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**As Senate Begins Consideration**

**PUBLIC AND OPINION LEADERS FAVOR NATO ENLARGEMENT**

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**PUBLIC AND OPINION LEADERS FAVOR NATO ENLARGEMENT**

Majorities of the American public as well as the nation’s Opinion Leaders approve the expansion of NATO into Central Europe, according to surveys by the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press released today (Tuesday 4 p.m.) as the Senate begins hearings on Alliance enlargement.

These results come from a comprehensive study, conducted initially four years ago and repeated now, of what the public and leadership groups believe are the dangers and opportunities for America’s foreign policy in the post-Cold War world. The survey report will be released in its entirety on Thursday (4 p.m.) as *America’s Place in the World, Part II*.

Public approval of the expansion was more than three to one in favor (63% for, 18% opposed) in the poll of 2,000 adult Americans, which has a sampling error of plus or minus 2%.

A separate and more in-depth poll of nearly 600 Opinion Leaders in ten groups — including foreign affairs and security specialists, scholars, scientists, religious leaders, governors and mayors, top business executives, Congressional staffers who specialize in international matters, labor union leaders and senior media figures — found majority support for enlarging NATO among every group. Most enthusiastic for expansion are Union, Business and Religious leaders. Least welcoming (although still a majority) are the Foreign Affairs and Security groups, whose members are ostensibly the most knowledgeable about diplomatic and defense issues.

There appears to be little change in the level of support among these Opinion Leaders when the potential price tag of \$200 million a year was cited, although this specific question was asked only of three groups: Foreign Affairs, Security, and the Media.

A significantly lower level of support was found among these Influential groups for a second round of NATO expansion in which more former Soviet bloc nations would eventually join the Alliance. Nonetheless, majorities in every group except one still favored the additional enlargement, and the exception, Foreign Affairs, gave it plurality approval. The Security group and Congressional aides were next most dubious about a second round.

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

The Leadership groups were also asked about *expanding the role* of NATO beyond Europe. Seven of the ten groups approve using Alliance (including American) forces to defend Western interests outside the continent such as in the Persian Gulf, with majorities of Religious leaders and particularly Business leaders opposed. All groups by huge majorities endorse using NATO forces to provide peacekeeping in countries that *border* on NATO nations such as Bosnia. Lesser but still substantial majorities approve the use of NATO forces for peacekeeping in case of conflict *between* NATO member nations.

More than half of all Americans (53%) have a favorable view of NATO, but the overwhelming approval of its expansion plans was surprising in view of the scant knowledge among the public about which countries have been invited to join. Specifically, only 10% of the public was able to identify even one of the potential new members. Those who have some information about international affairs (based on respondents who answered correctly at least one of three knowledge questions<sup>1</sup>) more often approve of expanding NATO than those who have no such information (74% vs. 50% approval).

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<sup>1</sup> The name of the president of Russia, the Canadian province threatening to secede, and at least one of the potential new NATO members.

## Design of the Influential Americans Survey 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.

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 of 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, Academic leaders were taken from a list 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.

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### **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)

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## **About The Public Survey**

Results for the *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.

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.

**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)**

**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> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>0</u> 100	<u>0</u> 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 Policy 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>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	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>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	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>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	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
<b>Number of Interviews:</b>	<b>(50)</b>	<b>(36)</b>	<b>(21)</b>

**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.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	