



AMERICA'S

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ATTITUDES

PLACE

OF AMERICAN OPINION LEADERS

IN THE

AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

WORLD

ABOUT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press

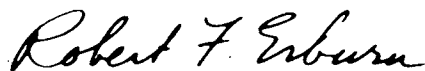
November 1993

A Letter from the Chairman

The Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press was established and is funded by The Times Mirror Company to conduct research in the public interest, as part of our mission to provide information to help people gain the knowledge they need to work, live and govern themselves. The Center's principal function is to study the relationship between the media, the American people, and formation of public policy.

The Center's 1991 report, *The Pulse of Europe*, surveyed the comparative values of 13 nations, including the states of the former Soviet Union and of Central and Western Europe. It reexamined these values in Russia, Ukraine and Lithuania one year later.

The present study of how American opinion leaders and the public view *America's Place in the World* is part of that continuing series. It is our contribution to a better understanding of American attitudes in the post Cold War era – a time that President Clinton has called “a turning point in human history.” We are pleased to share this information with the public, the press and policy makers.



Robert F. Erburu
Chairman & Chief Executive Officer

Foreword

We undertook this latest survey of the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, *America's Place in the New World*, in an effort to discover where the nation's top non-governmental leaders believe America is today, domestically and in foreign affairs, and where it should go in the post Cold War world.

"At this moment of panoramic change, of vast opportunities and troubling threats," as President Clinton described the present climate, we asked those who influence American opinion and policy direction: What are the most important problems facing the nation? What are the greatest foreign dangers? What should America's top goals be – economic, political, security, and ecologic? We asked them what role the United States should play in the new world. We asked them to prioritize a list of specific policy options. We asked which area of the world was now most important to America: the Pacific Rim or Europe.

We spent considerable time and effort deciding who to poll in addition to the public. Political leaders in Congress and the Administration were excluded on the grounds that their views are already known, or at least they have ample opportunity to make them known. Some respondent groups were relatively easy to identify in view of our subject, including those in the foreign affairs and the defense-security areas, in industry and finance, and in the media.

Beyond that, we included a group of governors and the mayors of large cities to insure that local attitudes were represented in the survey. We chose top figures of the academic world to insure that those scholars and intellectuals were heard. We selected leaders of the religious communities to insure that the keepers of our moral and ethical values would be included. We chose scientists and engineers because they represent the creators of our modern technological society. We included well-known cultural figures from the worlds of art and entertainment (writers, critics, musicians) since those who 'write the songs' reflect the country's images for today and tomorrow. There is no perfect questionnaire and no perfect sample, but within those imperfections, we tried our best to reach the broadest spectrum of those who influence the American people.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to Robert C. Toth who authored this report and managed this project for the Center. His years of experience as a diplomatic and foreign correspondent added invaluable to questionnaire design and analysis.



Andrew Kohut
Director
Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press

Table of Contents

A Letter from the Chairman	1
Foreword	2
Table of Contents	3
Overview	4
I. How Things Are Going	10
II. Dangers Today and Tomorrow	14
III. Problems and Goals	18
IV. U.S. and World Leadership	28
V. Economics and Trade	33
VI. Defense Spending and Force Levels Abroad	37
VII. Universalists vs. Pragmatists	40
METHODOLOGY	
Design of the Influentials Sample	42
Design of the General Population Sample	45
QUESTIONNAIRES	
Influentials Questionnaire	47
General Population Questionnaire	82

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE NEW WORLD

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ATTITUDES
OF AMERICAN INFLUENTIALS
AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC
ON INTERNATIONAL POLICIES

Overview

The post Cold War world has made influential Americans dubious about whether many of the ideals that have guided the foreign policy of the United States for half a century can still do so today. Even as they complain about America's lack of direction and coherence, they are themselves uncertain about what *America's Place in the New World* should be.

America's leaders surveyed by the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press are not celebrating the end of the Cold War. While they shun old-fashioned isolationism, they advocate an internationalism that is cautious and minimalist. They see no single, global mission for America in the world today. Without a common challenge, they rally to no common cause and instead, perceive a more diffuse set of U.S. vital national interests.

They are troubled, and their goals are colored, as they see the former Communist states incline toward authoritarian political organization, or outright ethnic warfare, instead of the liberal, pluralistic democracies of the West. Absent a particular threat, they emphasize protecting the global environment and strengthening the United Nations over promoting democracy and human rights abroad.

The general public, in a parallel poll by Times Mirror Center, is distinctly more pessimistic and inclined toward a new but unique kind of isolationism compared to the leaders. They want a foreign policy that serves the domestic agenda of the United States, and they would treat each global issue according to its impact on that agenda. More of the American people are dissatisfied with the way things are going **in the United States** (75%) than with the way things are going **in the world** (66%), which is remarkable in view of the turmoil in the world today.

Sentiment for American withdrawal from a leadership role in the world is twice as high among the public as among the nation's most influential figures. The American people now takes a clearly protective, American-First stance on international issues, particularly those affecting their pocket books. A major exception is the public's concern for protecting the global environment.

Even with a broader view than the public, America's Influentials are united mainly in believing that the nation should be chary about exporting its long-standing moral values – self-determination, free markets, human rights, and even democracy – if such a policy seriously risks backfiring by electing anti-democratic governments or antagonizing allies with different cultures. Even when asked about support for these values in the abstract, i.e., without mention of the risk of a perverted outcome, the Influentials give low priority to both promoting democracy and human rights as U.S. foreign policy goals.

The Times Mirror survey of nine key U.S. leadership groups on America's place in the post Cold War world was framed in foreign policy terms. Yet when asked for the most important problem facing the nation, the Influentials overwhelmingly looked inward. Over nine out of ten of their volunteered answers touched domestic themes; of these, almost two-thirds dealt with economic issues. Similarly, the disparate groups of Influentials came together with striking unity when as for the **foreign policy problem** that requires the highest priority: more than eight in ten said **strengthening the domestic economy** to improve America's international position.

In the polling conducted last summer, most Influentials approved of the way President Clinton was handling his job, but complained that he is indecisive, lacks direction, and has not provided leadership in foreign affairs that is required by a policy of "assertive multilateralism" and its more general formulation, "a strategy of enlargement."¹

To the Influentials, his handling of Bosnia represented the worst of his foreign policy performance. The overall criticism of the President for handling foreign crises would have been considerably higher except for his success in boldly backing President Boris Yeltsin in Russia's election campaign last spring. The same support can be assumed from these respondents on the President's backing of Yeltsin during his more recent move against the Russian parliament. Clinton's best grades came for his international trade and economic activities.

Problems and Priorities

American Influentials in the Times Mirror survey – including top executives in industry and finance, academia and think-tanks, the media, religion, and in state and local government; distinguished scientists and engineers; experts in foreign and international security affairs; and well known figures in arts and letters – are dissatisfied with the way things are going in the world as well as in their country. But they differ profoundly among themselves on identifying the nature of the **problems** confronting America in the new world. They differ even more so on the **priorities** to allocate to the problems.

Most of the Influential groups say America's most important international problem is helping to **maintain peace and ease conflicts** in an unstable world. Somewhat less importance is given to **international economics**, including foreign trade. A third set of concerns focuses on the theme of **U.S. leadership** in the world.

Running through the responses is a **dual imperative**: maintain peace, and serve the American domestic agenda through American foreign policy. This emphasis on domestic concerns emerges in the high priority the Influentials give not only to strengthening the domestic economy but also to such specific issues as ending the trade deficit, better managing trade disputes with Japan, and securing adequate energy supplies for the United States. In contrast, lower priority is given to traditional security concerns as posed in several questions, including countering the threat of North Korean militarism, keeping close watch on an emerging China, guarding against a resurgent Germany, and getting Saddam Hussein out of Iraq.

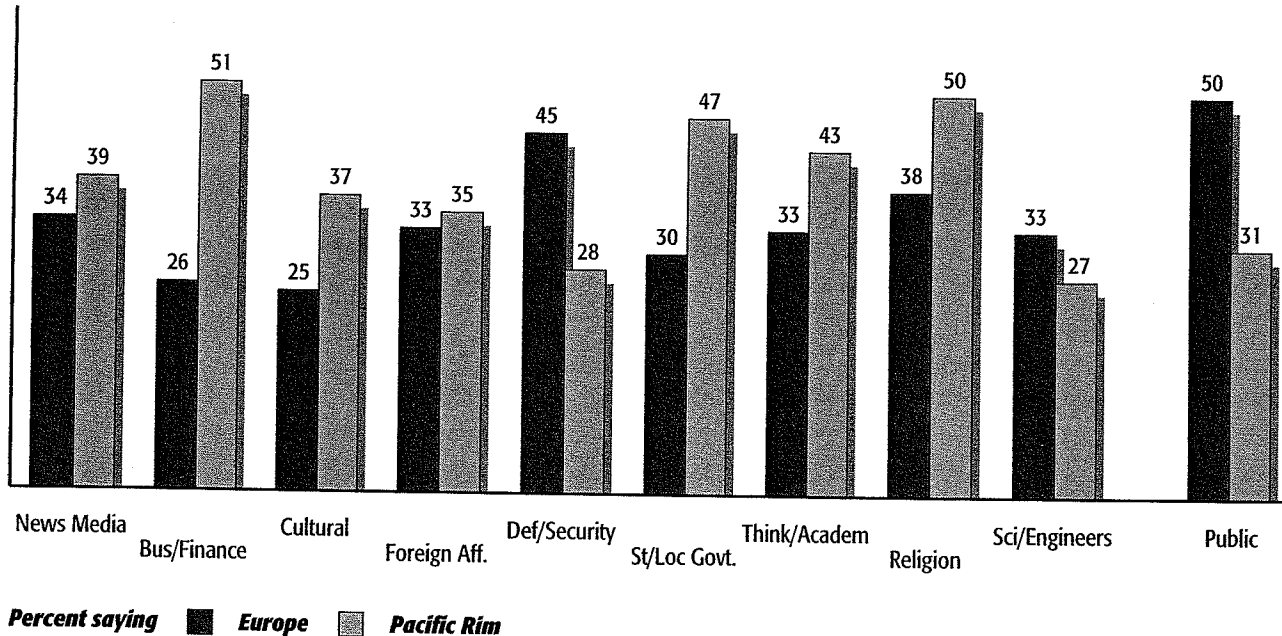
¹ "Enlargement," contrasted to the Cold War "containment" policy, focuses on strengthening, broadening and supporting democratic and free market nations, and on "humanitarian engagement," on a case-by-case basis.

