental pollution and international trade conflicts -- are rarely identified as among the top dangers. Even among Business leaders, only 11% name trade conflicts as the greatest danger.

Threats To World Stability		
	<u>1st choice</u>	<u>2nd choice</u>
News Media	Nationalism & ethnic hatred	Spread of nuclear weapons
Bus/Finance	Nationalism & ethnic hatred	Religious fanaticism
Foreign Affairs	Nationalism & ethnic hatred	Spread of nuclear weapons
Security	Spread of nuclear weapons	Nationalism & ethnic hatred
State/Loc Govt	Nationalism & ethnic hatred	Drug cartels & crime
Think/Academ	Nationalism & ethnic hatred	Spread of nuclear weapons
Religious Leaders	Nationalism & ethnic hatred	Drug cartels & crime
Sci/Engineers	Population growth	Nationalism & ethnic hatred
Labor Union	Nationalism & ethnic hatred	Spread of nuclear weapons
Hill Policy Staff	Spread of nuclear weapons	Nationalism & ethnic hatred

Even in international affairs, a domestic issue tops the public's list of worries. International drug and crime rings are chosen most often as the greatest danger to world stability (32% say greatest danger, another 20% second greatest danger). Second and third on the public's list are the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and then the problems associated with nationalism. Americans overall do not see population growth as much of a danger.

Forecast: Africa In Turmoil, China On The Rise

Continuing ethnic violence in Sub-Saharan Africa is the most common forecast for the next ten years among American Influentials -- more than nine in ten in almost every group say this is certain or probable.

Large majorities in all groups also see China's development as an assertive world power as a strong possibility, with Business leaders and those heading universities and think tanks the most convinced. The percentage who think China's ascendancy is "certain" has increased dramatically in most groups since 1993. Despite

this, Influentials do not seem to worry that China will endanger Hong Kong. The majority in each Influential group say it is certain or probable that economic prosperity in Hong Kong will continue, even in China's shadow.

Opinion is mixed on a cluster of events including Bosnia, Cuba, and the success of the single European currency. Hill staff and Security experts are the least optimistic about the prospects for maintaining the current peace in Bosnia: they overwhelmingly see a renewed outbreak of violence as certain or probable (84% and 72% respectively). Religious leaders and Labor Union heads are the most optimistic: only 36% and 29%, respectively, say that renewed warfare is certain or probable.

At least one in five in the Business and Security groups say that communism in Cuba will certainly end in the next ten years, and a number of other groups see this as at least probable. But Governors and Mayors, Scientists, Labor leaders and Hill staff are much more divided on the island's future.

Influentials Forecast World Events ...			
	<u>% Overall</u>	<u>Group ...</u>	
	<u>Certain/</u>	<u>Most</u>	<u>Least</u>
	<u>Probable</u>	<u>Certain</u>	<u>Certain</u>
<i>Consensus: Will ...</i>			
Ethnic violence continues in Sub Saharan Africa	91%	Hill staff	Unions
China develops as assertive world power	81%	Bus/Fin	Security
Economic prosperity in Hong Kong continues	78%	Hill staff	Religion
<i>Consensus: Won't ...</i>			
North & South Korea reunify	25%	Security	Unions
Civil war in Turkey	17%	Religion	Security
Quebec secedes from Canada	10%	Unions	Religion
Nuclear exchange in South Asia	2%	Religion	Science
<i>Divided Opinion On ...</i>			
Communism ends in Cuba	59%	Security	St/Loc Govt
Warfare resumes in former Yugoslavia	53%	Hill staff	Unions
Common European currency becomes a reality	52%	Foreign Aff	Hill staff

Few Influentials foresee: a nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan; civil war between fundamentalist and secular forces in Turkey; the secession of Quebec from Canada; and the reunification of North and South Korea. Concern about nuclear war in South Asia is considerably lower than even its relatively low levels in 1993.

China Looms Large

Most Influentials anticipate China’s power increasing over the next decade, but they do not currently view Beijing as an adversary. Majorities in each group say instead that they view China as a serious problem but *not* an adversary. Business leaders are the most likely to see China as “not much of a problem” at all.

America’s Opinion Leaders seem prepared to make significant changes in policy toward China if it should take action

on one of three dramatic fronts: invade Taiwan, engage in unrestrained missile sales to rogue nations, or eliminate civil liberties in Hong Kong. Approximately nine in ten Influentials in each group say that the first two of these scenarios would justify a major change in American policy. The end of civil rights in Hong Kong also draws majority support for such a policy change, but some groups -- including Business, Security and Scientists -- include large minorities who do not think such actions would merit a significant American response.

There is also disagreement across the groups as to whether violent repression in Tibet by the Chinese would justify a significant U.S. response: Strong majorities in the Union, Religious and Academic groups say yes, while most of the Business, Foreign Affairs and Security groups say no.

The public is in step with Opinion Leaders on the question of China’s status. A plurality of Americans (46%) say China is a serious problem but not an adversary, while about a third (32%) say Beijing is not much of a problem. Fewer than one in five (14%) see China as an adversary. Interestingly, there is a strong generational pattern in views of China: almost half (47%) of those under age 30 say China is not much of a problem today, compared to only 20% of those over 50, the majority of whom see China as a serious problem.

How China Is Viewed Today. . . As:			
	<u>An adversary</u>	A serious <u>problem</u>	Not much <u>of a prob/DK</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Influentials</i>			
News Media	19	67	14=100
Bus/Finance	17	54	29=100
Foreign Affairs	10	67	23=100
Security	14	70	16=100
Gov/Mayors	16	72	12=100
Think/Academics	7	82	11=100
Religious Leaders	6	89	5=100
Sci/Engineers	7	66	27=100
Labor Union	21	67	12=100
Hill Policy Staff	16	73	11=100
<i>General Public</i>	14	46	40=100

Closer to home, Opinion Leaders were also asked about the ramifications of Quebec's secession from Canada. In line with their overarching feelings of confidence, few Influentials (on average less than one in ten) say that the creation of a new nation to the north would cause *major* political, economic or security difficulties for the United States. The vast majority believe that Quebec's secession might cause *minor* difficulties, and roughly one in five see no difficulties at all arising from such an event.

Clash Of Civilizations

In broad terms, most Influential groups agree that the major lines of world conflict in the future will be between civilizations with different cultures and religions, rather than between countries with different national or territorial concerns. Large majorities of the Business and Governors and Mayors groups support this hypothesis. But most of the Foreign Affairs and Security groups -- whose work deals with international affairs -- *disagree* with Professor Huntington's theory.

U.S. AND WORLD LEADERSHIP

Roughly half of Influentials believe that the United States plays a *more important* role as world leader now than it did ten years ago. This represents a dramatic change from 1993, when only one-fourth saw the U.S. role as more important and more than one third said the country was playing a *less important* role than ten years ago. Today only small minorities (20% or fewer in each group of Influentials) see America's leadership role in decline. About four in ten Influentials in 1993 and 1997 said that the American role as world leader has not changed over the past decade.

There is little desire, however, for the United States to become the world's *single* leader. In most groups, fewer than one in five advocate this role, though there has been a slight increase in this view since 1993. Instead, a narrow majority of Influentials prefer assertive multinationalism. About half in most groups say the United States should be the *most assertive* power among a group of nations sharing the responsibilities of leadership. A final segment, approximately one in four, say the United States should share power, but be no more or less assertive than other nations.

Hill staff specializing in international affairs have a different view. More than four in ten (43%) say the United States *should* play the role of single world leader, making Congressional aides by far the most aggressive group. Business leaders also support a top leadership role for the nation (28%) more than average. Religious leaders are least supportive of the United States taking an assertive role.

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

The American public does not wholeheartedly agree that the United States now plays a more important role in the world than it did ten years ago. About a third (35%) say it does, but slightly more (40%) see the U.S. role as unchanged. And another quarter (23%) say the nation plays a *less* important role now. Unlike the Influentials, who see a greater American role compared to 1993, the public does not believe the United States' role has changed much.

The public advocates a significantly more passive international role for the U.S. than do Opinion Leaders -- fully half (50%) want responsibility and power to be spread *equally* among the leading nations. The public does not want the United States to take a more active role than others.

Approximately one in ten Americans (11%) do not think the U.S. should play *any* leadership role in the world. Extremely few Opinion Leaders give this response. A similar sized public minority (12%) at the other end of the spectrum believe the U.S. should be the single world leader, approximately equivalent to the number of Influentials who hold the same view.

College-educated Americans and those with the most foreign policy information more often favor assertive multinationalism, while less educated people and nonwhites are most apt to favor a diminished leadership role for the United States. Men slightly more often than women support an assertive role for the country, as do Republicans slightly more often than Democrats or Independents.

The United Nations

Neither Opinion Leaders nor the public put strengthening the United Nations anywhere near the top of their foreign policy priority list. In fact, support for the world body has slipped among both survey populations in recent years. Approximately four in ten Americans (41%) said strengthening the United Nations was a top priority in 1993, compared to 30% who say so now. Moreover, the world body has slipped in popularity since 1993: While most Americans still give the U.N. a favorable rating (64%), this is down from May 1993 (73%).

Desired United States Leadership Role					
	<i>Shared</i>				
	World's	Most	As	None	DK
	Single	Active	Active		
	Leader				
	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Influentials</i>					
1993	8	58	29	1	5=100
1997	15	50	27	1	7=100
<i>General Public</i>					
1993	10	27	52	7	4=100
1997	12	22	50	11	5=100

Whither The CIA?

A plurality of Influentials say the Central Intelligence Agency is in need of major reform, though most Opinion Leaders fall short of saying the CIA should be abolished in favor of a new intelligence agency. Overall, about one third of Influentials say the nation's foreign intelligence operation needs minor changes, more than four in ten say it needs major reforms, and roughly 20% say it should be abolished.

Members of the Hill staff and Security groups -- many of whom might be expected to have more knowledge of the agency -- are the least likely to say that the CIA's problems are serious enough to warrant its demise. Labor leaders and the Media group are the most likely to say the agency should be replaced.

USE OF FORCE

Influentials show somewhat greater willingness than in 1993 to commit U.S. forces in at least two key hot-spots in the world. Consistent with this attitude, sentiment for cutting defense spending plummeted over the period and enlargement of NATO membership and some expansion of NATO's role were endorsed. The public, however, sees things differently when it comes to committing U.S. forces abroad. It is no more willing to do so than four years ago.

Conflicts Abroad

All Influential groups overwhelmingly support the use of American military forces if Iraq invades Saudi Arabia. All strongly favor its use if South Korea is invaded by the North or if Israel is invaded by Arab states. In many groups, the support is greater than four years earlier. Even Religious leaders are more willing to use force in these cases, although they remain the least enthusiastic among the Influential groups to do so.

Only in Mexico is U.S. intervention disapproved, and strongly so, but with unexpected variations within groups. Religious leaders and the Media show a marked increase in willingness to intervene, while the Foreign Affairs and Business groups show markedly less inclination than in 1993.

The public, however, approve of committing U.S. forces only in support of Saudi Arabia in the same proportion as it had four years ago (54% vs. 53%) in 1993. A majority oppose sending American troops to help South Korea (58% vs. 63% in 1993), and narrow pluralities oppose sending them to help Israel (47% vs. 48%) and Mexico (49% vs. 52%). The minorities which approve of the dispatch of U.S. troops in these latter three cases -- Korea, Israel, and Mexico -- show little change from 1993.

Defense Spending Backed

Every group of Influentials that was surveyed four years ago registers less support for cutting back defense spending, and virtually every group shows some greater support for more money for the Pentagon. But the most dominant sentiment is for keeping spending the same, a distinct change from 1993 when cutting was the watchword. A plurality or majority of most Opinion Leader groups chooses the option of keeping expenditures the same. Of the two new groups surveyed, Hill staffers join the other Influentials in favoring no change, while a large majority of Union Leaders disagree.

Consistent with this attitude, a majority in all but one group of Opinion Leaders support a U.S. strategy of being able to fight two wars, one in Europe and the other in Asia, at the same time. Foreign Affairs specialists are least enthusiastic.

On the issue of defense spending, the public remains unchanged in its majority view of 1993 that military expenditures should stay the same (57% vs. 52%). As with the Influentials, there is greater sentiment for increased spending and less for cutting back compared to four years earlier.