Europe or Asia?

The Influentials feel that Japan and the **Pacific Rim** countries are now marginally more important to the United States than **Europe**. In a wallets over hearts choice, Asia was favored by seven out of the nine groups. Of those selecting the Pacific Rim, more than three-fourths volunteered economic reasons for their choice. Of those who chose Europe, four out of ten cited mainly cultural and ethnic reasons, with political and economic matters receiving only minor mentions.

For the public, however, Europe is still much more important. Fully half selected the Continent (50%) while fewer than one-third chose Asia. Less than one in ten (8%) said the two are equally important.

Part of World Most Important to the US



Secretary of State Warren Christopher, reflecting what he called the new “primacy of Asia,” cast the change in American outlook mainly but not solely in economic terms. He noted that Asia “as a trading partner is one and a half times larger than Europe,” but added that it offers an important “opportunity for development of new economic and security relationships.”²

Security concerns were seldom mentioned by the American Influentials as a reason for their focus on Asia, even though America has fought three wars there in the last half century. But in aggregate, they cite the nations in the region – China, Japan and North Korea – more often as dangerous to the United States than the aggregated nations of Europe, including Russia and the former Soviet states. They were slightly more anxious about the Mideast as a whole (before the Israeli-Palestinian accord). But if Asia is defined widely to recognize that Russia is also a major Pacific power, then the collective threat of Asia is the greatest regional concern.

Reinforcing this theme, almost two-thirds of all Influentials believe that the most likely world event of consequence by the year 2000 will be **China’s emergence** as an assertive global power. This event attracted the largest consensus by far on what the future holds. A distant second choice, by less than half the Influentials, was **German political and economic dominance** of Europe. But as noted earlier, America’s leadership elites are not anxious about these likely events, or at least not inclined to be particularly vigilant toward them.

² The New York Times, July 25, 1993, Page A15.

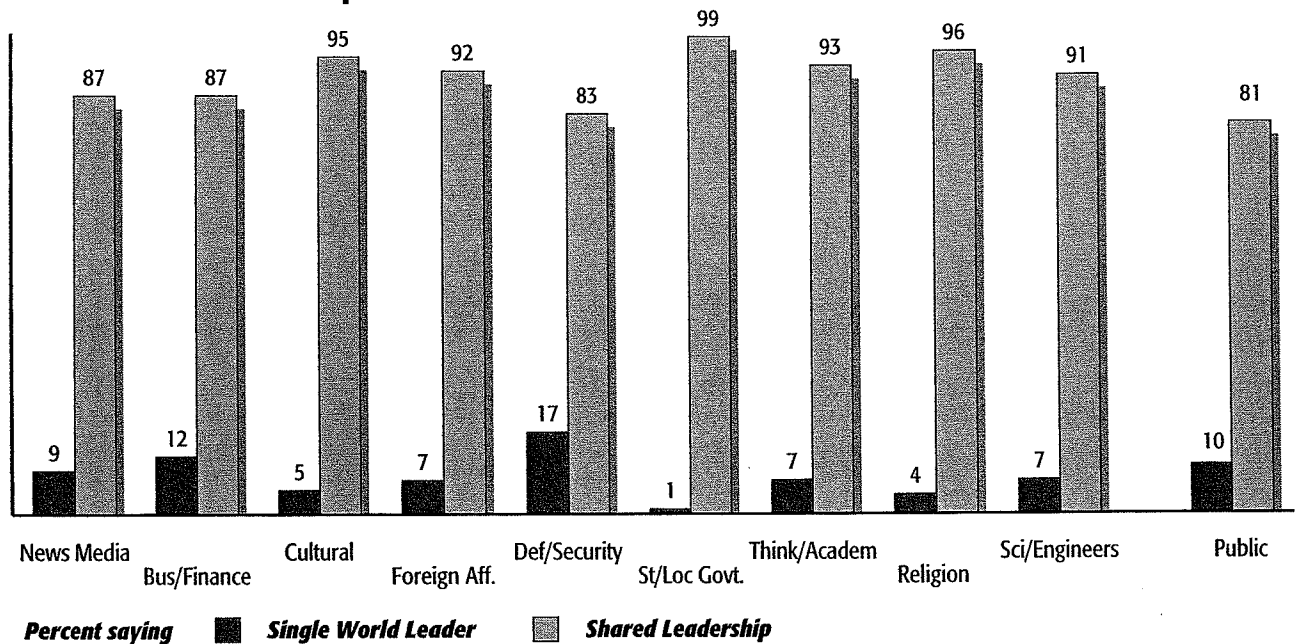
A Waning of America?

Perhaps because the Influentials are uncertain about America's authority in the world today and its ability to influence global events, at least one-third of respondents in eight of the nine groups believe the United States is **less important** than it was a decade ago (vs. **more important** or **just as important** as before). Feeling the U.S. decline most clearly were strong pluralities among the Foreign Affairs, Security, Media and Business groups.

Equally significant, the Influentials are divided on what role they want America to play in the new world. Fewer than one in ten want it to be the world's **single leader**. Most want Washington to **share leadership** with others; but while sharing, they said, it should be the **most assertive** nation at the top table. Overall, more than two-thirds of the Influentials want America to be either the world's single leader or the most assertive leader, what Paul Nitze termed its "preponderant power." They are reluctant to see the passing of U.S. dominance.

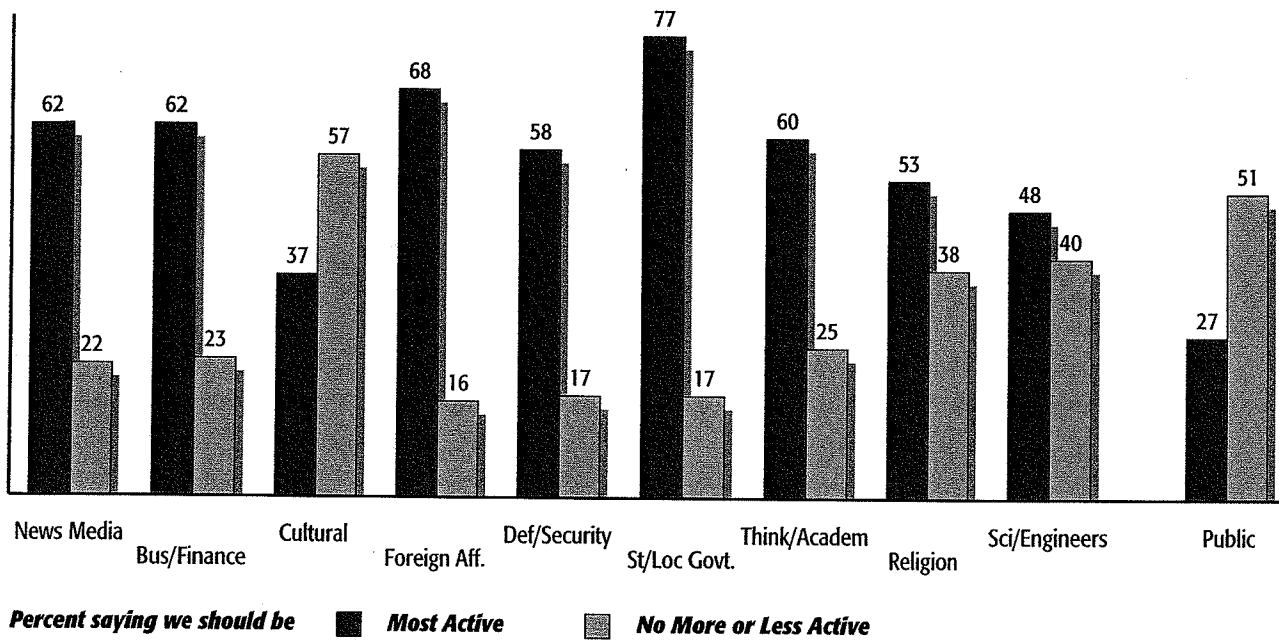
The public has another view on America's future role in the world, however. Among those who support a **shared leadership** role, the public was almost two to one for the United States to be **no more or less active**³ than other leading nations. This is essentially the reverse of the Influentials' overwhelming preference for the **more assertive** role. Moreover, almost as many public respondents urge **no leadership** role whatever as call for the opposite – i.e., for the United States to be the world's **single leader** (7% and 10%, respectively). A final difference is that more of the public believes the United States plays a more important and powerful role today than do the Influentials (one-third vs. one-fourth).

America's World Leadership Role



³ Influentials were asked whether the United States should be most assertive. The public was asked whether it should be most active of the leading nations.

America's World Leadership Role: Shared Leadership



Given their perception that the threat to America is diverse and amorphous, each group of Influentials has its own special list of world problems and goals for America to pursue. Even the nation's Foreign Affairs and Security elites, once joined hip-to-thigh on the containment policy against the former Soviet Union during the Cold War, differ significantly on fully half the problems and goals for America in the world. Those expert groups, in turn, have a significantly different view of the world from the Cultural and Religious Influentials. And a third set of viewing glasses is worn by the Business and Government groups.⁴ The public, in contrast, shows remarkably little variance among the segments of respondents – whether by age, gender, education, party affiliation, ideological leaning, or interest in world affairs.

⁴ These group similarities and differences are described in greater detail below.

Sample

The purpose of the Times Mirror survey was primarily to learn what America's leadership elites outside of the Federal government believe America's role in the post Cold War world should be. It sought their views on where the nation is now and where it should go, what the most important international problems facing the country are and what its top priority foreign policy goals should be – in political, military, economic and ecological terms. It examined support for a range of policy options. It probed whether America should continue to lead the world, and if so, in what capacity.