		Defense Spending			
		<u>Increase</u>	<u>Keep</u>	<u>Cut</u>	<u>DK</u>
		%	%	%	%
<i>Influentials</i>					
News Media					
	1993	3	28	68	1=100
	1997	14	48	37	1=100
Bus/Finance					
	1993	9	45	43	3=100
	1997	23	60	17	0=100
Foreign Aff					
	1993	6	30	60	4=100
	1997	10	39	49	2=100
Security					
	1993	11	40	46	3=100
	1997	25	49	24	2=100
Gov./Mayors					
	1993	0	41	52	7=100
	1997	23	61	15	1=100
Think/Academ					
	1993	4	19	71	6=100
	1997	8	45	46	1=100
Religious Leaders					
	1993	2	36	60	2=100
	1997	17	44	39	0=100
Sci/Engineers					
	1993	2	24	70	4=100
	1997	3	51	44	2=100
Labor Union					
	1997	8	42	50	0=100
Hill Policy Staff					
	1997	22	59	19	0=100
General Public					
	1993	10	52	36	2=100
	1997	17	57	24	2=100

NATO And Europe

Every Influential group approves of NATO expansion into Central Europe by adding Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to its membership. Most enthusiastic are Union, Business and Religious leaders; least are Foreign Affairs and Security experts. There appears to be little change in this support when the potential price tag of \$200 million is cited. However, the Influentials do express a significantly lower level of support for a second round of enlargement.

	Views on NATO Expansion					
	<i>Round One</i>			<i>Round Two</i>		
	<u>App.</u>	<u>Disapp.</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>App.</u>	<u>Disapp.</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Influentials</i>						
News Media	72	25	3=100	64	28	8=100
Bus/Finance	91	9	0=100	77	14	9=100
Foreign Aff	61	32	7=100	45	39	16=100
Security	54	44	2=100	54	44	2=100
Gov./Mayors	75	21	4=100	64	24	12=100
Think/Academ	81	16	3=100	77	16	7=100
Religious Leaders	86	11	3=100	75	19	6=100
Sci/Engineers	75	18	7=100	61	26	13=100
Labor Union	96	4	0=100	92	8	0=100
Hill Policy Staff	73	27	0=100	54	38	8=100
<i>General Public</i>	63	18	19=100	n/a	n/a	n/a

Asked about expanding the *role* of NATO, seven of the ten groups approve of using alliance (including American) forces to defend Western interests outside Europe, such as in the Persian Gulf. Majorities of Religious leaders and particularly Business leaders disapprove. By huge majorities, all groups endorse using NATO forces to provide peacekeeping in countries *bordering* on NATO members, such as Bosnia. Lesser but still substantial majorities approve NATO forces for peacekeeping in case of conflict *between* NATO members.

The public approves of NATO expansion 63% to 18%, but as noted earlier, only one in ten Americans can identify even one of the three nations invited to join. Those who have some amount of foreign policy information more often approve of expanding NATO than those who have none (74% vs. 50%). More than half (53%) of all Americans have a favorable view of the alliance although 4% have never heard of it and another 15% say they could not rate it one way or the other.

Almost all Influential groups give strong majority support to extending the U.S. military mission to Bosnia if peace depended on it, with Business leaders less supportive than the others. The public is far less enthusiastic (48% support, 46% oppose), and a large majority of Americans (61%) do not believe that sending U.S. and other NATO forces to Bosnia has improved the chances of a permanent end to the fighting. Moreover, 55% complain President Clinton has not sufficiently explained the reason for U.S. forces there, up from 43% in late 1995 (in a CBS/NYTimes poll).

	Extending Our Stay In Bosnia		
	<i>If Peace Depended On It ...</i>		
	<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Influentials</i>			
News Media	85	14	1=100
Bus/Finance	54	43	3=100
Foreign Affairs	86	10	4=100
Security	79	19	2=100
State/Local Govt	72	24	4=100
Think/Academics	88	11	1=100
Religious Leaders	78	22	0=100
Sci/Engineers	74	24	2=100
Labor Union	92	8	0=100
Hill Policy Staff	68	24	8=100
<i>General Public</i>	48	46	6=100

THE ECONOMY AND TRADE

The nation is demonstrably better off economically today than four years ago, and the survey shows it. President Clinton is enjoying unprecedented public approval for his handling of the economy (60%) and is just below his high point in approval of his handling of international trade issues (44%).

Opinion Leaders are also quick to bring up trade and other economic issues when asked to name the best things about the Clinton Administration's foreign policy; it is the number one topic volunteered by seven of the ten Influential groups. And the government receives its highest rating for the job it is doing assisting businesses abroad: Overall 67% of Influentials say it is doing an excellent or good job, though few Influentials rank this as a top foreign policy goal.

North American Free Trade

The Influentials again heartily endorse NAFTA, with at least three quarters in all but one group saying that the agreement is a "good thing" from a U.S. point of view. The exception here are Union leaders, 71% of whom say the trade agreement is a bad thing. All Opinion Leader groups would also favor expanding NAFTA to include other Latin American nations, again excluding the Union group. Governors and Mayors give majority approval of NAFTA expansion but are not nearly so unanimous as the other groups.

A plurality of the public believes NAFTA is a "good thing" from an American point of view (47% vs. 30% who say it is a bad thing). Even a slim majority (51% vs. 34%) of union members *approve* of the agreement, unlike their leadership.

Europe vs. The Pacific

The Influentials by and large choose the Pacific Rim nations over Europe as more important to the United States, much as they did four years ago. Those who choose Asia overwhelmingly cite economic reasons.

Only three groups rate Europe higher than Asia: Foreign Affairs and Security by relatively narrow margins, and Union leaders by a strong majority. Those picking Europe most often cite cultural and ethnic reasons, followed by economic and then political-military points of view. The public again chooses Europe by essentially the same margin as in 1993 (49% vs. 31% who choose the Pacific Rim).

Very large majorities in all Influential groups say the economic and political integration of

Europe is a good thing for the United States, with Business leaders least convinced.

A majority of the public (64%) says Japan has an unfair trade policy with the United States, down from 72% in 1993 and about the same level as in 1989.

TABLES

APPROVAL OF CLINTON FOREIGN POLICY

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	
<i>Total General Public</i>	54	34	12=100	(2000)
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	55	36	9	(916)
Female	53	32	15	(1084)
<i>Race</i>				
White	52	36	12	(1630)
Total Non-White	62	25	13	(346)
Black	66	22	12	(175)
<i>Sex/Race</i>				
White Men	53	39	8	(739)
White Women	52	33	15	(891)
<i>Age</i>				
18-29	48	36	16	(422)
30-49	55	34	11	(845)
50-64	54	36	10	(383)
65+	58	29	13	(328)
<i>Education</i>				
College Grad.	60	33	7	(601)
Some College	56	34	10	(518)
High School Grad.	53	34	13	(684)
< H. S. Grad.	46	35	19	(186)
<i>Family Income</i>				
\$75,000 +	60	35	5	(259)
\$50,000 - \$74,999	57	34	9	(293)
\$30,000 - \$49,999	56	35	9	(522)
\$20,000 - \$29,999	52	35	13	(335)
< \$20,000	53	32	15	(384)
<i>Party ID</i>				
Republican	36	55	9	(571)
Democrat	74	17	9	(690)
Independent	49	37	14	(587)
Republican/Lean Rep	38	52	10	(799)
Democrat/Lean Dem	71	19	10	(950)

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton 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 Bill Clinton is handling the nation's foreign policy? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK.]

Continued ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>(N)</u>
	%	%	%	
<i>Total General Public</i>	54	34	12=100	(2000)
<i>Clinton Approval</i>				
Approve	75	16	9	(1167)
Disapprove	21	71	8	(589)
No Opinion	32	31	37	(244)
<i>1996 Pres. Vote</i>				
Clinton	77	15	8	(720)
Dole	34	60	6	(346)
<i>Region</i>				
East	59	30	11	(402)
Midwest	55	33	12	(485)
South	50	38	12	(698)
West	54	31	15	(415)
<i>Community Size</i>				
Large City	56	29	15	(404)
Suburb	59	33	8	(438)
Sm. City/Town	51	35	14	(715)
Rural	52	38	10	(422)
<i>Religion</i>				
Total White Protestant	52	38	10	(957)
White Prot. Evangelical	48	42	10	(458)
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	57	33	10	(463)
White Non-Hisp Catholic	58	33	9	(375)
<i>America's Place</i>				
Single Leader	48	39	13	(221)
Assertive Multilateralism	61	31	8	(478)
Non-Assertive Multilateralism	57	32	11	(1010)
<i>Foreign Heritage</i>				
Self	54	27	19	(107)
Grandparent/Parent	51	37	12	(572)
None	55	33	12	(1304)
<i>Labor Union</i>				
Self	62	30	8	(213)
Union Household	61	30	9	(305)
Non-Union Household	52	35	13	(1664)
<i>Information About Intl. Matters</i>				
High	59	36	5	(585)
Moderate	59	30	11	(592)
None	48	35	17	(823)

DESIRED U. S. FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES
Percent Saying "Top Priority"

	Protecting American <u>Jobs</u> %	Preventing Spread of <u>Nuclear weapons</u> %	Combating <u>Drugs</u> %	Insuring Energy <u>Supply</u> %	Improving Global <u>Environment</u> %	Reducing Trade <u>Deficit</u> %	Reducing Illegal <u>Immigration</u> %
Total General Public	77	70	67	58	50	42	42
Sex							
Male	76	68	61	61	51	49	40
Female	78	71	72	56	50	36	43
Race							
White	76	70	67	58	50	43	43
Total Non-White	84	65	68	60	52	36	35
Black	87	65	65	63	49	42	37
Sex/Race							
White Men	75	69	61	61	50	49	42
White Women	77	71	72	55	51	38	43
Age							
18-29	79	65	54	53	51	34	37
30-49	76	73	63	61	53	45	36
50-64	80	68	79	61	53	42	50
65+	72	70	76	56	42	47	54
Education							
College Grad.	61	74	59	50	47	44	33
Some College	78	71	67	61	55	46	42
High School Grad.	82	70	73	63	53	42	46
< H. S. Grad.	86	61	61	56	43	35	42
Family Income							
\$75,000 +	62	76	62	54	52	45	36
\$50,000 - \$74,999	75	72	65	64	52	41	40
\$30,000 - \$49,999	77	72	68	61	53	46	42
\$20,000 - \$29,999	87	73	69	56	50	44	48
< \$20,000	77	62	69	56	53	41	44
Party ID							
Republican	73	67	70	58	40	45	45
Democrat	82	72	70	57	53	43	40
Independent	74	70	62	61	58	41	42
Republican/Lean Rep	73	68	68	58	45	44	46
Democrat/Lean Dem	80	72	68	59	56	42	39

Question: 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:

Continued ...

	Protecting American <u>Jobs</u>	Preventing Spread of <u>Nuclear weapons</u>	Combating <u>Drugs</u>	Insuring Energy <u>Supply</u>	Improving Global <u>Environment</u>	Reducing Trade <u>Deficit</u>	Reducing Illegal <u>Immigration</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Total General Public</i>	77	70	67	58	50	42	42
<i>Clinton Approval</i>							
Approve	79	72	66	57	56	42	39
Disapprove	74	67	70	59	44	46	50
No Opinion	75	66	64	63	42	36	36
<i>1996 Pres. Vote</i>							
Clinton	76	74	67	60	54	45	41
Dole	68	66	70	59	40	53	48
<i>Region</i>							
East	79	72	66	62	56	38	39
Midwest	81	68	71	55	48	44	42
South	78	69	68	61	49	41	42
West	69	69	62	54	52	48	43
<i>Community Size</i>							
Large City	74	71	68	56	51	42	39
Suburb	75	73	65	58	51	44	37
Sm. City/Town	76	64	63	60	48	41	45
Rural	82	73	72	57	53	43	45
<i>Religion</i>							
Total White Protestant	76	69	70	60	48	45	44
White Prot. Evangelical	80	71	74	61	42	47	41
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	71	66	66	58	53	44	47
White Non-Hisp Catholic	83	75	69	56	57	43	42
<i>America's Place</i>							
Single Leader	83	73	56	64	52	42	48
Assertive Multilateralism	76	73	71	64	52	43	42
Non-Assertive Multilateralism	76	72	69	60	53	41	39
<i>Foreign Heritage</i>							
Self	74	71	67	53	43	41	36
Grandparent/Parent	75	68	64	59	55	43	46
None	78	70	67	58	49	42	41
<i>Labor Union</i>							
Self	85	68	65	62	59	54	39
Union Household	85	71	71	60	59	49	40
Non-Union Household	76	69	66	58	49	41	42
<i>Information About Intl. Matters</i>							
High	63	74	56	55	50	50	38
Moderate	77	71	75	60	54	46	44
None	84	66	68	59	49	36	42

DESIRED U. S. FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES
Percent Saying “Top Priority” con’t ...

	Strengthening The United <u>Nations</u>	Defending Human <u>Rights</u>	Helping Developing <u>Nations</u>	Promoting <u>Democracy</u>	Aiding Interests of <u>US Business</u>	Protecting Weaker <u>Nations</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Total General Public</i>	30	27	23	22	16	16
<i>Sex</i>						
Male	27	26	20	22	19	16
Female	32	27	25	23	14	16
<i>Race</i>						
White	29	26	20	23	15	16
Total Non-White	33	31	36	20	22	18
Black	34	29	36	19	24	16
<i>Sex/Race</i>						
White Men	25	25	18	22	19	16
White Women	32	26	22	24	12	17
<i>Age</i>						
18-29	34	29	21	23	24	14
30-49	27	29	23	22	12	17
50-64	31	25	20	24	17	17
65+	31	18	24	22	15	19
<i>Education</i>						
College Grad.	23	30	20	24	13	13
Some College	27	30	21	21	15	16
High School Grad.	34	27	21	22	16	18
< H. S. Grad.	34	15	28	25	23	18
<i>Family Income</i>						
\$75,000 +	30	34	20	27	22	19
\$50,000 - \$74,999	25	24	14	20	14	11
\$30,000 - \$49,999	33	27	20	24	10	18
\$20,000 - \$29,999	25	19	22	25	16	13
< \$20,000	36	28	30	22	22	21
<i>Party ID</i>						
Republican	25	25	18	26	22	14
Democrat	34	27	28	23	14	17
Independent	29	28	21	19	13	19
Republican/Lean Rep	24	24	19	24	21	15
Democrat/Lean Dem	34	28	26	23	14	17

Continued ...

	Strengthening The United Nations	Defending Human Rights	Helping Developing Nations	Promoting Democracy	Aiding Interests of US Business	Protecting Weaker Nations
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Total General Public</i>	30	27	23	22	16	16
<i>Clinton Approval</i>						
Approve	32	28	24	23	14	18
Disapprove	27	24	18	23	22	14
No Opinion	27	24	27	18	16	13
<i>1996 Pres. Vote</i>						
Clinton	35	30	24	26	14	16
Dole	20	24	16	22	21	14
<i>Region</i>						
East	36	25	22	25	19	18
Midwest	23	25	23	19	17	16
South	32	25	23	24	16	17
West	28	33	21	20	14	14
<i>Community Size</i>						
Large City	23	30	29	20	16	20
Suburb	29	26	19	25	16	15
Sm. City/Town	32	24	24	23	17	16
Rural	31	26	16	23	14	16
<i>Religion</i>						
Total White Protestant	27	26	19	23	14	17
White Prot. Evangelical	28	28	22	25	16	19
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	24	23	16	21	11	15
White Non-Hisp Catholic	31	22	24	23	21	16
<i>America's Place</i>						
Single Leader	33	35	20	29	26	23
Assertive Multilateralism	38	34	28	31	17	20
Non-Assertive Multilateralism	27	25	21	20	16	14
<i>Foreign Heritage</i>						
Self	40	37	46	30	23	23
Grandparent/Parent	28	28	23	20	17	18
None	29	25	21	23	15	16
<i>Labor Union</i>						
Self	34	29	21	22	12	18
Union Household	34	25	21	20	13	15
Non-Union Household	28	26	23	23	17	16
<i>Information About Intl. Matters</i>						
High	23	27	20	26	17	15
Moderate	30	31	20	21	12	17
None	33	24	25	21	19	16

EXTENDING OUR STAY IN BOSNIA

If peace depended on it...

	<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
	%	%	%
Total General Public	48	46	6=100
Sex			
Male	48	47	5
Female	48	44	8
Race			
White	50	44	6
Total Non-White	38	54	8
Black	37	54	9
Sex/Race			
White Men	49	47	4
White Women	50	43	7
Age			
18-29	46	50	4
30-49	54	41	5
50-64	48	44	8
65+	34	56	10
Education			
College Grad.	60	37	3
Some College	52	44	4
High School Grad.	43	50	7
<H.S. Grad.	36	53	11
Family Income			
\$75,000 +	57	40	3
\$50,000 - \$74,999	53	43	4
\$30,000 - \$49,999	52	44	4
\$20,000 - \$29,999	47	46	7
< \$20,000	40	52	8
Party ID			
Republican	47	47	6
Democrat	53	42	5
Independent	42	52	6
Republican/Lean Rep	45	49	6
Democrat/Lean Dem	51	44	5

Question: If peace in Bosnia depended on the continued presence of U.S. troops, would you support an extension of the American military mission there, or would you oppose it?

Continued ...

If peace depended on it...

	<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
	%	%	%
Total General Public	48	46	6=100
Clinton Approval			
Approve	52	42	6
Disapprove	42	53	5
No Opinion	41	45	14
1996 Pres. Vote			
Clinton	53	42	5
Dole	48	48	4
Region			
East	54	39	7
Midwest	47	46	7
South	45	49	6
West	47	47	6
Community Size			
Large City	47	46	7
Suburb	52	44	4
Sm. City/Town	47	45	8
Rural	45	49	6
Religion			
Total White Protestant	48	45	7
White Prot. Evangelical	47	46	7
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	49	46	5
White Non-Hisp Catholic	52	44	4
America's Place			
Single Leader	40	52	8
Assertive Multilateralism	58	37	5
Non-Assertive Multilateralism	50	44	6
Foreign Heritage			
Self	46	48	6
Grandparent/Parent	47	46	7
None	48	46	6
Labor Union			
Self	58	40	2
Union Household	56	42	2
Non-Union Household	46	47	7
Information About Intl. Matters			
High	57	39	4
Moderate	49	45	6
None	42	50	8

PERSONAL RELEVANCE OF EVENTS IN MEXICO

	<u>Great Deal</u> %	<u>Fair Amount</u> %	<u>Not Very</u> %	<u>None</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %
<i>Total General Public</i>	13	29	32	23	3=100
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	14	29	33	23	1
Female	12	29	31	24	4
<i>Race</i>					
White	13	30	33	22	2
Total Non-White	13	23	26	33	5
Black	13	22	23	36	6
<i>Sex/Race</i>					
White Men	14	30	33	22	1
White Women	12	30	33	21	4
<i>Age</i>					
18-29	11	30	27	31	1
30-49	12	27	38	22	1
50-64	14	33	32	16	5
65+	19	26	24	23	8
<i>Education</i>					
College Grad.	12	39	32	16	1
Some College	14	29	36	19	2
High School Grad.	14	27	33	24	2
<H.S. Grad.	12	19	23	36	10
<i>Family Income</i>					
\$75,000 +	15	33	37	13	2
\$50,000 - \$74,999	14	29	37	19	1
\$30,000 - \$49,999	13	33	30	23	1
\$20,000 - \$29,999	11	30	32	26	1
< \$20,000	13	23	30	30	4
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	12	31	37	18	2
Democrat	12	28	31	25	4
Independent	16	29	30	24	1
Republican/Lean Rep	14	29	35	19	3
Democrat/Lean Dem	12	27	31	26	4

Question: 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?

Continued ...

	Great <u>Deal</u> %	Fair <u>Amount</u> %	Not <u>Very</u> %	None <u>None</u> %	Don't <u>Know</u> %
<i>Total General Public</i>	13	29	32	23	3=100
<i>Clinton Approval</i>					
Approve	13	27	33	22	5
Disapprove	15	29	31	25	*
No Opinion	11	36	27	24	2
<i>1996 Pres. Vote</i>					
Clinton	15	30	30	22	3
Dole	11	32	37	19	1
<i>Region</i>					
East	8	28	33	25	6
Midwest	9	30	38	21	2
South	15	27	31	24	3
West	19	32	25	23	1
<i>Community Size</i>					
Large City	10	33	30	23	4
Suburb	12	26	31	31	0
Sm. City/Town	12	29	35	20	4
Rural	20	28	29	20	3
<i>Religion</i>					
Total White Protestant	13	31	35	18	3
White Prot. Evangelical	11	31	37	19	2
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	15	32	33	18	2
White Non-Hisp Catholic	11	27	34	25	3
<i>America's Place</i>					
Single Leader	12	23	34	28	3
Assertive Multilateralism	13	33	34	20	0
Non-Assertive Multilateralism	13	32	31	21	3
<i>Foreign Heritage</i>					
Self	21	25	35	19	0
Grandparent/Parent	15	29	31	21	4
None	12	29	32	24	3
<i>Labor Union</i>					
Self	11	31	39	17	2
Union Household	11	28	38	20	3
Non-Union Household	13	29	31	24	3
<i>Information About Intl. Matters</i>					
High	17	38	29	15	1
Moderate	12	31	33	23	1
None	13	22	32	28	5

PERSONAL RELEVANCE OF EVENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE

	Great <u>Deal</u> %	Fair <u>Amount</u> %	Not very <u>Much</u> %	<u>None</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Total General Public	8	28	36	25	3=100
Sex					
Male	9	29	37	24	1
Female	7	27	35	26	5
Race					
White	8	29	38	22	3
Total Non-White	6	22	30	39	3
Black	5	23	27	42	3
Sex/Race					
White Men	9	31	38	21	1
White Women	7	28	37	23	5
Age					
18-29	6	27	35	31	1
30-49	6	26	42	24	2
50-64	11	35	34	17	3
65+	11	27	27	27	8
50+	11	31	31	22	5
Education					
College Grad.	11	35	40	13	1
Some College	9	28	41	21	1
High School Grad.	7	26	37	28	2
< H. S. Grad.	6	23	25	37	9
Family Income					
\$75,000 +	8	38	37	16	1
\$50,000 - \$74,999	10	30	40	18	2
\$30,000 - \$49,999	9	29	36	24	2
\$20,000 - \$29,999	4	25	44	26	1
< \$20,000	8	25	29	35	3
Party ID					
Republican	9	33	39	17	2
Democrat	8	29	33	28	2
Independent	8	25	39	25	3
Republican/Lean Rep	8	30	40	20	2
Democrat/Lean Dem	8	27	34	27	4

Question: 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?

Continued ...

	Great <u>Deal</u> %	Fair <u>Amount</u> %	Not very <u>Much</u> %	<u>None</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
<i>Total General Public</i>	8	28	36	25	3=100
<i>Clinton Approval</i>					
Approve	8	29	36	23	4
Disapprove	7	30	37	25	*
No Opinion	10	19	35	33	3
<i>1996 Pres. Vote</i>					
Clinton	10	29	32	24	5
Dole	5	37	42	16	*
<i>Region</i>					
East	10	34	32	21	3
Midwest	6	27	40	25	2
South	7	28	36	26	3
West	7	26	37	27	3
<i>Community Size</i>					
Large City	6	25	39	27	3
Suburb	7	33	31	29	*
Sm. City/Town	8	26	41	21	4
Rural	10	30	33	24	3
<i>Religion</i>					
Total White Protestant	7	29	41	20	3
White Prot. Evangelical	6	31	39	21	3
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	8	28	43	19	2
White Non-Hisp Catholic	11	32	33	21	3
<i>America's Place</i>					
Single Leader	8	21	30	37	4
Assertive Multilateralism	10	33	36	20	1
Non-Assertive Multilateralism	7	32	39	20	2
<i>Foreign Heritage</i>					
Self	13	31	30	23	3
Grandparent/Parent	7	31	36	22	4
None	8	27	37	26	2
<i>Labor Union</i>					
Self	5	30	41	22	2
Union Household	8	27	41	22	2
Non-Union Household	8	28	36	25	3
<i>Information About Intl. Matters</i>					
High	12	36	35	16	1
Moderate	8	28	40	23	1
None	5	24	35	31	5

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Design of the Influential Americans Survey Sample

The results of the Opinion Leaders survey are based on Americans who are influential in their chosen field. The sample was designed to represent these Influentials in ten professional areas of expertise: media; business and finance; foreign affairs; defense; state and local government; think tanks and academia; religious organizations; science and engineering; labor; and Congressional staff. Every effort was made to make the sample as representative of the leadership of each particular field as possible. However, because the goal of the survey was to identify people of particular power or influence, the sampling was purposive in overall design, but systematic with regard to respondent selection wherever possible.

The final selected sample was drawn from ten subsamples. Subsamples were split into replicates and quotas were set for number of completed interviews from each subsample. These quotas were set because the size of the sampling frame for each subsample varied a great deal. In order to ensure adequate representation of the smaller groups in the final sample of complete interviews it was necessary to set quotas. The subsamples and final completed interviews for each are listed below:

SUBSAMPLE	COMPLETED INTERVIEWS
Media	73
Business and Finance	35
Foreign Affairs	69
Security	57
Governors and Mayors	75
Think Tanks and Academics	93
Religious Leaders	36
Science and Engineering	92
Labor Union	24
Congressional staff	37

The specific sampling procedures for each subsample are outlined below.

I. Media

The media sample included people from all types of media: newspapers, magazines, television and radio. Various editors (editors, editors of the editorial page, managing editors) and DC bureau chiefs were selected from: the top daily newspapers (based on circulation); additional newspapers selected to round out the geographic representation of the sample; news services; and different types of magazines including news, literary, political, and entertainment and cultural magazines.

For the television sample, people such as DC bureau chiefs, news directors or news editors, anchors, news executives, and executive producers were selected from television networks, chains and news services.

The radio sample included news directors and/or DC bureau chiefs at several top radio stations.

Top columnists listed in the National Journal's *Capital Source* and the *News Media Yellow Book* were also selected as part of the media subsample.

In each part of the media subsample it is possible that more than one individual at an organization was interviewed.