The leadership respondents, whom we call America's Influentials, consisted of 649 men and women chosen at random from recognized lists of top individuals in various fields or by virtue of their leadership positions in areas such as religion.

The Business group consisted of chief executive officers in industry and in finance, picked at random from *Fortune 1000's* list of leaders of those two fields. 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 Culture group, comprised of artists, writers, musicians and critics, was chosen at random from *Who's Who In America*. The Science group was picked at random from members of the National Academy of Sciences and National Academy of Engineers.⁵

Among respondents selected on a non-random basis, Academic leaders were taken from a list of the private universities "most difficult" to enter and those state universities "very difficult" to enter. Religious 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. Government respondents were chosen from among state governors and mayors of cities with populations over 80,000. Media respondents were selected from among top individuals in television, newspapers, radio and news magazines.⁶

PUBLICS INTERVIEWED

General Public	(2000)	Security	(68)
Media	(79)	St./Loc. Govt	(69)
Business	(69)	Academics	(78)
Cultural	(79)	Religion	(47)
Foreign Affairs	(69)	Science/Eng.	(91)

Demographically, survey respondents were mostly male, white, and highly educated; 93% completed university degrees, including 29% with masters degrees and 41% with doctorates. Four out of ten (42%) had served in the military. Democrats outnumbered Republicans two to one (41% to 22%) with more than one-third (35%) self-described independents. They voted more than two to one for Clinton over George Bush, with a mere 2% for Perot.

The demographic homogeneity of the sample, however, underscores how divided the Influentials are in identifying the major problems America confronts and in selecting the major priorities for the country in the new world.

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.

⁵ Scientists per se often differed from the engineers in their views. When significant differences occurred on key issues, they are noted.

⁶ The sample is described in detail in the Methodology section appended to this report.

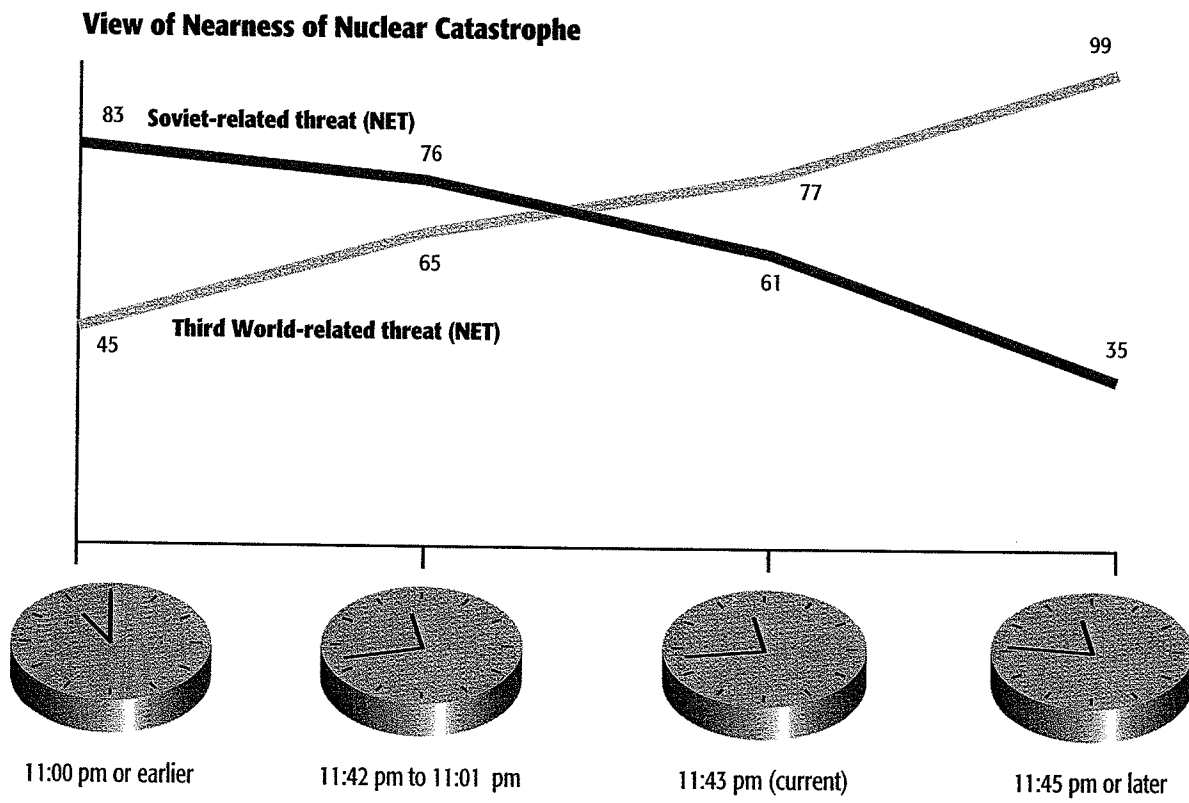
I. How Things Are Going

The overriding threat of the Cold War – a **nuclear conflict** – provides a metaphor for how Influentials view the dangers of the new world. Broadly put, the survey found America's leadership split on whether the risk is less today. The threat of global nuclear catastrophe is reduced, the Influentials say, now that the Soviet Union no longer exists. But that threat is replaced by the danger that nuclear explosions, whether delivered by sleek missile or crude ox-cart, may be more imminent because of the proliferation of nuclear technology and material to Third World nations and possibly to international terrorist organizations.

Armageddon Watch

A **clock of nuclear catastrophe**, long featured on the cover of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, was used to gauge the attitude of Influentials on this score. Its hands once stood as close as two minutes to midnight, i.e., two minutes to Armageddon. Several years ago they were moved back to 11:43 p.m. Respondents were asked where they would set the hands today.

They were almost equally divided: four in ten moved the hands back, while the same proportion either kept them at 11:43 or moved them closer to midnight.



Percent indicating time and reason

Asked their reasons, those Influentials who saw less danger today – those who moved the clock back to 11 p.m. or earlier – most often cited the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Those who saw the danger unchanged mentioned proliferation of nuclear material and know-how to Third World nations and terrorist groups as their primary concern. Respondents who set the clock closest to midnight were overwhelmingly concerned with the Third World/terrorist danger. In their answers, these most anxious Influentials did not necessarily anticipate a globally catastrophic nuclear war, or even a conflict involving the United States, only that some use of a nuclear explosive device in a conflict was nearer.

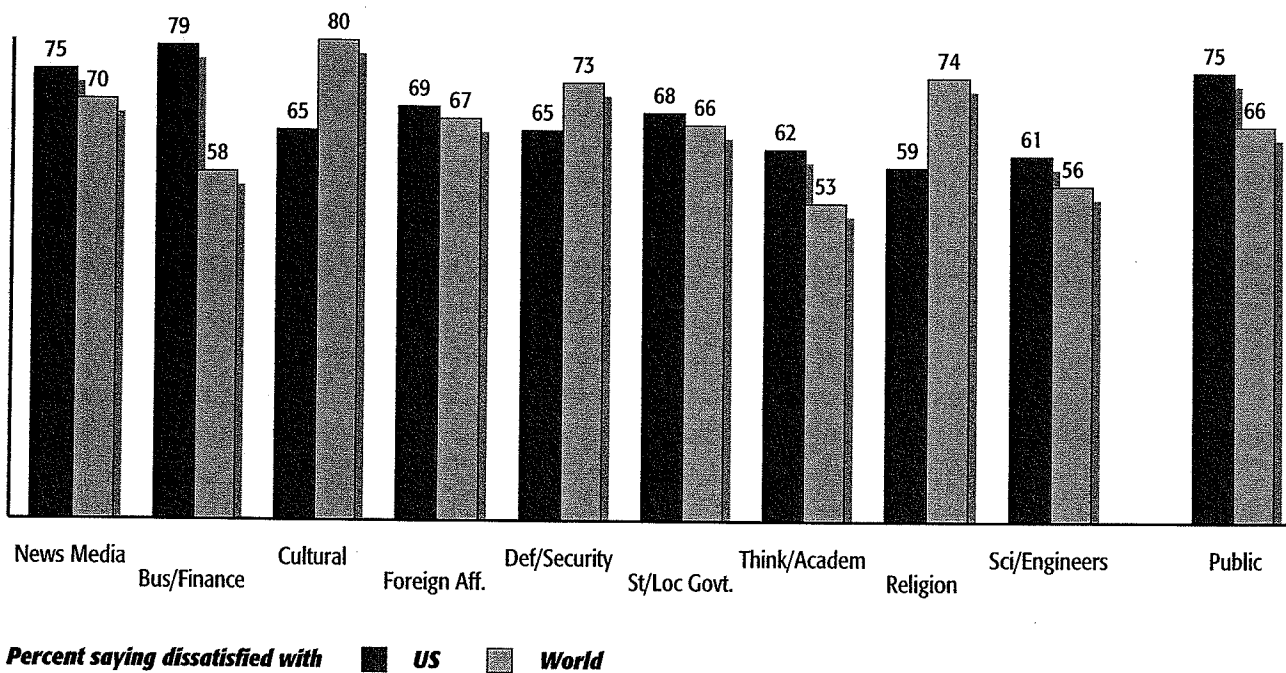
“We really need two clocks today,” one former high U.S. official said. “The one for a nuclear war involving the United States would be much earlier now, maybe back to 10 p.m. in my view. The one for some other event, perhaps between India and Pakistan, would be later than that, although I think still earlier than 11:43 p.m.”

The Business group was most sanguine about the nuclear future, with fully one-third setting the clock back to 11 o’clock or earlier. Most anxious, on the other hand, were state and local Government officials, almost one-third (29%) of whom set the clock forward – to 11:44 or later. The Science, Religion and Cultural groups were most content to leave the clock unchanged; it was also the group that offered the most “don’t knows.” Cutting across groups, those Influentials who identified themselves as Jewish were least likely to be optimistic about the nuclear future.