II. Business and Financial

The Business and Financial sample selected Chief Executive Officers from businesses on the Fortune 1000 list of industry and service companies. The business part of the sample was a random selection of businesses in industry and manufacturing. The financial sample was drawn from companies in commercial banking, diversified financial, and savings and loans.

III. Foreign Affairs

The Foreign Affairs sample was randomly selected from the membership roster of the Council on Foreign Relations.

IV. Security

The Security sample was randomly selected from the list of American members of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

V. Governors and Mayors

Governors of the 50 states were drawn for the sample, as well as a random sample of mayors of cities with a population of 80,000 or more.

VI. Think Tanks and Academics

The heads of various influential think tanks listed in *The Capitol Source* were selected. For the academic sample, officers (President, Provost, Vice-President, Dean of the Faculty) of the most competitive schools overall and the most competitive state schools (as identified in a college directory) in the United States were selected.

VII. Religious Leaders

For the religion sample, religious bodies with membership over 700,000 each were identified as Protestants, Catholics, Jews and Muslims. Top U.S. figures in each national organization were selected in addition to the top people at the National Council of Churches.

VIII. Science and Engineering

The science sample was a random sample of scientists drawn from the membership of the National Academy of Sciences.

The engineering sample was a random sample of engineers drawn from the membership of the National Academy of Engineers.

IX. Labor Unions

The Labor Union sample consisted of top national officers in the 50 largest national unions (based on membership as listed in the *1997 World Almanac*).

X. Congressional Policy Staff

The Congressional Policy Staff group was comprised of staffers in both the House and the Senate who work for either: a committee which deals with foreign affairs, defense, or intelligence; or a Member who holds influence on these issues either by dint of leadership position or seniority on a relevant committee. The sample broadly reflected the current partisan breakdown of the Congress.

Each person sampled for this survey was mailed an advance letter on The Pew Research Center for The People and The Press letterhead and signed by Andrew Kohut, Director of the Center. These letters were intended to introduce the survey to prospective respondents, describe the nature and purpose of the survey and encourage participation in the survey. Approximately one week after the letter was mailed specially trained interviewers began calling the individual sample members to conduct the survey or set up appointments to conduct the survey at a later date.

Interviewers for this survey were experienced, executive interviewers specially trained to ensure their familiarity with the questionnaire and their professionalism in dealing with professionals of this level. The interviewing was conducted from July 7, 1997 through September 23, 1997.

About The Public Survey

Results for the *main general public survey* are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 2,000 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period September 4-11, 1997. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=1007) or Form 2 (N=993), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Survey Methodology in Detail

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. The use of replicates also ensures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

At least four attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived

estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1996). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

QUESTIONNAIRES

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD, II
AMERICAN INFLUENTIALS
FINAL TOPLINE
July 7 - Sept 23, 1997
N = 591

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research on behalf of The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press in Washington, DC. May I speak with (Name of Respondent). Is now a convenient time to conduct the interview that Andrew Kohut wrote to you about? **(IF NO - ASK TO SET UP AN APPOINTMENT)**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>		<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>	
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97
Approve	38	45	16	54	54	72	47	55	51	59	63	79	45	50	69	78	92		51	
Disapprove	40	25	77	46	36	19	46	40	42	35	27	16	40	42	22	12	8		49	
DK/Ref.	<u>22</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</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

Q.2 All in all, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the United States these days?

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>		<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>	
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97
Satisfied	24	73	13	77	22	68	28	68	28	68	27	81	28	58	29	77	75		84	
Dissatisfied	75	18	79	23	69	25	65	25	68	28	62	16	59	33	61	12	21		13	
DK/Ref.	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>4</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

Number of Interviews: (79) (73) (69) (35) (69) (69) (68) (57) (69) (75) (78) (93) (47) (36) (91) (92) (24) (37)

Q.3 What is America's most important international problem today? **(OPEN-END)(IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION)**

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
Dealing w/ emerging China/ Presence of a new China/ Managing the relationship w/China	19	17	25	12	3	11	3	10	0	16
Assuming/maintaining leadership role in post cold war world	8	9	7	16	3	4	11	9	0	11
Nuclear proliferation	10	6	7	14	1	4	3	5	0	14
What it means/Responsibilities of being superpower	6	6	9	9	1	9	6	6	4	3
Maintaining world peace/ Peace keeper/Resolution of international disputes	4	6	1	4	5	9	8	9	4	11
Assisting/encouraging economic growth/development worldwide	3	0	9	5	7	8	11	3	12	0
Global economic relationships worldwide, unspecified	3	3	7	2	5	10	3	5	12	3
Situation in Israel/Situation with Israel and Arab neighbors	11	3	0	0	4	6	11	6	0	0
World conflicts/Wars/Chaos/ World wide unrest/Ethnic conflicts, etc.	4	6	3	0	4	8	3	2	0	8
International violence/Threats of terrorism	3	0	6	5	3	4	3	1	8	8
Human rights issues	4	0	6	0	4	4	19	1	0	0
Trade agreements/Trade relationships, unspecified	1	11	1	2	7	2	0	3	12	3
Helping effect a peaceful transition/The evolution of the former USSR/Potential problems in the former USSR, inc.	1	0	6	5	1	4	0	3	0	5

Q.3 cont't ...

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
Environmental issues	6	3	0	2	3	4	0	6	0	0
Situation in Bosnia/Former Yugoslavia/Reducing threat of conflict in Eastern Europe	4	3	4	0	3	2	0	5	4	0
Deficit imbalance/Reduction of trade deficit, generally or unspecified	1	3	0	2	8	4	0	1	8	0
All other mentions ⁵	24	32	29	37	49	28	28	36	34	35
Nothing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know/No answer	6	0	6	0	8	3	0	8	12	0
SPECIFIC GEOPOLITICAL CONCERNS (NET)	38	29	41	23	12	30	14	29	8	27
GLOBAL INSTABILITY (NET)	20	20	20	30	19	29	19	18	12	49
U.S. LEADERSHIP ROLE (NET)	16	14	19	26	11	13	19	17	4	16
ECONOMICS (NET)	12	26	17	16	32	31	19	22	54	8

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> '93 '97		<u>Business/ Finance</u> '93 '97		<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '93 '97		<u>Security</u> '93 '97		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '93 '97		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '93 '97		<u>Religious Leaders</u> '93 '97		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '93 '97		<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
Satisfied	27	59	33	66	26	60	15	61	28	51	35	59	15	50	31	58	58	67
Dissatisfied	70	30	58	34	67	36	73	32	66	44	53	32	74	42	56	36	42	30
DK/Ref.	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

⁵ Comprised of categories which were mentioned by less than 3% of Influentials overall.

Q.5 What are the **BEST** things about the Clinton Administration's handling of foreign policy? (OPEN-END)(CODE UP TO 3 RESPONSES)

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
All mentions of Bosnia/ Former Yugoslavia	23	9	9	19	11	11	0	14	8	14
Good foreign policy appts.	12	0	17	10	4	15	11	6	21	19
Supports NATO/Expansion of NATO	10	6	10	26	9	14	8	10	0	5
Multilateralism/International partnerships/Cooperation/ Consensus	7	9	7	4	15	6	14	6	33	16
All Mentions of Mideast/Mideast peace talks	10	0	4	4	8	4	14	5	8	22
International trade agreements, unspecified	1	3	9	16	5	11	0	8	0	8
Support NAFTA	4	17	6	16	4	8	0	8	0	5
All mentions of former USSR/ Russia	10	3	14	14	1	4	6	5	4	5
Realistic about intervening/ Solving all the world's problems	7	9	4	2	7	4	3	9	4	3
Openness/Flexibility/Dealing with issues/problems	3	0	4	0	7	6	22	8	0	0
Willing to attack (difficult) issues/ problems	8	6	4	0	7	6	3	1	17	5
On the right track with China	6	9	10	5	0	2	8	5	4	5
Putting trade/economic issues at top of agenda	7	11	4	10	3	4	3	1	4	3
Shows restraint/Good judgement in use of force	10	0	6	2	3	4	3	5	8	3
Not at war/No armed conflicts	11	11	1	4	1	5	3	1	4	0
Cautious/Doesn't rush into situations/statements	4	3	4	5	0	8	0	4	4	5

Q.5 cont. ...

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
All mentions of Haiti	4	3	1	7	3	4	0	2	4	11
Good identification of issues/Problems	6	3	4	4	3	1	0	4	12	3
Handling of human rights issues	3	0	6	2	4	6	3	0	4	0
Coordinates/Advocates intl support/solutions for common economic problems	3	0	7	0	3	5	3	0	0	3
All other mentions ⁶	19	23	32	41	13	25	20	30	25	38
Nothing/No Comment	3	9	1	0	7	3	3	1	0	3
Don't know/No answer	4	20	6	5	20	2	14	9	4	8
HANDLING OF FOREIGN CONFLICTS (NET)	47	23	26	42	19	25	22	27	17	32
TRADE/ECONOMIC ISSUES (NET)	20	34	32	51	16	31	8	24	4	32
DEMONSTRATES CAUTION/ RESTRAINT (NET)	18	11	14	9	9	16	6	17	17	11
DEALING W/ISSUES (NET)	12	9	9	5	9	8	3	6	29	8
OPENNESS (NET)	4	3	7	2	7	8	25	11	4	3

⁶ Comprised of categories which were mentioned by less than 3% of Influentials overall.

Q.6 What are the **WORST** things about the Clinton Administration's handling of foreign policy? (**OPEN-END**)(**CODE UP TO 3 RESPONSES**)

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
Indecisive/Vacillates/ Unsure what to do	29	14	16	14	7	22	17	12	8	27
All mentions of Bosnia/ Former Yugoslavia	14	17	6	21	16	13	14	14	8	14
All mentions of China	22	17	9	26	8	8	11	12	12	14
Lacks foreign policy/ Direction/Goals	14	20	14	9	15	22	6	6	4	11
All other mentions of foreign conflicts	10	6	9	14	7	9	8	8	4	11
Lacks understanding of priority of foreign affairs	4	3	10	12	7	5	14	2	12	16
Expansion of NATO	7	3	13	21	0	5	0	6	4	8
Fails to provide leadership in international community	7	11	9	10	7	6	8	3	8	0
All mentions of Mideast/Mideast peace talks	4	9	9	10	3	5	6	4	12	0
All other mentions of indecisive/ Slow/Inexperienced	7	3	10	7	5	2	0	3	0	8
All other trade/Economic mentions	6	9	4	2	1	3	0	1	17	8
All mentions of former USSR/ Russia	4	0	3	5	1	5	0	4	0	5
Inexperienced/Naive	3	0	3	5	4	2	8	2	0	0
Slowness/Failure to make appts. in foreign policy positions	0	11	6	0	4	4	0	1	0	3

Q.6 cont. ...

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
All other mentions ⁷	34	20	20	25	27	22	39	24	29	27
Nothing/No comment	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
Don't know/No answer	6	9	10	4	19	5	8	30	21	5
INDECISIVE/SLOW/ INEXPERIENCED (NET)	58	51	58	56	45	54	64	29	33	51
HANDLING OF FOREIGN POLICY CONFLICTS (NET)	40	31	29	56	25	34	31	30	29	38
TRADE/ECONOMIC ISSUES (NET)	10	14	6	2	4	6	6	2	21	8

⁷

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

Q.7 I'm going to read to you a list of dangers in the world and after I finish, tell me which ONE of them you think is most dangerous to world stability? **(READ AND ROTATE)**

Q.7a And which would you name second? **(READ ITEMS AGAIN, IF NECESSARY -- SAME ORDER AS USED IN Q.7)**

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
Nationalism and ethnic hatreds																		
First Choice	47	38	33	29	33	49	44	30	35	35	49	46	40	39	15	23	38	22
Second Choice	28	30	33	23	26	20	22	30	26	16	28	22	23	19	24	22	17	43
Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction																		
First Choice	18	23	22	26	39	26	35	49	19	9	17	18	26	22	14	14	17	54
Second Choice	16	18	22	17	23	26	32	32	23	12	23	22	30	17	14	12	33	16
International trade conflicts																		
First Choice	4	3	12	11	-	0	3	0	17	11	4	5	2	6	2	2	4	3
Second Choice	8	4	12	6	4	3	10	5	4	8	6	2	4	3	-	5	8	5
Religious fanaticism																		
First Choice	15	14	20	26	6	9	3	0	12	7	9	6	11	11	16	15	4	5
Second Choice	25	14	22	17	25	13	19	10	26	15	18	14	13	8	19	18	12	14
Environmental pollution																		
First Choice	3	6	1	3	-	1	4	2	1	8	-	2	11	3	1	11	8	3
Second Choice	9	10	3	3	7	12	3	4	9	16	10	17	17	14	19	13	17	3
Population growth																		
First Choice	14	8	12	3	22	4	7	12	14	13	18	14	11	6	51	30	0	3
Second Choice	10	7	7	3	14	12	12	10	10	13	10	14	9	6	22	17	4	8
International drug and crime cartels																		
First Choice	n/a	7	n/a	3	n/a	6	n/a	5	n/a	17	n/a	4	n/a	14	n/a	1	29	5
Second Choice	n/a	16	n/a	31	n/a	7	n/a	7	n/a	20	n/a	8	n/a	33	n/a	6	8	11
Other (VOL)																		
First Choice	-	0	-	0	-	1	1	2	1	0	3	1	-	0	-	1	0	5
Second Choice	1	0	-	0	-	3	-	0	-	0	1	0	4	0	2	2	0	0
DK/Ref.	-	1	1	0	-	3	1	0	1	0	2	2	-	0	-	2	0	0

Q.8 I want to read you a list of potential events that could affect peace and stability, either for better or worse, and ask whether you think this is likely to happen in the next ten years: First... **(READ AND ROTATE)**. . . Do you think this is certain, probable, a possibility or not likely to happen?⁸

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>		<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>	
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97
a. Development of China as an assertive world power																				
Certain	15	41	25	54	19	28	12	35	22	35	12	49	17	42	19	37	42	40		
Probable	58	44	47	37	48	49	47	35	33	37	53	41	40	39	36	44	37	43		
Possible	19	11	22	9	20	13	25	21	33	25	22	9	30	16	26	15	17	14		
Not likely	8	4	6	0	12	10	16	9	12	3	13	1	13	3	19	4	4	3		
Don't know	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</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		
b. A common European currency becomes a reality																				
Certain	5		8		15		10		12		10		6		5		8		11	
Probable	41		43		48		46		35		48		33		50		50		24	
Possible	29		43		29		33		27		29		53		35		29		43	
Not likely	25		6		7		9		24		12		8		9		13		22	
Don't know	<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>2</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	
c. Resumption of warfare in the former Yugoslavia																				
Certain	5		3		4		14		8		7		6		8		0		22	
Probable	51		46		54		58		35		46		30		36		29		62	
Possible	40		46		35		26		45		46		50		37		54		16	
Not likely	4		5		6		2		8		1		11		16		13		0	
Don't know	<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>4</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>3</u>		<u>3</u>		<u>4</u>		<u>0</u>	
	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	
d. Reunification of North and South Korea																				
Certain	1		0		2		5		4		2		3		0		4		8	
Probable	21		28		30		35		12		24		17		21		4		30	
Possible	40		46		42		49		44		40		33		47		29		38	
Not likely	38		26		23		9		37		33		47		27		63		24	
Don't know	<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>3</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>5</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>	
	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	

⁸

In 1993 the question was worded "Likely to happen by year 2000."

Q.8 cont. ...

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>	
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97	
e. A nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan																			
Certain	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	0	0	
Probable	1	4	3	3	3	3	1	0	4	4	5	0	2	8	3	0	4	5	
Possible	50	23	36	26	48	17	57	35	36	31	37	26	34	14	32	19	34	33	
Not likely	48	67	58	68	49	74	41	65	53	59	57	73	60	75	62	78	58	62	
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
f. Continued ethnic violence in Sub-Saharan Africa																			
Certain	47		40		44		51		35		50		33		46		29	57	
Probable	48		54		49		42		47		40		64		47		42	38	
Possible	5		6		6		7		17		9		3		3		25	5	
Not likely	0		0		0		0		1		0		0		0		4	0	
Don't know	<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>4</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	100	
g. The end of communism in Cuba																			
Certain	10		20		12		26		7		11		6		10		16	8	
Probable	46		49		59		44		40		57		56		41		25	43	
Possible	33		28		23		23		31		24		19		35		42	41	
Not likely	11		3		6		7		22		7		19		10		17	8	
Don't know	<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>4</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	100	
h. The secession of Quebec from Canada																			
Certain	1		6		0		3		1		0		0		0		4	0	
Probable	10		6		9		9		5		10		9		11		8	11	
Possible	36		31		30		46		37		35		33		40		29	40	
Not likely	53		57		58		40		54		55		58		46		59	49	
Don't know	<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>3</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>3</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	100	

Q.8 cont. ...

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
i. Continued economic prosperity in Hong Kong										
Certain	18	11	13	7	9	15	11	7	17	16
Probable	62	66	67	69	61	67	50	72	62	76
Possible	19	23	13	19	30	15	33	13	21	8
Not likely	0	0	7	5	0	0	6	3	0	0
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
j. Civil war between fundamentalist and secular forces in Turkey										
Certain	3	0	1	0	3	2	3	2	0	0
Probable	12	20	16	9	20	11	30	16	21	11
Possible	51	60	52	60	44	65	47	45	54	57
Not likely	24	14	23	28	17	13	17	26	17	30
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.9 Do you think the danger of attack on the United States with a nuclear, biological, or chemical weapon is greater now than it was 10 years ago, less now than it was 10 years ago, or is it about the same?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
Greater	32	26	23	63	20	24	14	16	13	38
Less	41	46	55	19	48	54	64	60	58	32
Same	27	28	22	18	32	20	22	24	29	30
DK/Ref.	<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>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ROTATE Q.10 AND Q.11

[INTERVIEWER: IF NECESSARY, "ON THE U.S."]

Q.10 These days, do you think there is more of a danger of a NUCLEAR attack by a foreign military power, a foreign-sponsored terrorist, or by a domestic terrorist?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
Foreign military power	14	11	19	16	11	16	14	10	0	24
Foreign-sponsored terrorist	70	86	59	72	68	67	67	72	75	65
Domestic terrorist	9	0	7	2	12	8	14	3	13	5
DK/Ref.	<u>7</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

Q.11 These days, do you think there is more of a danger of a BIOLOGICAL or CHEMICAL attack by a foreign military power, a foreign-sponsored terrorist, or by a domestic terrorist?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
Foreign military power	3	3	5	2	3	2	0	0	4	0
Foreign-sponsored terrorist	80	88	81	81	71	70	78	68	67	89
Domestic terrorist	12	6	7	14	22	23	17	20	25	6
DK/Ref.	<u>5</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT . . .

Q.12 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.?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
Good thing	67	60	87	79	75	78	69	70	75	76
Bad thing	6	6	0	3	9	3	20	0	8	16
Doesn't matter	26	34	13	16	12	17	8	25	9	3
DK/Ref.	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

Q.13 Do you think the secession of Quebec from Canada would cause major political, economic or security difficulties in the United States, minor difficulties, or would it cause no difficulties?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
Major	2	3	6	12	8	10	5	5	8	6
Minor	75	74	71	63	67	73	78	64	71	78
None	22	23	22	23	25	16	17	28	21	16
DK/Ref.	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100

Q.14 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> '93 '97		<u>Business/ Finance</u> '93 '97		<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '93 '97		<u>Security</u> '93 '97		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '93 '97		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '93 '97		<u>Religious Leaders</u> '93 '97		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '93 '97		<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
More important	29	49	18	31	26	48	14	46	36	49	26	48	24	44	21	54	50	49
Less important	46	14	49	20	41	17	54	19	26	11	33	14	38	14	33	13	8	11
As important	25	37	33	49	32	35	32	35	38	40	40	37	38	42	46	32	42	40
DK/Ref.	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u> 100	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u> 100	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u> 100	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u> 100	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u> 100	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u> 100	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u> 100	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100

Q.15 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 Q.15 ASK:

Q.16 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 Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
Single leader	9	15	12	28	7	15	17	17	1	17	7	9	4	8	7	7	4	43
Shared leadership	87	80	87	69	92	84	83	81	99	83	93	90	96	89	91	90	96	57
Most assertive	62	52	62	46	68	54	58	60	77	48	60	52	53	36	48	48	63	38
No more or less assertive	22	21	23	23	16	24	17	18	17	27	25	31	38	42	40	35	33	19
DK/Ref.	4	7	1	0	7	6	8	3	4	8	9	7	4	11	3	7	0	0
No leadership	3	1	-	3	-	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	2	1	0	0
DK/Ref.	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</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

Q.17 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:⁹

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
a. Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction																		
Top Priority	86	85	80	86	90	88	78	93	86	75	86	85	83	83	85	89	96	92
Some Priority	13	15	19	14	10	12	22	7	14	24	14	14	11	17	14	11	4	8
Not a Priority	1	0	1	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-	1	6	0	1	0	0	0
Don't know	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</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
b. Improving the global environment																		
Top Priority	34	41	22	26	42	49	25	32	45	65	42	55	45	55	63	65	71	22
Some Priority	60	56	68	57	55	44	68	63	52	31	54	41	55	42	34	31	29	73
Not a Priority	6	3	10	17	3	7	7	5	3	4	4	3	-	3	3	4	0	5
Don't know	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</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

⁹

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

Q.17 cont. ...

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
c. Helping improve the living standards in developing nations																		
Top Priority	15	23	9	14	25	31	13	12	19	27	24	37	43	72	26	34	46	13
Some Priority	74	71	75	72	66	62	77	76	72	69	75	60	55	25	66	63	54	84
Not a Priority	11	4	16	14	9	4	10	12	9	3	1	3	2	3	7	3	0	3
Don't know	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</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
d. Insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S.																		
Top Priority	56	62	70	77	60	57	35	60	71	75	50	50	58	61	54	58	75	57
Some Priority	35	34	22	20	36	35	55	37	26	24	45	47	36	39	41	40	25	43
Not a Priority	8	4	7	3	4	7	9	3	3	1	5	3	6	0	3	2	0	0
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</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
e. Promoting democracy in other nations																		
Top Priority	20	25	13	17	28	32	26	16	29	31	17	22	15	25	20	18	46	46
Some Priority	64	70	67	66	62	56	68	79	64	64	68	69	66	75	63	72	54	54
Not a Priority	15	5	20	17	10	9	6	5	6	5	15	9	19	0	15	9	0	0
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</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
f. Aiding the interests of US businesses abroad																		
Top Priority	16	19	33	31	25	12	19	23	29	25	19	15	6	11	12	19	12	16
Some Priority	68	69	54	60	67	78	60	67	65	64	73	73	75	75	69	72	63	79
Not a Priority	16	12	12	9	9	10	18	10	6	11	8	11	19	14	18	9	25	5
Don't know	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</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
g. Protecting the jobs of American workers																		
Top Priority	34	31	32	40	19	16	21	12	61	68	26	23	55	39	32	25	83	30
Some Priority	52	58	54	37	65	65	54	63	33	27	65	67	43	56	62	64	17	59
Not a Priority	11	8	13	23	10	12	22	23	3	5	5	10	2	5	4	9	0	11
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</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

Q.17 cont. ...

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
h. Strengthening the United Nations																		
Top Priority	29	21	25	9	45	32	32	14	35	24	28	17	46	30	43	29	33	13
Some Priority	53	60	61	57	48	55	53	70	52	53	63	65	43	53	50	58	67	62
Not a Priority	18	19	14	34	7	12	15	16	12	23	9	18	9	17	7	12	0	22
Don't know	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
i. Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries																		
Top Priority	34	20	48	37	30	12	21	14	65	57	41	20	49	53	47	27	50	22
Some Priority	60	66	42	49	64	62	75	67	32	40	55	67	51	44	43	62	50	70
Not a Priority	6	14	10	14	6	23	4	19	3	3	4	13	-	3	8	11	0	8
Don't know	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</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
j. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries																		
Top Priority	32	36	9	9	22	28	21	14	20	28	22	23	56	75	29	21	54	30
Some Priority	63	63	59	77	71	65	69	79	79	67	75	77	38	25	61	74	46	67
Not a Priority	5	1	32	14	7	4	10	7	1	5	3	0	4	0	10	5	0	3
Don't know	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</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
k. Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression even if U.S. vital interests are not at stake																		
Top Priority	4	8	6	3	12	12	22	19	7	16	5	5	23	17	8	7	8	5
Some Priority	59	74	55	69	65	75	56	62	70	59	60	82	64	80	65	80	88	70
Not a Priority	34	15	39	28	23	12	22	19	23	23	32	12	9	3	26	13	4	25
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</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
l. Combating international drug trafficking																		
Top Priority	45		74		36		42		73		36		75		37		79	57
Some Priority	49		23		52		53		25		59		22		55		21	43
Not a Priority	6		3		12		5		2		5		3		8		0	0
Don't know	<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>	<u>0</u>
	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	100

Q.17 cont. ...

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
m. Reducing illegal immigration										
Top Priority	29	37	16	26	52	13	22	19	33	24
Some Priority	67	54	67	58	44	72	70	65	54	73
Not a Priority	4	9	16	14	4	15	8	15	13	3
Don't know	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</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

Q.18 Some say that the major lines of conflict in the future will be between civilizations with different cultures and religions, rather than between countries with different national or territorial concerns. Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with this idea?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
Mostly agree	59	86	38	32	72	53	61	59	67	62
Mostly disagree	36	14	62	65	27	45	39	36	33	35
DK/Ref.	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

NOW A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT NATO . . .