However divided the Influentials are about global nuclear prospects, two-thirds of them are dissatisfied with **the way things are going in the United States** today. This disquiet is broad as well as deep; nearly every group registered over 60% dissatisfaction. Economic reasons were given far most often, with social issues (including health care, education and crime) a very distant second among all groups except the Religious leaders for whom these issues were reversed in importance. In quantitative terms, dissatisfaction was greatest among the Business group (79%), with Media a close second (75%). Women were somewhat more dissatisfied than men (75% to 67%).

Similarly, two-thirds of Influentials are dissatisfied with **the way things are going in the world** today, although with less uniformity among groups when asked the same question about the nation. The Cultural elite is the most dissatisfied (80%), with the Academics and Science groups least dissatisfied (53% and 56%, respectively). Women were again somewhat more dissatisfied than men.

Dissatisfaction With Conditions in the U.S. vs the World



The greater public dissatisfaction with the way things are going in the United States (75%) than with events in the world (66%), as already noted, suggests a deep pessimism among Americans about their country today.

Clinton Approved

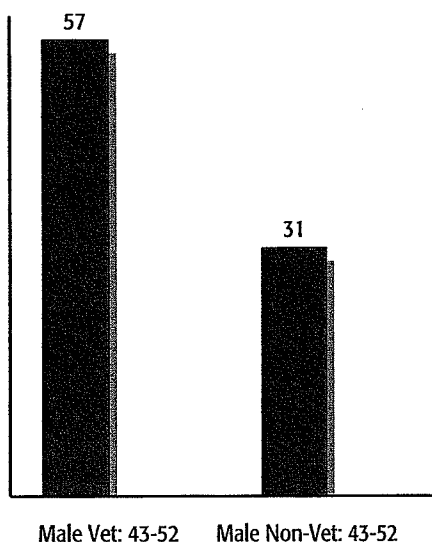
President Clinton received an overall approval rating from most Influential groups. It was considerably higher than among the public where opinion was equally divided at the time of the survey.

But each group of Influentials rated him quite differently. Most approving were the Cultural, Science (pure scientists particularly) and Academic groups. Most disapproving by far was Business, by almost a five to one margin; it was the only group in which the majority disapproved of Clinton's performance, in this case a huge majority of 77%.

Other Influentials who were also highly disapproving of Clinton included those who want the United States to remain the **single leader** of the world; they were close to three times more disapproving than those who favor a **non-assertive shared leadership** role for the nation. Almost five times more **single leader** respondents disapproved than approved of his performance.

Male Influentials 43 to 52 years old, who are the age cohort of President Clinton, divided on rating the President and on other issues along the fault line of military service. Roughly twice as many veterans as non-veterans disapproved of him (57% to 31%). The veteran cohort was also less dissatisfied than the non-veterans with the way things are going in the world (51% vs. 68%). Indeed, the survey found that the veteran cohort had significantly different values than the cohort who had not served. The veterans were more supportive of promoting free markets abroad and stopping illegal immigration than the non-veterans. For their part, the non-veteran cohort was more supportive of promoting democracy and human rights abroad and protecting the environment.

Views of Clinton Among Veterans and Non-Veterans of His Age Cohort



Percent who Disapprove of the way Clinton is handling his job as President

The Influentials were asked both about the best aspects and the worst aspects of the Clinton Administration's handling of foreign affairs. The same issue was often volunteered positively by one respondent and negatively by another. For example, Bosnia was mentioned both with approval, as an example of restraint, and critically, as an example of indecisiveness. This pattern permitted some conclusion on the issues on which Clinton gets most credit and criticism.

On Bosnia, he received most criticism by far. That tragic nation was mentioned almost four times more often as being among the worst features, rather than the best features, of his foreign stewardship. The Bosnian criticism, in fact, far outweighed the positive mentions he received for such actions as supporting President Yeltsin and pushing through a Russian economic aid package last spring.

More broadly, the President also was more criticized, on balance, for his leadership in handling conflicts and for his general approach to foreign affairs. Complaints of his lack of direction, indecisiveness, poor leadership were mentioned twice as often as those applauding his caution, restraint, openness and flexibility. His veteran cohort cited indecisive and inexperienced leadership more often than the non-veterans.

Only on international trade and economic issues did he get a net positive score, with three times more positive than negative mentions. The Foreign Affairs and Media groups, who were his biggest critics on handling foreign conflicts, were most positive on economics and trade.

II. Dangers Today and Tomorrow

Atheistic communism, embodied in an expansionist Soviet Union, once provided a single enemy – political, military and economic – to virtually all of the nation's leadership groups. But they are far from united on the main threat in the world today, whether posed in terms of ideology, ecology, or individual nations.

Asked about global dangers on a grand scale, most Influential groups chose nationalism and ethnic hatreds as the **greatest threat to world stability** by wide margins. When not the first choice, nationalism and ethnic hatreds were usually a close second. **Population growth** and **weapon proliferation** vied for second place. Some groups saw them as the bigger threats, in fact. The Science group, perhaps taking a longer view, was far more concerned about population than anything else; the scientists and engineers cited population growth three times more often than nationalism. For the Cultural elite, too, the population issue was chosen more often than nationalism, although only marginally so. The Foreign Affairs group cited proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as the biggest threat, but only marginally more often than nationalism.

Religious fanaticism was fourth among the choices on average. Nationalism, ethnic politics, and religious fanaticism are often linked in the Third World and among terrorists, at least loosely. But few of the expert respondents, in the Foreign Affairs and the international Security groups, showed much concern about the religious fanatics.

The public again had a unique view. After awarding first and second places to nationalism/ethnic hatreds and nuclear proliferation, respectively, it put the issue of **environmental pollution** – a danger found as much at home as abroad – as a strong third choice. Population growth and religious fanaticism were much lower concerns.

DANGERS TO WORLD STABILITY SAMPLE GROUPS (%)

	Media	Business	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State & Local Gov.t	Academics	Religion	Science/ Eng.s	General Public
Nationalism and ethnic hatreds 1st Choice	47	33	24	33	44	35	49	40	15	27
Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction 1st Choice	18	22	13	39	35	19	17	26	14	24
International trade conflicts 1st Choice	4	12	1	•	3	17	4	2	2	7
Religious fanaticism 1st Choice	15	20	15	6	3	12	9	11	16	11
Environmental pollution 1st Choice	3	1	15	•	4	1	•	11	1	18
Population growth 1st Choice	14	12	29	22	7	14	18	11	51	10

Moving to the specific, the Influentials were widely dispersed in selecting which country, if any, represents the **greatest danger to the United States**. Iran was the favorite overall, although fewer than one in seven of the Influentials named it. Among the groups, fully one-fourth (25%) of Foreign Affairs respondents cited Iran. The Security group mostly chose China along with Russia and the other former Soviet states. The Media chose Iraq, Business pointed at Japan – presumably as an economic threat rather than political or military threat.

Asia the Biggest Threat

When viewed regionally, a clearer pattern emerges: nations of the Mideast were cited most often as the greatest danger. The polling was completed before the Israeli-Palestinian accord was signed, but Iran and Iraq were far and away the major components of an aggregated Mideast total; other nations were seldom mentioned. A close regional second was Asia. China and Japan were prominently cited by at least one in ten respondents in each Influential group, twice as often as Russia and the other former Soviet states. When Russia is assigned to the Pacific area, the Asian region becomes most threatening overall.

GREATEST DANGER TO THE U.S.

SAMPLE GROUPS (%)

Q.8 Country which represents greatest danger to the U.S.

	Media	Business	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State & Local Gov.t	Academics	Religion	Science/ Eng.s
Asia									
China	9	9	10	10	21	12	17	9	12
Japan	9	14	11	7	9	13	10	6	10
North Korea	4	1	5	*	1	4	1	*	1
Middle East									
Iran	13	10	13	25	15	7	8	13	19
Iraq	15	12	10	9	3	17	10	15	11
Middle East Countries	3	1	4	*	*	4	6	9	1
Other Middle East Mentions	1	*	3	1	*	1	1	*	1
Former Soviet Union									
Former Soviet Union	4	12	3	7	6	6	8	*	5
Russia	4	6	*	6	16	4	5	*	2
Ukraine	1	3	*	1	1	*	*	*	*

The Security group saw the greatest dangers in the Asian region and in the ex-Soviet states, while Foreign Affairs respondents focused most on the Middle East. The Religious and Media groups are also mainly concerned with the dangers in the Middle East.

The Religious leaders were also distinguished as the only group showing more sympathy for the Palestinians than for the Israelis. While Influentials as a whole were twice as sympathetic to Israelis, those in the Religious group were twice as sympathetic to Palestinians. Protestant leaders were equally divided between the two sides, but Catholic leaders heavily favored the Arabs. The Foreign Affairs group was distinctly more pro-Palestinian than average but slightly more respondents still favored Israel.

Most of the Influentials feel that among potential events affecting peace and stability by the end of the century, the emergence of **China as an assertive global power** was most likely – either certain or probable. The Business and Media groups were most convinced of this development (72% and 73%, respectively), but a significant majority of every group also felt this way. A distant second in this respect was that **Germany will dominate** Europe politically and economically. Academics were most convinced of this outcome; among the least convinced were the Foreign Affairs and Security groups.

A Benign Chinese Tiger?

But the Influentials seem unconcerned about these anticipated events. They do not expect China to use force to win any disputed territories, which include the potentially oil-rich Spratly Islands off the Vietnam coast. In fact, very few gave top priority to the notion of heightened vigilance toward the emergence of Beijing on the world scene. Strong majorities in five of the nine groups also oppose giving a greater military role to Japan – an obvious option to hedge against an assertive China – as well as to Germany. Indeed, they dismiss flatly the idea of guarding against a resurgent Germany.

Along the same lines, most of the Influentials see a need to insure that democracy succeeds in Russia and the former Soviet states. But they discount the possibility that Moscow will attempt to retake parts of the old Soviet empire and they think improbable that this century will see armed clashes between Russia and Ukraine.

INFLUENTIALS FORECAST WORLD EVENTS

(Top 5 “Certain” + “Probable” Mentions)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Media	China emerges	Germany dominates	Int'l terrorism in US rises	Western Europe unifies	Jap. economic power wanes
Business	China emerges	Germany dominates	Jap. economic power wanes*	Iran-Iraq war resumes	Israeli-Arab war reoccurs
Foreign Affairs	China emerges	Germany dominates	N. Korean communism ends	Int'l terrorism in US rises*	Iran-Iraq war resumes
Defense/Security	China emerges	Germany dominates	N. Korean communism ends	China uses force*	Russia retakes empire
Government	China emerges	Int'l terrorism in US rises	Western Europe unifies	Germany dominates*	Iran-Iraq war resumes
Religion	China emerges	Int'l terrorism in US rises	Germany dominates	Jap. economic power wanes	Iran-Iraq war resumes

At the next level of likelihood was extensive **international terrorism** in the United States, a prospect of particular concern to the Culture, Religious and Government groups, although probably for different reasons. Here, again, the expert groups of Foreign Affairs and Security included relatively few respondents who see such terrorism as certain or probable.

* Indicates this item is tied with the following item for this particular group.

A lower order of likelihood went to a cluster of events that included full economic unification of Western Europe, resumed Iran-Iraq warfare, the end of communism in North Korea, and a waning of Japanese economic power. The Security and Foreign Affairs groups were more inclined to see an end to Korean communism than the Influentials on average, however. Surprisingly, one in four Influentials believe Tokyo's economic might would drop by the end of the century. One respondent said he based his view on "the lack of resources inside Japan."

The events which the Influentials considered least likely include a spreading Balkan war, an economically weaker America, and least of all, a nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan. The Security, Religious and Cultural groups showed above average concern about a forceful China and the Balkan war. The Security respondents also expressed a high level of concern about Russia.

III. Problems and Goals

Asked in an open-ended question what they saw broadly as the nation's **most important international problem**, the Influentials volunteered a series of concerns clustered around the theme of **maintaining peace and coping with unrest** in the world. The former USSR and the Bosnian conflict were specific cases cited most often in this context. International **economics** was the theme mentioned next most frequently, with trade issues paramount. Third was another series of concerns, clustered around the theme of the U.S. **leadership role** in the world; included are such matters as how to get, keep, and lose leadership, as well as its perquisites and responsibilities. The twin concerns about maintaining peace and leadership were at times related, and if aggregated, they would constitute a large majority of the total responses.

Among the different groups, the Foreign Affairs and Security leaders were most concerned about maintaining peace; two out of every three respondents cited such issues. Business, Academics and the Government groups were most concerned with economics. The Religious group was most seized with the question of U.S. leadership in the world.

“The Economy, Stupid!”

When specific problems were posed, most Influentials said the issue that should receive top priority for the U.S. government is **strengthening the domestic economy** in order to improve America's international position. The Culture group appeared to be the lone exception, its members choosing more frequently to protect the global environment (80% vs. 72% for the U.S. economy). But the Science group was also strong on environmental protection, almost three-fourths (73%) assigning it top priority.⁷

A cluster of six issues vied for second place as the next most urgent problem for America, again illustrating the differing agendas of the different Influential groups. **Insuring democracy** in the former Soviet states was most important to the Security and Foreign Affairs groups (69% and 60%, respectively), least to Religious leaders for whom settling the **Arab-Israel conflict** took precedent (68%). For Business leaders, adopting the North American Free Trade Agreement (**NAFTA**) (74%) as well as **better managing disputes with Japan** (64%) should get most priority. **Stopping international drug trafficking** was most important to Government leaders (71%), while **protecting the environment** was tops with Culture and Science.

⁷ The scientists and engineers parted company sharply on this issue, with the scientists far more pro-environment (81%) than the engineers (53%).

TOP FIVE FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

Q.20

News Media

Strengthening domestic economy
Insuring democracy succeeds in Russia
Middle East peace settlement
Better managing trade dispute with Japan
Protecting global environment

Business/Finance

Strengthening domestic economy
Adopting NAFTA
Better managing trade dispute with Japan
Stopping international drug trafficking
Middle East peace settlement

Cultural

Protecting global environment
Strengthening domestic economy
Stopping international drug trafficking
Middle East peace settlement
Better managing trade dispute with Japan

Foreign Affairs

Strengthening domestic economy
Insuring democracy succeeds in Russia
Middle East peace settlement
Adopting NAFTA
Better managing trade dispute with Japan

Security

Strengthening domestic economy
Insuring democracy succeeds in Russia
Better managing trade dispute with Japan
Countering threat of North Korean militarism
Adopting NAFTA

State/Local Government

Strengthening domestic economy
Stopping international drug trafficking
Insuring democracy succeeds in Russia
Better managing trade dispute with Japan
Protecting global environment

Think Tanks/Academics

Strengthening domestic economy
Insuring democracy succeeds in Russia
Adopting NAFTA
Protecting global environment
Better managing trade dispute with Japan

Religion

Strengthening domestic economy
Stopping international drug trafficking
Middle East peace settlement
Protecting global environment
Ending warfare in Balkans

Science/Engineering

Strengthening domestic economy
Protecting global environment
Insuring democracy succeeds in Russia
Middle East peace settlement
Better managing trade dispute with Japan

General Public

Stopping international drug trafficking
Strengthening domestic economy
Stopping flood of illegal aliens
Protecting global environment
Getting Hussein out of Iraq

The People Differ

The public saw things differently than the Influentials when asked an open-ended question about America's most important problems. The three broad themes of concerns – peace/unrest, economics, and U.S. leadership – were mentioned in that same order of frequency. But the public gave specific international problems much greater attention. **Stopping drug trafficking** was the top priority international problem for most of the public by far (82%), with **strengthening the domestic economy** second (71%), followed closely by concern about **illegal immigration** and **protecting the global environment** (65% and 64%, respectively.)

The top foreign policy goal for the country, all Influential groups agreed, is far and away the prevention of the spread of **weapons of mass destruction**. Well over eight in 10 respondents gave it first priority. In distant second place was **insuring adequate energy supplies** for the country, a matter of particular importance for Business and Government groups; 70% of each gave it top priority.

As with foreign policy problems, a cluster of issues competed at the next level for top priority in goals. These varied largely according to the group. For the Culture and Science groups, consistent with the main world problem in their view, the chief goal was **improving the global environment** (78% and 63%)⁸. For the Government group, it was **reducing the foreign trade deficit** (65%). **Protecting American jobs** was high for the Government and Religion groups (61% and 55%, respectively). For Foreign Affairs and Culture, **strengthening the United Nations** was very important (45% and 51%, respectively).

⁸ The Science group was divided on the environment, with 69% scientists but only 48% of engineers giving it top priority,

TOP FIVE FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

Q15

News Media

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Improving global environment
Protecting jobs of American workers
Reducing trade deficit

Business/Finance

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing trade deficit
Aiding interests of U.S. business abroad
Protecting jobs of American workers

Cultural

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Improving global environment
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Protecting jobs of American workers
Strengthening the U.N.

Foreign Affairs

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Strengthening the U.N.
Improving global environment
Reducing trade deficit

Security

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Strengthening the U.N.
Promoting democracy
Improving global environment

State/Local Government

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing trade deficit
Protecting jobs of American workers
Improving global environment

Think Tanks/Academics

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Improving global environment
Reducing trade deficit
Strengthening the U.N.

Religion

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Promoting/defending human rights
Protecting jobs of American workers
Reducing trade deficit

Science/Engineering

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Improving global environment
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing trade deficit
Strengthening the U.N.

General Public

Protecting jobs of American workers
Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Improving global environment
Reducing trade deficit

Also significant were possible goals to which the Influentials gave lower priority. More than one in five respondents in eight of the nine groups would give **no priority at all to protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression**, when U.S. vital interests are not at stake. Other lower priority items for Influentials as a whole included **aiding U.S. business interests abroad, promoting democracy and human rights abroad, and helping improve living standards in developing nations.**

The public overwhelmingly chose **protecting American jobs** (85%) as the foreign policy goal that should get top priority. This concern was halfway down the Influentials' list of goals, in sixth place. **Nuclear proliferation** was second for the public, but a distant second (69%). Insuring energy supplies, protecting the environment, and reducing trade deficits followed in its list of priority issues.

Four Old Ideals: Still?

America's Influentials were asked if the United States should be willing to promote four ideals and values around the world – democracy, free markets, human rights, and self-determination – even if such a policy “**seriously risks**” undesirable consequences. Democracy might lead to the election of a totalitarian, anti-American government; self-determination could lead to the break-up of long-standing nations. They were also asked in the abstract to assign priorities to a list of goals that included promoting democracy and promoting and defending human rights in other countries. The purpose was to judge the depth of commitment to some fundamental principles that have guided Western democracies since 1939.