Q.19 Generally, do you approve or disapprove of expanding NATO to include Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
Approve	72	91	61	54	75	81	86	75	96	73
Disapprove	25	9	32	44	21	16	11	18	4	27
DK/Ref.	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.20 Would you approve or disapprove of a second round of NATO expansion in the future?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
Approve	64	77	45	54	64	77	75	61	92	54
Disapprove	28	14	39	44	24	16	19	26	8	38
DK/Ref.	<u>8</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

Q.21 As you may know, NATO was established to provide security for Western Europe against the Soviet Union. Do you think NATO forces, including US troops, should now ALSO be used . . . **(READ AND ROTATE)**, OR don't you think this is a proper role for NATO forces?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
a. To defend Western interests outside Europe, such as in the Persian Gulf										
Yes	59	37	59	79	57	50	36	46	54	57
No	38	63	35	19	38	41	53	43	46	40
DK/Ref.	<u>3</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100
b. To provide peacekeeping in countries bordering NATO members, such as Bosnia										
Yes	84	63	88	86	75	84	72	77	83	81
No	15	37	10	12	21	13	25	16	13	16
DK/Ref.	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100
c. To provide peacekeeping in case of conflicts between NATO member countries										
Yes	66	66	77	70	65	76	72	75	83	70
No	26	34	20	21	27	22	25	22	13	24
DK/Ref.	<u>8</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

[N.1 ASKED OF MEDIA, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND SECURITY GROUPS ONLY]

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED 1 'APPROVE' IN Q.19, ASK:

N.1 Some say that expanding NATO to include Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary could add as much as 200 million dollars per year to the defense budget. Would you approve or disapprove of NATO expansion, if it cost this much?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97
Approve	78	83	81
Disapprove	14	11	14
DK/Ref.	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
Number of Interviews:	(50)	(36)	(21)

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT:

Q.22 Should the United States insist on applying its human and civil rights standards throughout the world, even if it SERIOUSLY risks antagonizing friendly nations whose historical, cultural and religious traditions do not conform to our Western ideals?

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
Yes	35	34	6	3	33	32	31	21	22	17	38	22	45	33	37	12	29	35
No	61	60	94	97	56	61	59	70	67	76	60	70	45	56	59	77	71	57
Other (VOL)	4	3	-	0	10	4	7	4	7	4	1	5	4	7	3	3	0	8
DK/Ref.	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</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

Q.23 As I read a list of SPECIFIC foreign policy problems, please rate U.S. government efforts in each area. First, **(READ AND ROTATE)**, would you say U.S. efforts have been excellent, good, only fair, or poor in this area?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
a. Promoting democracy in Russia										
Excellent	1	0	6	5	3	3	3	3	4	3
Good	48	40	43	28	40	41	42	45	67	51
Only Fair	40	43	38	53	45	49	50	39	29	38
Poor	10	14	12	12	9	5	5	12	0	8
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
b. Dealing with trade and economic disputes with Japan										
Excellent	2	3	6	3	7	4	3	3	0	5
Good	49	23	54	51	34	41	36	38	29	46
Only Fair	38	48	32	37	44	43	53	43	46	41
Poor	8	26	7	9	15	11	5	14	25	8
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
c. Bringing about a permanent peace between Israel and the Palestinians										
Excellent	7	3	7	5	9	7	6	6	16	5
Good	32	28	42	30	37	31	44	44	21	49
Only Fair	41	49	44	46	35	50	22	34	46	32
Poor	20	20	7	19	17	10	28	16	17	14
Don't know	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</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
d. Stopping the flow of illegal immigrants into the country										
Excellent	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	2	0	0
Good	11	6	6	9	4	18	9	10	17	11
Only Fair	47	37	48	49	49	51	58	52	58	57
Poor	42	54	36	42	44	29	33	33	25	32
Don't know	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.23 cont. ...

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
e. Dismantling the nuclear arsenals of Russia and the former Soviet republics										
Excellent	4	8	12	21	8	11	0	12	21	11
Good	49	46	45	41	53	45	50	39	50	60
Only Fair	33	43	36	33	23	33	30	36	29	27
Poor	12	3	3	5	12	7	14	11	0	3
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
f. Protecting the global environment										
Excellent	0	3	0	0	2	1	5	0	4	0
Good	11	40	23	14	13	12	17	15	17	22
Only Fair	53	43	62	61	64	64	64	56	58	62
Poor	33	11	15	23	21	22	14	26	17	13
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
g. Reducing international drug trafficking										
Excellent	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Good	4	0	7	7	5	11	5	7	17	11
Only Fair	38	69	49	49	52	52	78	50	50	48
Poor	54	31	33	42	41	35	17	38	33	38
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
h. Dealing with the emergence of China as a world power										
Excellent	0	3	4	0	0	2	0	3	4	0
Good	20	26	35	14	31	44	25	38	46	27
Only Fair	58	48	48	58	48	38	50	48	46	38
Poor	22	23	13	28	20	15	25	9	4	35
Don't know	<u>0</u>	<u>0</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>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
i. Aiding the interests of U.S. businesses abroad										
Excellent	7	3	12	7	5	8	14	2	25	6
Good	63	46	59	53	56	68	61	61	50	70
Only Fair	29	48	19	35	36	18	19	28	25	24
Poor	1	3	4	5	1	2	3	3	0	0
Don't know	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.23 cont. ...

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
j. Achieving peace in the Balkans										
Excellent	1	3	7	2	1	3	0	4	4	11
Good	33	31	30	30	27	31	28	40	50	32
Only Fair	42	43	52	49	52	47	58	43	42	46
Poor	21	20	9	17	17	16	8	10	4	11
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.24 Do you think that NAFTA is a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
Good thing	81	91	91	95	76	88	78	75	29	92
Bad thing	11	9	7	3	20	5	17	13	71	8
DK/Ref.	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.25 Would you favor or oppose expanding NAFTA to include other Latin American countries, such as Chile and Brazil?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
Favor	71	89	78	84	61	89	75	75	25	89
Oppose	22	11	13	11	37	8	25	16	75	8
DK/Ref.	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

NOW A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR DEFENSE POLICIES...

Q.26 Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?¹⁰

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
Increase	3	14	9	23	6	10	11	25	-	23	4	8	2	17	2	3	8	22
Keep same	28	48	45	60	30	39	40	49	41	61	19	45	36	44	24	51	42	59
Cut back	68	37	43	17	60	49	46	24	52	15	71	46	60	39	70	44	50	19
Same as Administration's planned cuts	1	n/a	3	n/a	4	n/a	1	n/a	6	n/a	6	n/a	-	n/a	3	n/a	n/a	n/a
DK/Ref.	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</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

Q.27 Would you approve or disapprove of the use of U.S. forces in the following situations:

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
a. If Iraq invaded Saudi Arabia																		
Approve	74	85	87	97	93	87	92	98	73	77	83	87	55	64	69	88	92	92
Disapprove	22	11	12	3	6	9	6	0	20	20	17	12	43	33	30	11	8	8
DK/Ref.	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</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
b. If the Mexican government was about to fall because of revolution or civil war ¹¹																		
Approve	10	31	38	23	23	13	25	21	36	37	18	18	21	47	18	16	38	32
Disapprove	84	59	56	77	73	84	68	77	55	61	77	76	68	47	77	72	62	60
DK/Ref.	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹⁰ In 1993 question was "Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?"

¹¹ In 1993 question was "If the Mexican government were threatened by revolution or civil war."

Q.27 cont. ...

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>		<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>	
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97
c. If North Korea invaded South Korea																				
Approve	69	78	72	86	86	83	92	91	65	67	77	81	49	56	68	68	67		92	
Disapprove	25	18	28	11	13	16	6	9	29	31	23	19	40	39	32	28	33		8	
DK/Ref.	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>4</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
d. If Arab forces invaded Israel																				
Approve	67	77	63	80	76	70	66	67	69	76	70	82	53	61	55	69	75		78	
Disapprove	27	19	34	17	20	23	25	31	22	20	26	17	38	33	42	27	25		19	
DK/Ref.	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>3</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100

Q.28 If peace in Bosnia depended on the continued presence of U.S. troops, would you support an extension of the American military mission there, or would you oppose it?

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>		<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>	
	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97	'97
Support	85		54		86		79		72		88		78		74		92		68	
Oppose	14		43		10		19		24		11		22		24		8		24	
DK/Ref.	<u>1</u>		<u>3</u>		<u>4</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>4</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>0</u>		<u>8</u>	
	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT . . .

Q.29 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:¹²

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
Europe	34	30	26	34	33	35	45	42	30	36	33	38	38	31	33	23	63	24
Pacific Rim	39	42	51	57	35	27	28	30	47	49	43	44	50	53	27	41	29	52
Equally important (VOL)	24	26	19	9	26	35	24	25	19	15	19	14	6	11	31	30	8	24
DK/Ref.	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</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

IF ANSWERED 1 "EUROPE", 2 "PACIFIC RIM", OR 3 "BOTH" IN Q.29, ASK:

Q.30 Why did you respond that way? Were you thinking about this from a political-military point of view, or an economic point of view, or a cultural and ethnic point of view?

BASED: EUROPE & PACIFIC RIM EQUALLY:

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
Political-military reasons	11	10	-	8	-	16	15	11	8	8	7	6	-	0	-	6	13	13
Economic reasons	32	33	42	40	31	22	15	20	46	51	14	44	33	35	21	48	50	38
Cultural and ethnic reasons	5	11	-	14	-	9	-	13	-	12	-	12	-	26	-	15	8	3
Other (VOL)	-	1	-	0	6	2	-	2	-	0	-	2	-	0	11	0	0	3
Political and economic reasons (VOL)	26	18	17	20	19	19	31	16	8	9	7	7	33	6	21	9	4	24
Political and cultural reasons (VOL)	-	0	8	3	-	2	-	0	-	4	-	5	-	3	4	0	4	5
Economic and cultural reasons (VOL)	5	6	8	6	6	2	-	3	7	4	-	3	-	9	11	3	4	0
All three (VOL)	21	20	25	9	39	25	38	33	31	12	65	21	34	21	32	16	17	14
DK/Ref.	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</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

¹²

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.30 cont. ...

BASED: EUROPE IS MOST IMPORTANT:

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
Political-military reasons	11	4	5	17	35	29	13	13	5	15	8	14	11	0	10	14	7	34
Economic reasons	8	23	28	17	5	4	7	12	52	41	15	23	11	18	17	9	40	11
Cultural and ethnic reasons	33	32	22	33	17	25	19	25	9	19	35	29	22	55	37	43	13	11
Other (VOL)	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	5	0	3	0	0	0
Political and economic reasons (VOL)	4	5	17	8	4	9	16	13	-	7	4	0	11	0	3	10	7	11
Political and cultural reasons (VOL)	7	0	6	8	4	4	16	0	10	7	15	11	-	0	7	0	7	22
Economic and cultural reasons (VOL)	4	4	-	17	4	0	-	8	5	4	4	6	17	9	10	5	6	0
All three (VOL)	33	32	22	0	31	29	29	29	19	7	19	17	17	18	13	19	20	11
DK/Ref.	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</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

BASED: PACIFIC RIM IS MOST IMPORTANT:

	<u>News Media</u>		<u>Business/ Finance</u>		<u>Foreign Affairs</u>		<u>Security</u>		<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>		<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u>		<u>Religious Leaders</u>		<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>		<u>Labor Union</u>	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u>
	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'93	'97	'97	'97
Political-military reasons	-	13	3	5	12	16	11	6	3	5	9	0	8	0	4	3	29	5
Economic reasons	61	52	83	60	50	53	47	47	91	65	61	64	43	53	80	79	71	69
Cultural and ethnic reasons	3	0	-	5	-	0	-	6	3	8	3	2	9	16	-	5	0	0
Other (VOL)	-	3	-	0	-	5	-	6	-	0	-	5	-	0	-	0	0	5
Political and economic reasons (VOL)	13	26	11	20	25	21	26	23	3	11	12	12	9	5	12	5	0	16
Political and cultural reasons (VOL)	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	5	-	0	0	0
Economic and cultural reasons (VOL)	10	3	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	5	6	0	22	5	-	3	0	0
All three (VOL)	13	3	3	10	13	5	16	12	-	6	9	17	9	16	4	5	0	5
DK/Ref.	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</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

Q.31 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today. . . Do you think China is: **(READ)**

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academic</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
An adversary	19	17	10	14	16	7	6	7	21	16
A serious problem, but not an adversary	67	54	67	70	72	82	89	66	67	73
OR,										
Not much of a problem	11	29	20	16	11	10	5	23	8	8
DK/Ref.	<u>3</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100

Q.32 As I read a list, please tell me which, if any, of these potential actions by China would justify a significant change in U.S. policy toward it. First, **(READ AND ROTATE)** (INTERVIEWER: IF NECESSARY, "Would this justify a significant change in U.S. policy toward China, or not?")