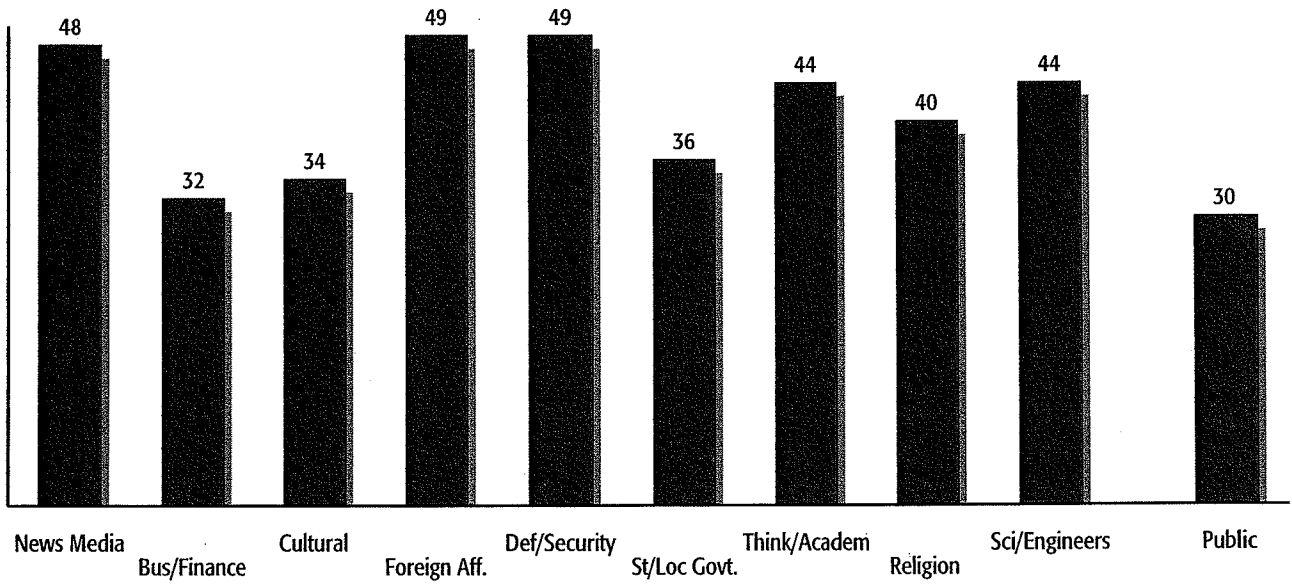
The survey found that Influentials were unwilling to risk backing these principles when the danger of unintended outcomes was mentioned. Moreover, relatively few of them gave top priority to promoting democracy and human rights as such in competition with other goals.

The Risk of Democracy

Most support came for **promoting democracy** in risky conditions – but it was nonetheless a minority view, with five of the nine groups saying no. In no group was there a majority for promoting democracy. The Business, Government and Cultural groups were most opposed, with roughly three out of five respondents in each group against it.

The Influentials were also unwilling, by a larger margin of two to one, to urge the United States to **apply its human and civil rights standards abroad** if that seriously risked antagonizing friendly nations whose traditions were different from Western ideals. The Business group was particularly appalled at the idea, with 94% opposed. The Religious group was split precisely, 45% for and against.

Willingness to Promote Democracy at Risk of Creating Anti-American Governments

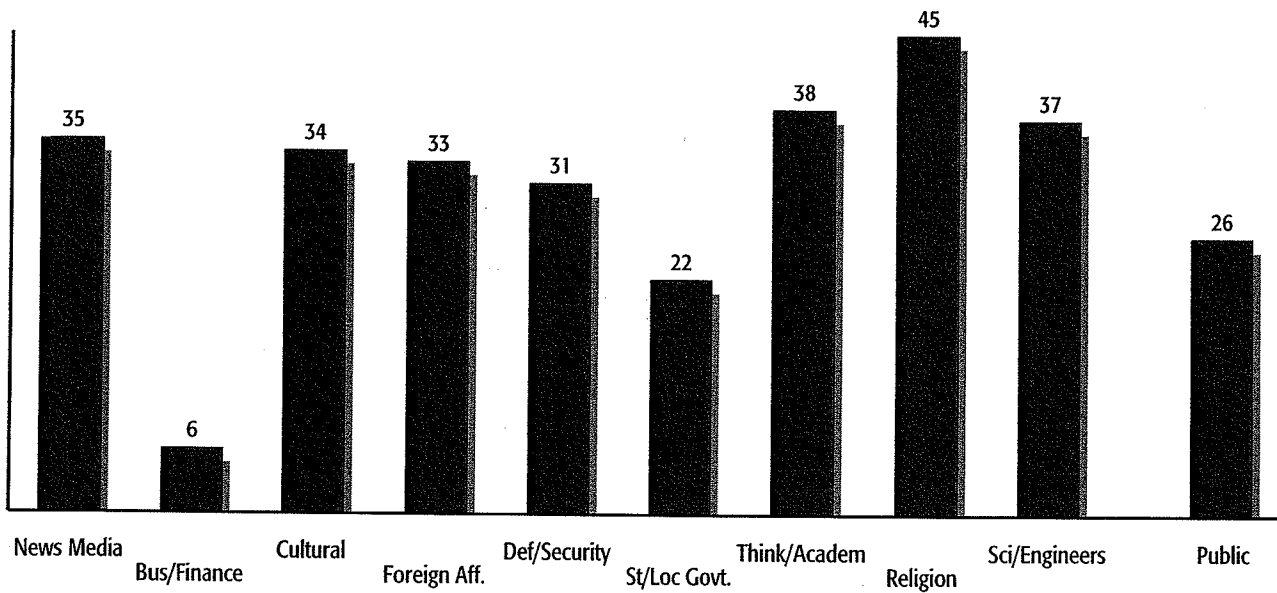


Percent saying "Yes"

Of 11 possible foreign policy goals offered to them, the Influentials put promoting human rights in seventh place and promoting democracy ninth. Eighth position went to helping improve the living standards in developing nations. Biggest supporters of human rights in the abstract were Religious and Cultural groups, with roughly twice the average sentiment for making the export of these values top priority goals. The Culture and, to some extent, the Religious groups favored promoting democracy in the abstract but not if it seriously risked backfiring with unintended consequences.

While there was little difference on promoting democracy between Influentials along lines of political parties and ideologies, they divided sharply on human rights. By almost two to one, Republicans were significantly more opposed than Democrats (79% to 49%) and conservatives far more than liberals (81% vs. 43%). Almost half (47%) of the Culture group gave promoting human rights a top priority goal in the abstract, but only one-third (34%) supported its export in risky conditions. Similarly, over half (56%) of the Religious group gave top priority for this goal in principle, but only 45% favored its export if it risked undesired results.

Willingness to Insist on Human Rights at Risk of Antagonizing Friends



Percent saying "Yes"

Influentials were markedly unwilling to **promote free markets and economic capitalism** if it seriously risked exploitation of underdeveloped peoples by Western businessmen. The Religious and Cultural groups were most opposed, presumably envisaging 19th Century imperialism in the 21st Century. Only the Business group gave majority support (57%) to promoting this value. But majorities were also found among Republicans (53%, vs. 25% of Democrats), conservatives (52%, vs. 15% of liberals), and those who favored the United States being the **single leader** of the world (52%, vs. 20% of those favoring a **non-assertive shared leadership** role).

Self-Determination Most Suspect

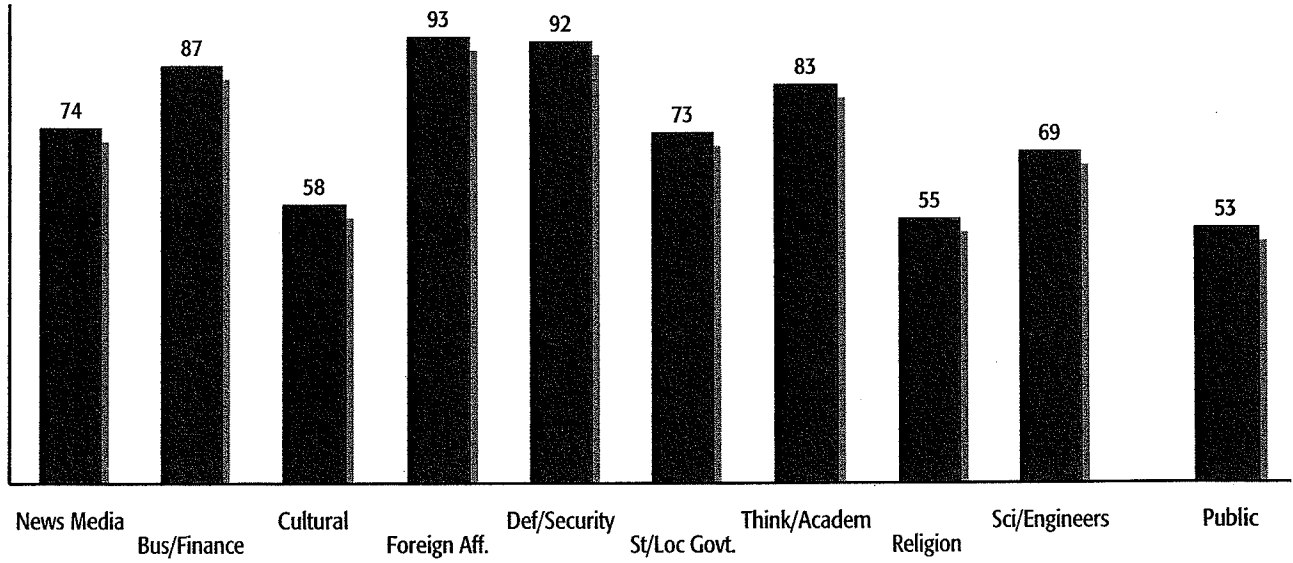
Finally, with an obvious eye on Bosnia and Yugoslavia, nine out of ten Influentials on average opposed **promoting self-determination of ethnic groups** if it seriously risked break-up of established nations into warring regions. Opposition was so great that differentiation between groups and other categories was meaningless.

The public was more opposed than the Influentials to promoting most of these values when faced with the risky possible outcome, except for ethnic self-determination. On this issue, 15% said it was worth the risk, twice the level of the Influentials. Significantly more non-whites than whites in the public were willing to chance it (23% vs. 14%). Nonetheless, a huge majority of the public (75%) opposed promoting self-determination.