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Policy Staff</u> '97
a. Violent repression in Tibet										
Justify Change	53	40	44	44	57	64	86	56	83	57
Not Justify Change	47	57	52	54	33	34	8	40	17	40
DK/Ref.	<u>0</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100
b. Invasion of Taiwan										
Justify Change	92	86	93	95	91	94	92	90	88	100
Not Justify Change	8	14	4	5	8	5	8	9	8	0
DK/Ref.	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100
c. Elimination of civil liberties in Hong Kong										
Justify Change	85	60	71	60	81	76	83	59	79	84
Not Justify Change	15	40	23	38	17	22	17	40	21	13
DK/Ref.	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100
d. Unrestrained missile sales to nations such as Libya and Iran										
Justify Change	90	97	83	86	92	88	97	89	92	95
Not Justify Change	10	3	10	14	5	11	3	10	8	5
DK/Ref.	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100

Q.33 Right now, the U.S. military strategy is to be able to fight two wars at the same time, one in Europe and the other in Asia. Do you think this is still the right level of preparedness, or is it more than necessary?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
Right level of preparedness	63	68	49	61	87	56	75	58	71	76
More than necessary	30	26	44	32	9	40	25	40	29	24
DK/Ref.	<u>7</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100

Q.34 What's your opinion of the CIA . . . does it need minor changes, major reforms, or should it be abolished altogether in favor of a new intelligence agency?

	<u>News Media</u> '97	<u>Business/ Finance</u> '97	<u>Foreign Affairs</u> '97	<u>Security</u> '97	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u> '97	<u>Think Tanks/ Academics</u> '97	<u>Religious Leaders</u> '97	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u> '97	<u>Labor Union</u> '97	<u>Hill Staff</u> '97
Minor changes	26	40	23	37	28	25	25	29	17	43
Major reforms	37	43	48	51	44	47	42	36	38	51
Abolished in favor of new intelligence agency	26	11	20	9	19	19	22	19	33	0
Leave as is (VOL)	0	0	2	0	2	1	3	2	4	0
DK/Ref.	<u>11</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD II
GENERAL PUBLIC
FINAL TOPLINE
September 4 - 11, 1997
N=2,000

Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates in Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home. [IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?]

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton 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 Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
September, 1997	58	29	13=100
August, 1997	59	32	9=100
June, 1997	54	34	12=100
May, 1997	57	34	9=100
April, 1997	55	34	11=100
February, 1997	60	32	8=100
Early February, 1997	57	30	13=100
January, 1997	59	31	10=100
November, 1996	57	34	9=100
July, 1996	54	38	8=100
June, 1996	54	38	8=100
April, 1996	53	39	8=100
March, 1996	55	38	7=100
February, 1996	51	39	10=100
January, 1996	50	43	7=100
October, 1995	48	42	10=100
September, 1995	45	42	13=100
August, 1995	44	44	12=100
June, 1995	50	40	10=100
April, 1995	47	43	10=100
March, 1995	44	44	12=100
February, 1995	44	44	12=100
December, 1994	41	47	12=100
November, 1994	48	40	12=100
October, 1994	41	47	12=100
Early October, 1994	38	47	15=100
September, 1994	41	52	7=100
July, 1994	45	46	9=100
June, 1994	42	44	14=100
May, 1994	46	42	12=100
March, 1994	45	42	13=100
January, 1994	51	35	14=100
Early January, 1994	48	35	17=100

Q.1 cont. ...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
December, 1993	48	36	16=100
October, 1993	44	42	14=100
September, 1993	49	35	16=100
Early September, 1993	43	43	14=100
August, 1993	39	46	15=100
May, 1993	39	43	18=100
Early May, 1993	45	37	18=100
April, 1993	49	29	22=100
February, 1993	56	25	19=100

Q.2 All in all, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
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	50	45	5=100
May, 1988	41	54	5=100
January, 1988	39	55	6=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.4 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)

16 ECONOMICS (NET)

- 9 Miscellaneous economy (Sub-Net)
 - 3 Assisting/Encouraging economic growth/Development worldwide
 - 1 Global economic relationships worldwide, unspecified
 - 4 All other economic mentions
- 7 Trade imbalance/Deficit (Sub-Net)
 - 2 Trade agreements/Trade relationships, unspecified
 - 2 Deficit imbalance/Reduction of trade deficit generally or unspecified
 - 1 Reduce/Lower trade barriers/Tariffs
 - * Deficit imbalance/Reduction of trade deficit, etc. with Japan
 - * NAFTA mentions
 - * Free trade for/With all countries
 - * Trade agreements/Trade relationships, with Europe/European countries
 - * Trade agreements/Trade relationships, with Asia/Asian countries
 - 1 All other trade imbalance/Deficit mentions

15 GLOBAL INSTABILITY (NET)

- 8 International violence/Threats of terrorism
- 4 Maintaining world peace/Peace keeper/Resolution of international disputes
- 2 World conflicts/Wars/Chaos/World wide unrest/Ethnic conflicts, etc.
- 1 Nuclear proliferation
- * Keeping U.S. out of war
- * Weapons, unspecified
- * Support UN efforts
- * Political instability, unspecified
- * Support NATO effects
- * All other peace/World unrest mentions

12 SPECIFIC GEOPOLITICAL CONCERNS (NET)

- 8 Relating to the Middle East (Sub-Net)
 - 6 Situation in Israel/Situation with Israel and Arab neighbors
 - * Situation in Iraq
 - 1 All other Middle East Mentions
- 2 Situation in Bosnia/Former Yugoslavia/Reducing threat of conflict in Eastern Europe
- 1 Dealing with emerging China/Presence of a new China/Managing the relationship with China
- 1 All other specific global areas
- 1 Relating to the former USSR (Sub-Net)
 - * Helping effect a peaceful transition/Evolution of the former USSR/Potential problems in former USSR, unspecific
 - * Guiding Russia (or other republics) into a democratic direction
 - * Resolution of post cold war conflicts
 - * Helping Russia (or other republics) get on its feet economically
 - * Other comments relating to the former USSR
- * Situation in Somalia

Q.4 cont. ...

7	International drug trafficking
6	All other social issues mentions
4	Interfering/Not minding our business/Too much overseas involvement
3	Immigration/Controlling immigration to the U.S.A./Displaced people
3	U.S. LEADERSHIP ROLE (NET)
2	Loss of leadership/Declining as a world leader/Power
1	Assuming/Maintaining leadership role in post cold war world
1	What it means/Responsibilities of being (a world's only) super power
*	All other U.S. leadership role mentions
2	Hunger/World hunger
1	Human rights issues
1	Loss of jobs to foreign workers/Foreign countries
1	Environmental issues
1	Re-establishing relationships with other countries, unspecified
*	Population/Over population
*	Loss of jobs to immigrants
*	Future of United States Armed Forces mentions
3	All other mentions
*	Nothing
24	Don't know/No answer

Q.5 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 1993</u>
29	Satisfied	28
65	Dissatisfied	66
4	Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (Vol)	*
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
100		100

Q.6 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?
[READ AND ROTATE LIST]

	<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	(VOL) DK
a. The recall of millions of pounds of possibly contaminated hamburger meat	40	37	16	7	*=100
b. The end of the Teamsters Union strike against UPS	36	40	14	10	*=100
d. Charges of improper campaign contributions to the Democrats by foreign business interests	17	30	26	27	*=100
August, 1997 ¹³	10	28	26	35	1=100
May, 1997	18	33	23	25	1=100
April, 1997	19	37	22	21	1=100
February, 1997 ¹⁴	18	27	21	33	1=100
January, 1997	17	29	26	28	*=100
December, 1996	22	26	22	30	*=100
e. The problems aboard the Russian space station Mir	15	37	25	23	*=100
August, 1997	14	39	24	23	*=100
f. The death of Princess Diana	54	31	11	4	*=100
g. Recent major ups and downs in the stock market	14	22	23	40	1=100
April, 1997	17	21	22	40	*=100
February, 1996	12	20	25	42	1=100
h. Clashes between U.S. peacekeeping troops in Bosnia and mobs of Bosnian Serbs	12	30	34	24	*=100
i. The suicide bombing of a Jerusalem shopping area	13	30	29	27	1=100

NO Q.7

13 In this month story was listed as "Senate hearings on improper foreign campaign contributions."

14 In previous months story was listed as "Charges of improper campaign contributions to the Democrats by Indonesian business interests."

ASK Q.8 OF FORM 1 ONLY: [N=1007]

Q.8F1 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?

16	Too much
17	Not enough
62	Right amount
$\frac{5}{100}$	Don't know/Refused

ASK Q.8a OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=993]

Q.8aF2 Generally speaking, do you think network television news gives too much attention to news about foreign countries, not enough attention, or about the right amount of attention to news about foreign countries?

		<i>ABC News</i>
		<u>Oct 1981</u>
19	Too much attention	24
19	Not enough attention	21
56	Right amount of attention	53
$\frac{6}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{1}{100}$

ASK ALL:

Q.9 Now I'd like your views on some people and things in the news. 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 Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't Rate
a.	Bill Clinton	18	44	21	14	0	3=100
	August, 1997	16	45	21	17	0	1=100
	April, 1997	17	44	21	16	*	2=100
	January, 1997	17	49	18	14	*	2=100
	October, 1996 ¹⁵	12	45	22	19	0	2=100
	June, 1996	16	45	23	14	*	2=100
	April, 1996	16	41	24	16	0	3=100
	February, 1996	20	35	22	21	0	2=100
	January, 1996	13	43	27	15	0	2=100
	August, 1995	13	36	29	20	0	2=100
	February, 1995	14	41	25	17	0	3=100
	December, 1994	17	34	24	22	0	3=100
	July, 1994	15	43	25	16	*	1=100
	May, 1993	18	42	23	12	0	5=100
	July, 1992	17	42	25	9	0	7=100
	June, 1992	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
	May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
	March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
	February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
	January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
	November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
b.	Al Gore	11	35	28	15	1	10=100
	August, 1997	15	39	22	15	1	8=100
	April, 1997	12	45	24	12	1	6=100
	January, 1997	18	47	21	8	1	5=100
	July, 1994	18	49	19	7	2	5=100
	August, 1992	22	44	15	5	2	12=100
	July, 1992 ¹⁶	15	32	14	5	6	28=100
	September, 1987	6	23	11	3	23	34=100
c.	Senator Fred Thompson	5	18	14	7	34	22=100

¹⁵ October 1996 trend based on registered voters.

¹⁶ July 1992 trend based on 461 respondents asked on July 9, 1992 only.

Q.9 cont. ...

	Very Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
d. Network television news	18	52	18	8	*	4=100
February, 1997	15	58	18	5	*	4=100
April, 1996	21	58	13	4	0	4=100
January, 1996	25	58	11	4	*	2=100
June, 1995	16	51	21	9	*	3=100
July, 1994	17	52	22	7	*	2=100
May, 1993	23	58	12	3	0	4=100
January, 1992	27	55	11	2	0	5=100
November, 1991	24	51	16	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	40	51	5	2	0	2=100
May, 1990	22	60	12	3	*	3=100
August, 1989	28	54	11	3		4=100
February, 1989	21	61	12	3		3=100
August ¹⁷ , 1988	29	52	9	5		5=100
May, 1988	20	58	14	4		4=100
January 27, 1988	12	69	13	3		3=100
January 7-18, 1988	18	60	14	4		4=100
October, 1987	19	62	10	3		6=100
May, 1987	21	63	11	3		2=100
January, 1987	19	55	16	6		4=100
July, 1986	30	53	10	4		3=100
August, 1985	30	51	8	2		7=100
June, 1985	25	59	8	2		6=100
e. The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	22	53	14	5	*	6=100
February, 1997	21	53	15	4	0	7=100
April, 1996	24	56	12	4	0	4=100
January, 1996	27	52	11	5	*	5=100
June, 1995	22	52	14	7	1	4=100
July, 1994	23	57	13	5	*	2=100
May, 1993	26	55	10	4	0	5=100
January, 1992	27	51	13	5	0	4=100
November, 1991	24	56	11	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	30	55	7	3	*	5=100
May, 1990	22	56	12	5	*	5=100
August, 1989	25	52	12	5		6=100
February, 1989	22	56	13	4		5=100
August ¹⁸ , 1988	30	48	10	5		7=100
May, 1988	19	59	13	4		5=100
January 27, 1988	19	62	11	3		5=100
January 7-18, 1988	21	59	12	4		4=100

¹⁷ Based on Registered Voters.

¹⁸ Based on Registered Voters.

Q.9 cont. ...