However leery of promoting principles abroad, the Influentials were clearly prepared to send American fighting men to honor long-standing U.S. commitments and protect vital interests. By margins of about two-thirds or more, they would support the **use of American forces** to defend Saudi Arabia against Iraq, South Korea against North Korea, and Israel against Arab invaders.⁹

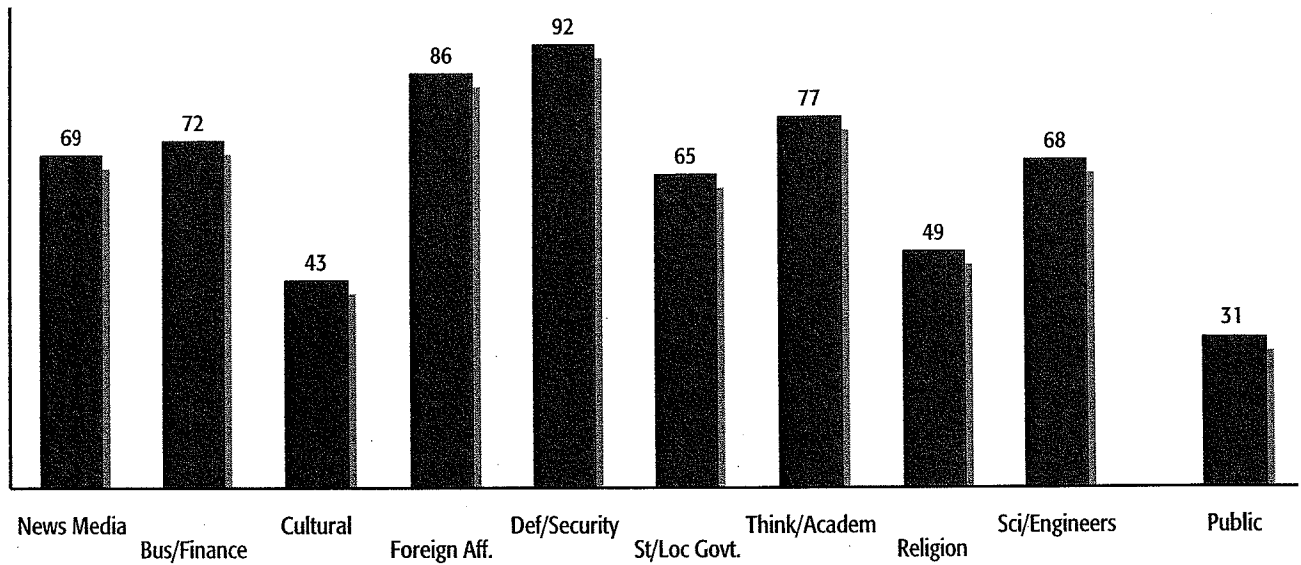
⁹ After a long review, the Clinton Administration put forward a defense policy similar to previous strategies that prepares to fight two wars at essentially the same time, one in Korea and the other in the oil-rich area of the Middle East, such as Kuwait or Saudi Arabia.

**Support For Use of U.S. Forces Abroad:
If Iraq Invaded Saudi Arabia**



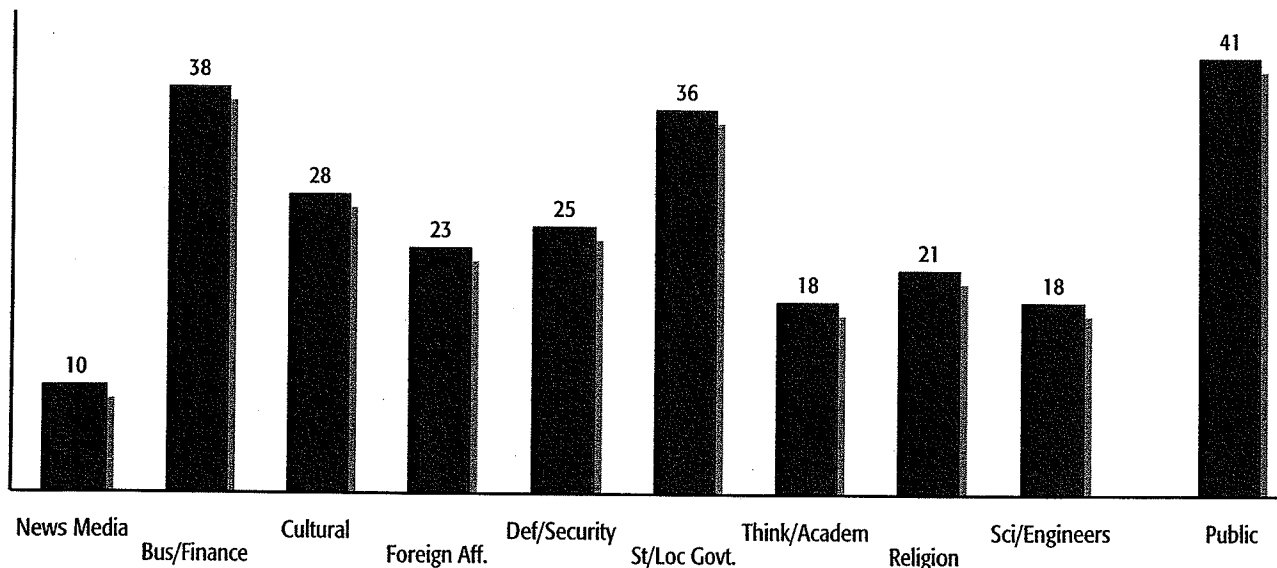
Percent saying "Approve"

**Support For Use of U.S. Forces Abroad:
If North Korea Invaded South Korea**



Percent saying "Approve"

**Support For Use of U.S. Forces Abroad:
If the Mexican Government Were Threatened by Revolution**



Percent saying "Approve"

A strong majority in all groups disapproved using U.S. forces if the Mexican government were threatened by revolution or civil war. Business and Government groups, although mostly opposed, showed significant minorities of one-third who would support such intervention, however, presumably because they foresaw the impact of some tangible and immediate consequences of unrest on themselves (i.e., lost investment and immigration floods). While also mostly opposed, conservatives were twice as likely as liberals to approve such intervention.

**Public More Chary
About Force**

Compared to the Influentials, the public appeared willing to go to war for almost nobody. The exception was to fight Iraq (53% approve, 40% against), presumably to secure oil supplies and protect the Gulf War victory. A large residue of enmity to Saddam Hussein remains in the public; getting rid of Saddam was its fifth highest priority, compared to 12th for the Influentials, in a list of 13. The exception is particularly noteworthy when it is recalled that most of the public initially opposed going to war against Iraq when it invaded Kuwait two years ago; only after then President George Bush announced his intentions to protect the oil state did public opinion shift to support the fight.

The public was strongly against fighting on behalf of South Korea (63% vs. 31%), and marginally against fighting for Israel (48% vs. 45%). It was also firmly against fighting in Mexico (52% vs. 41%), although significantly more of the public approved intervening in Mexico than did Influentials.

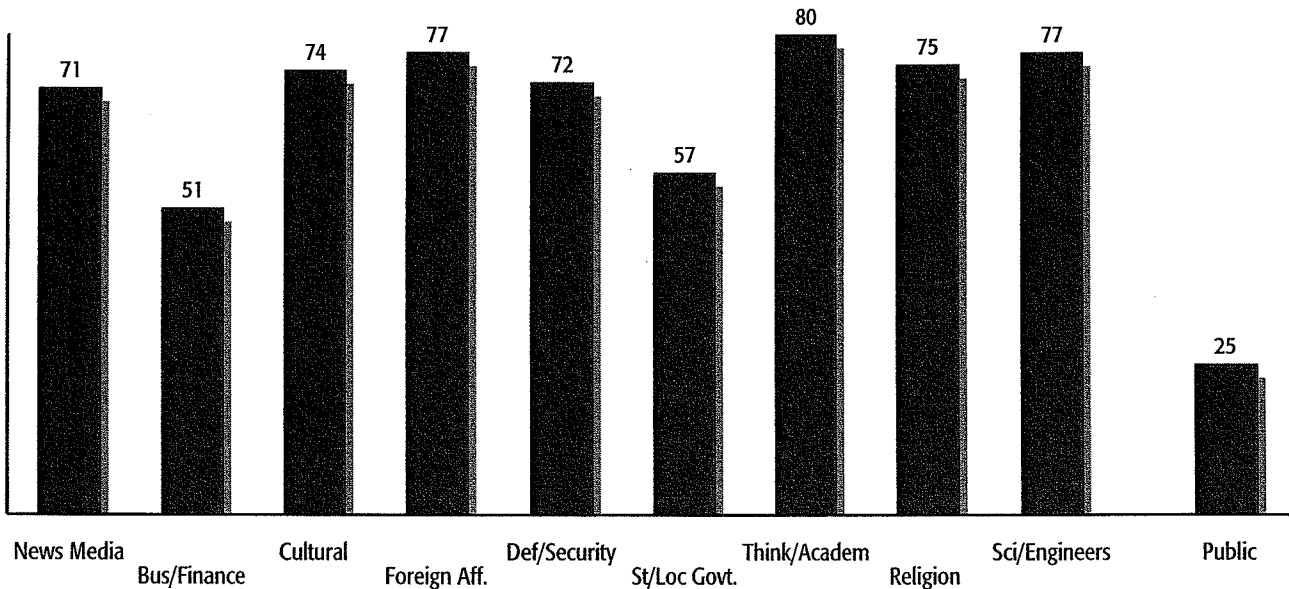
American Blue Helmets

Majorities in every Influential group – sometimes as many as four-fifths of respondents – favor placing American troops in a **permanent force under United Nations command**. Most dubious was the Business and Government, which gave strong minority support (47% and 42%, respectively) for keeping U.S. forces only under U.S. commanders. Democrats were more in favor of assigning U.S. troops

to the international body than Republicans (81% vs. 55%), liberals more than conservatives (87% vs. 48%), and those for a **non-assertive shared leadership** role for the United States compared to the **single leader** advocates (76% vs. 50%). These left-leaning Influentials incline toward the early Clinton position of relying heavily on multilateral U.N. operations to deal with regional conflicts; the Administration has since become less enthusiastic for this position.

But the American public is very unsympathetic to the idea. By considerably more than two to one (69% vs. 25%), it opposed putting U.S. men and women under U.N. command.

Support For American Forces Serving Under UN Command



Percent who agree

Whether in pursuit of foreign policy objectives, or for altruistic humanitarian or parochial economic reasons, large majorities of Influentials favored increased **foreign economic aid** for Russia, Eastern Europe nations, and the other former Soviet states. They were only marginally in favor of increased economic help for Latin American and African nations. Asian states received support only for aid at the same level, without any increase. As one respondent explained this majority view: “the Asian nations are wealthy enough to support economic development aid in their area”.