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
e.	The daily newspaper you are most familiar with (Cont.)						
	October, 1987	21	58	9	4		8=100
	May, 1987	22	59	12	3		4=100
	January, 1987	19	57	13	6		5=100
	July, 1986	28	51	11	6		4=100
	August, 1985	25	52	10	5		8=100
	June, 1985	25	56	8	3		8=100
f.	The United Nations	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
g.	NATO	9	44	19	9	4	15=100
	June, 1995	8	53	18	7	4	10=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.10 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton 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 Bill Clinton is handling the nation's foreign policy? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

		Jan 1996	June 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994	Oct 1993	Sept 1993	Aug 1993	Newsweek June 30-July 1 1993
54	Approve	52	39	50	38	39	47	52	49
34	Disapprove	39	52	42	53	46	33	25	35
<u>12</u> 100	DK/Refused	<u>9</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>20</u> 100	<u>23</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100

ASK QUESTIONS 11 - 13 OF FORM 1 ONLY. ROTATE. [N=1007]

Q.11F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling international trade issues? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling international trade issues? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

		Sept	Aug	<i>Newsweek</i> June 30-July 1
		<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>
44	Approve	38	49	36
38	Disapprove	39	25	37
<u>18</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>23</u> 100	<u>26</u> 100	<u>27</u> 100

Q.12F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the situation in Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the situation in Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

		Oct	Sept
		<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>
46	Approve	36	38
34	Disapprove	43	39
<u>20</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>21</u> 100	<u>23</u> 100

(N=1007)

Q.13F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is dealing with China? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is dealing with China? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

37	Approve
37	Disapprove
<u>26</u> 100	Don't know/Refused

(N=1007)

ASK QUESTIONS 14 - 16 OF FORM 2 ONLY. ROTATE. [N=993]

Q.14F2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is dealing with Mexico? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is dealing with Mexico? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

		<i>CBS News</i>
		<u>Oct 1996¹⁹</u>
35	Approve	43
40	Disapprove	31
<u>25</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>26</u>
100		100

Q.15F2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton 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 Bill Clinton is handling the situation in the Middle East? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

		<i>Gallup/CNN/USA Today</i>		
		<u>Oct 1-2</u>	<u>Oct 2-3</u>	<u>Oct</u>
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1994</u>
50	Approve	52	51	56
36	Disapprove	34	35	35
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100
(N=993)				

Q.16F2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the economy? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF "DEPENDS" PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the economy? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

		<u>Jan</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>
		<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
60	Approve	50	46	45	38
34	Disapprove	42	46	46	56
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100	100
(N=993)					

¹⁹

In September the question was worded "... Clinton is handling relations with Mexico."

ASK ALL

Q.19 Now, I'm going to read to you a list of dangers in the world and after I finish, tell me which ONE of them you think is most dangerous to world stability? (**READ AND ROTATE**)

Q.20 And which would you name second? (**READ ITEMS AGAIN, IF NECESSARY -- SAME ORDER AS USED IN Q.19**)

		<u>Sept 1993</u>
Nationalism and ethnic hatreds		
16	First	27
16	Second	19
Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction		
19	First	24
22	Second	24
International trade conflicts		
3	First	7
5	Second	10
Religious fanaticism		
8	First	11
10	Second	12
Environmental pollution		
11	First	18
14	Second	21
Population growth		
7	First	10
8	Second	10
International drug and crime cartels		
32	First	n/a
20	Second	n/a
Other (VOL - DO NOT READ; SPECIFY)		
1	First	*
*	Second	1
Don't Know/Refused (DO NOT READ)		
3	First	3
5	Second	3

Q.21 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?

36 Greater
 30 Less
 32 Same
 $\frac{2}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

[INTERVIEWER: IF NECESSARY, "ON THE U.S."]

Q.22 These days, do you think there is more of a danger of a nuclear attack by a foreign military power, a foreign-sponsored terrorist, or by a domestic terrorist?

12 Foreign military power
 54 Foreign-sponsored terrorist
 26 Domestic terrorist
 $\frac{8}{100}$ Don't know/Refused

Q.23 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>							
		Dec	Oct	Sept	Nov	Nov	Nov	Nov	Dec
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1974</u>
35	More important	40	37	37	37	41	27	29	28
23	Less important	27	26	30	35	26	25	41	39
40	As important	29	33	31	24	29	44	24	27
$\frac{2}{100}$	Don't know/Refused	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$

Q.24 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 Q.24 ASK:

Q.25 Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be about as active as other leading nations?²⁰

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

ASK ALL:

Q.26 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?²¹

		<u>Top Priority</u>	<u>Some Priority</u>	<u>No Priority</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>
ASK ITEMS A - F OF FORM 1 ONLY:[N=1007]					
a.	Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction	70	23	6	1=100
	June, 1995	68	21	9	2=100
	September, 1993	69	24	5	1=100
b.	Insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S.	58	36	3	3=100
	June, 1995	59	34	3	4=100
	September, 1993	60	34	4	2=100
c.	Promoting democracy in other nations	22	57	18	3=100
	June, 1995	16	57	24	3=100
	September, 1993	22	52	24	2=100

²⁰ In trend questions the answer categories were "... most active, or should it be no more or less active than other leading nations?"

²¹ In trend question the answer categories were "... should have top priority, priority but not top priority, or no priority at all."

Q.26 cont. ...

		<u>Top</u> <u>Priority</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>Priority</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Priority</u>	<u>DK/</u> <u>Ref.</u>
d.	Aiding the interests of US businesses abroad	16	62	20	2=100
	June, 1995	26	50	20	4=100
	September, 1993	27	51	19	3=100
e.	Protecting the jobs of American workers	77	20	2	1=100
	June, 1995	80	17	2	1=100
	September, 1993	85	13	2	*=100
f.	Strengthening the United Nations	30	53	14	3=100
	June, 1995	36	45	17	2=100
	September, 1993	41	46	11	2=100

ASK ITEMS G - M OF FORM 2 ONLY: [N=993]

g.	Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries	42	48	7	3=100
h.	Promoting and defending human rights in other countries	27	56	15	2=100
	June, 1995	21	56	20	3=100
	September, 1993	22	54	22	2=100
i.	Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression even if U.S. vital interests are not at stake	16	60	22	2=100
	June, 1995 ²²	21	60	16	3=100
	September, 1993	17	55	25	3=100
j.	Combating international drug trafficking	67	24	7	2=100
k.	Reducing illegal immigration	42	47	9	2=100
l.	Improving the global environment	50	42	6	2=100
	June, 1995	56	36	6	2=100
	September, 1993	56	37	6	1=100
m.	Helping improve the living standards in developing nations	23	63	13	1=100
	June, 1995	16	59	22	3=100
	September, 1993	19	60	20	1=100

22

In June the question was "Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression."

Q.27 Do you think that NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, is a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?

47 Good thing

30 Bad thing

23 Don't know/Refused
100

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.

Q.28 Do you happen to know which Canadian province has held several votes on whether or not to separate from Canada?

31 Quebec

2 Any other

67 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.29 This summer, three countries were invited to join NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Do you happen to recall the names of any of them? [**Accept multiple responses**]

10 Recall any
3 Hungary
7 Poland
5 The Czech Republic; Czechoslovakia

90 Other/Don't know/Refused
100

Q.30	What is the name of the President of Russia?		June	July	Feb
			<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
47	Boris Yeltsin; Yeltsin		44	46	47
<u>53</u>	Anything else/Other/DK/Refused		<u>56</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>53</u>
100			100	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT:

Q.31 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>		
		Sept	Oct-Nov	Oct-Nov	Nov
		<u>1993</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1978</u>
48	Israel	45	34	41	39
13	Palestinians	21	13	17	12
5	Both (VOL)	3	7	8	8
16	Neither (VOL)	18	26	19	15
<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>12</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>
100		100	100	100	100

Q.32 Generally, do you approve or disapprove of expanding NATO to include Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary?

63	Approve
18	Disapprove
<u>19</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

NOW A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR DEFENSE POLICIES...

Q.33 Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?²³

		Feb <u>1995</u>	*Oct <u>1994</u>	Sept <u>1993</u>	*Oct-Nov <u>1990</u>	*Oct-Nov <u>1986</u>	*Oct-Nov <u>1982</u>	*Nov <u>1978</u>	*Dec <u>1974</u>
17	Increase	19	18	10	12	21	22	32	13
57	Keep same	56	53	52	53	55	52	45	47
24	Cut back	24	26	36	32	23	24	16	33
<u>2</u> 100	DK/Refused	<u>1</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100

* *Council on Foreign Relations* trend.

Q.34 Would you approve or disapprove of the use of U.S. forces in the following situations:

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
a.	If Iraq invaded Saudi Arabia September, 1993	54 53	41 40	5=100 6=100
b.	If the Mexican government was about to fall because of revolution or civil war September, 1993 ²⁴	43 41	49 52	8=100 7=100
c.	If North Korea invaded South Korea September, 1993	35 31	58 63	7=100 6=100
d.	If Arab forces invaded Israel September, 1993	45 45	47 48	8=100 7=100

²³ In previous months 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 September question was worded "If Mexican government were threatened by revolution or civil war."

Q.35 Do you think Bill Clinton has explained the situation in Bosnia well enough so that you feel you understand why the United States has sent troops to Bosnia, or hasn't he?²⁵

		<i>CBS/NYT</i>	
		<u>Dec 1995</u>	<u>Nov 1995</u>
32	Has explained well enough	51	45
55	Hasn't explained well enough	43	39
<u>13</u>	Don't know/No answer	<u>6</u>	<u>16</u>
100		100	100

Q.36 Do you believe that sending U.S. and other NATO forces to Bosnia has improved the chances of finding a way to permanently end the fighting there, or not?

27	Yes, improved chances of ending fighting
61	No, has not
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.37 If peace in Bosnia depended on the continued presence of U.S. troops, would you support an extension of the American military mission there, or would you oppose it?

48	Support
46	Oppose
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

²⁵

CBS/NYT trend was worded "...is sending troops to Bosnia."

ON ANOTHER TOPIC. . .

Q.38 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 LIST]**

		<u>Sept 1993</u> ²⁶
49	Europe or	50
31	The Pacific Rim	31
6	Both/Equal (VOL)	8
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>10</u>
100		100

Q.39 Do you think Japan has a fair trade policy or an unfair trade policy with the United States?

		<u>Sept 1993</u>	<u>Jan 1989</u>
19	Fair	14	22
64	Unfair	72	63
1	Both	1	*
*	U.S. unfair (VOL)	1	*
<u>16</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>15</u>
100		100	100

Q.40 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today. . . Do you think China is: (**READ**)

14	An adversary
46	A serious problem, but not an adversary
32	OR , Not much of a problem
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)
100	

²⁶ Question was worded "... ties with friendly nations of Europe ..."

ASK Q.41 AND Q.42 OF FORM 1 ONLY. ROTATE. [N=1007]

Q.41F1 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?

8	A great deal
28	A fair amount
36	Not very much
25	None at all
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.42F1 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?

13	A great deal
29	A fair amount
32	Not very much
23	None at all
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

(N=1007)

ASK Q.43 AND Q.44 OF FORM 2 ONLY. ROTATE. [N=993]

Q.43F2 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?

9	A great deal
26	A fair amount
36	Not very much
25	None at all
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.44F2 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?

8 A great deal
 23 A fair amount
 39 Not very much
 27 None at all
3 Don't know/Refused
 100
 (N=993)

ASK Q.45 OF FORM 1 ONLY. ROTATE ITEMS. [N=1007]

Q.45F1 As I read some types of foreign aid, tell me whether you favor or oppose them:

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK/</u> <u>Ref</u>
a.	Food and medical assistance to people in needy countries August, 1990	86 80	12 17	2=100 3=100
b.	Aid that helps needy countries develop their economies August, 1990	76 66	21 29	3=100 5=100
c.	Aid to support family planning and birth control in developing nations	68	30	2=100
d.	Military aid to countries that are important allies of the U.S. ²⁷ August, 1990	73 70	22 24	5=100 6=100

²⁷

In August the question was worded "Economic and military aid to countries that are important allies of the U.S."

ASK Q.46 OF FORM 2 ONLY. ROTATE ITEMS. [N=993]

Q.46F2 As I read some things the U.S. can do to help other countries, tell me whether you favor or oppose them:

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK/</u> <u>Ref</u>
a. Food and medical assistance to people in needy countries	86	12	2=100
b. Aid that helps needy countries develop their economies	73	23	4=100
c. Aid to support family planning and birth control in developing nations	70	26	4=100
d. Military aid to countries that are important allies of the U.S.	76	18	6=100

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N=1,015

FP-3 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

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

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

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

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

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

²⁸

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

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

		<u>June</u>	<u>April</u>							
		<u>1995</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>
39	Agree	41	37	33	34	30	41	35	27	18
54	Disagree	51	58	60	59	61	49	56	66	70
$\frac{7}{100}$	DK	$\frac{8}{100}$	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$	$\frac{10}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{12}{100}$

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

		<u>June</u>	<u>April</u>							
		<u>1995</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>
72	Agree	78	79	78	60	61	73	73	60	55
24	Disagree	18	18	16	34	30	22	20	31	32
$\frac{4}{100}$	DK/Refused	$\frac{4}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$	$\frac{5}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{9}{100}$	$\frac{13}{100}$