For Israel and Egypt, which now receive more than one-third of all direct American foreign aid, the Influentials were split between keeping it at the current level or cutting it back. Two-thirds of the Security and half of the Foreign Affairs groups wanted decreased aid for those two nations.

IV. U.S. and World Leadership

America's Influentials have profound doubts about what the leadership role in the world should be. The public is more convinced of what it wants, which is that America should leave the world to its problems except when it might affect important domestic programs.

In most groups, one in three or more of the Influentials believe the country today is **less important** than it was ten years ago. Roughly the same number believe it is **just as important** as before. And a smaller segment, roughly one in four, contend that it is **more important**.

A majority of the Security group felt America had less leadership clout now (54%), with the Business group close behind (49%). Also viewing the United States as less important were Republicans more than Democrats (47% vs. 31%), conservatives more than liberals (46% vs. 38%), and those believing the United States should be the Single Leader of the world compared to those preferring a Non-Assertive Shared Leadership role (58% vs. 41%).

The World's Leader?

The public, in contrast, is more inclined to see the United States playing a more important and powerful role today than yesterday (37%). Compared to the Influentials, fewer believe it is less important (30%), and fewer believe it remains just as important as before (31%). However, the best-informed segment of public respondents was inclined to see the United States much as the Influentials do, i.e., as less powerful today, compared to the less informed public.

The United States remains the dominant military power in the world, but only a small minority in all Influential groups – fewer than one in ten – want it to be the world's **single leader**. With the huge cost of America's leadership in the Cold War now apparent, the rest want Washington to **share leadership** with others – but almost six in ten want it to be the **most assertive** nation, while sharing the leadership at the top table. The rest, roughly three in ten, are content for it to be **no more or less assertive** than other leading nations.

A significant portion (17%) of the Security group, oriented to military strength, favored the **single leader** role. But all of the Influential groups were overwhelmingly in favor of **shared leadership**.

Sharp differences emerged on the kind of shared leadership role that was preferred, however. Support for the **most assertive** option was found heavily among the Government (77%) and Foreign Affairs (68%) groups, and from men more than women (60% vs. 44%). For the **non-assertive** option, most support came from the Culture group by far (57%, or twice the average), followed by the Science group (40%). The **non-assertive** alternative received more support from Democrats than Republicans (32% vs. 20%), liberals than conservatives (40% vs. 22%), and Clinton's non-veteran cohort compared to those in his age group who had served in the military (26% vs. 19%).

In another era, those favoring **non-assertive leadership** would be considered America's doves, while the **single leaders** would be the nation's hawks. The non-assertives want deeper cuts in defense spending than those favoring single leadership by almost three to one (71% vs. 29%), for example, and significantly more than those wanting a **most assertive** role for the United States (59%). Almost one in four of the non-assertives (23%) want to bring all U.S. troops home

from Europe, compared to only 4% of those favoring a single leader and 10% favoring most assertive leadership.

The public, for its part, wants a vastly diminished role for America in the future. It voiced almost as much support for the United States playing **no leadership** role at all, as for the nation being the world's **single leader** (7% and 10%, respectively). And among the public who support a **shared leadership** role, response was almost two to one for a **not more active** rather than an **active** role (51% vs. 27%), essentially the reverse of the Influentials' judgment.

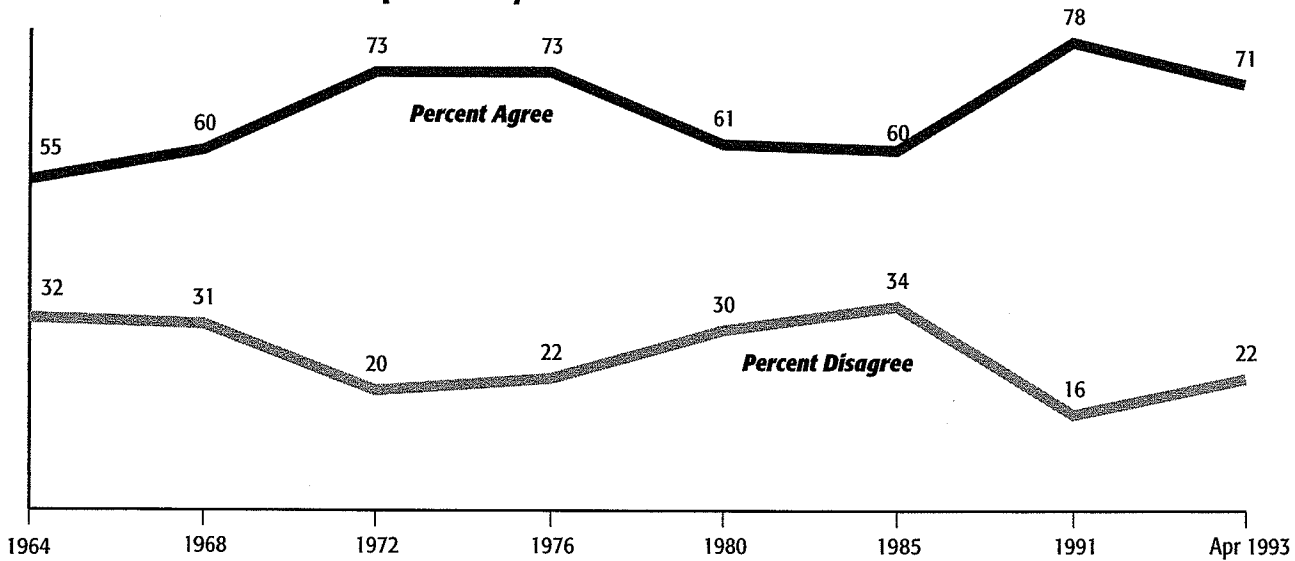
WORLD LEADERSHIP ROLE FOR U.S.

Question: What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it be the single world leader, play a shared leadership role, or none; If shared role, should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be no more or less active than other leading nations?

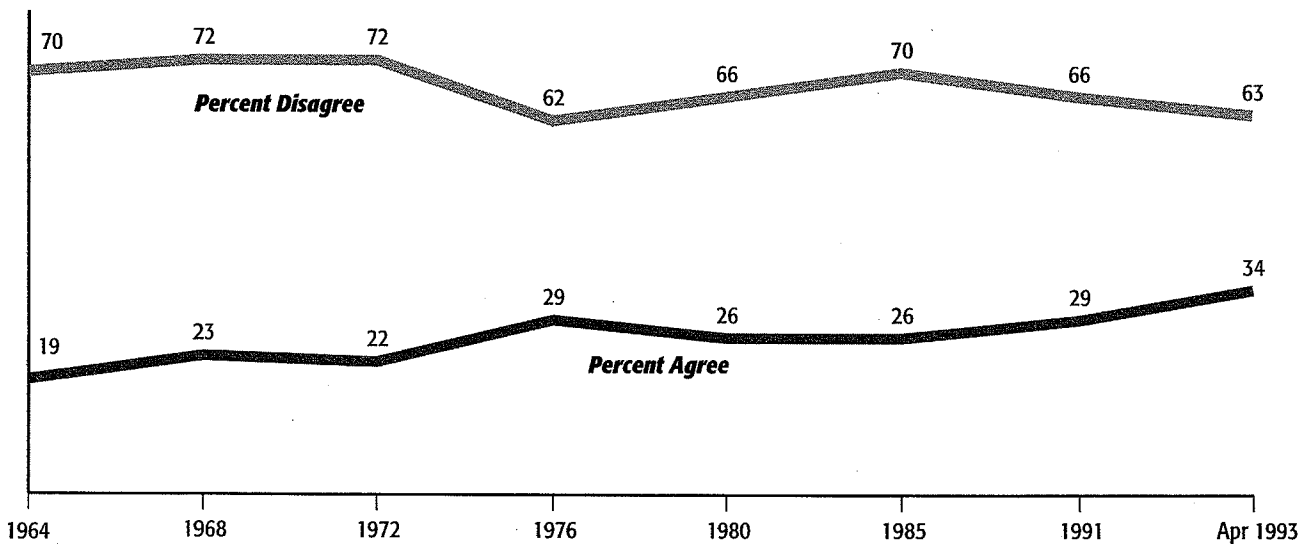
	Single World Leader	SHARED ROLE		None	D/K	(N)
		Most Active	No More Or Less Active			
Total	10	27	51	7	5=100	(2000)
Sex						
Male	11	30	48	9	2=100	(1001)
Female	9	24	54	6	7=100	(999)
Race						
White	10	28	51	7	4=100	(1695)
Non-white	13	24	48	11	42=100	(293)
Age						
Under 30	10	27	51	10	2=100	(443)
30-49	10	27	54	6	3=100	(883)
50+	11	27	48	7	7=100	(653)
Education						
College Grad.	7	33	56	3	1=100	(662)
Some College	11	26	52	6	5=100	(548)
High School Grad. < H.S. grad.	10 14	26 23	52 43	7 13	5=100 7=100	(597) (186)
Family Income						
\$50,000+	11	27	54	5	3=100	(504)
\$30,000-\$49,999	10	28	54	5	3=100	(512)
\$20,000-\$29,999	7	28	55	7	3=100	(320)
< \$20,000	13	27	45	10	5=100	(496)
Region						
East	9	26	51	10	4=100	(391)
Midwest	7	27	56	5	5=100	(494)
South	14	29	47	6	4=100	(706)
West	9	26	52	10	3=100	(409)
Party ID						
Republican	13	29	48	6	4=100	(584)
Democrat	10	28	50	7	5=100	(620)
Independent	9	26	53	9	3=100	(725)
Foreign Affairs Info Level						
High	14	32	44	8	2=100	(224)
Moderate	10	32	48	7	3=100	(702)
None	10	23	54	7	6=100	(1074)

Trend data from earlier surveys indicate the same broad inclination toward isolationism among the public over the past three decades. Asked if the United States should go its own way in international matters, 34% said yes this year, up steadily from 19% in 1964. Asked if the United States should concentrate more on its own national problems rather than think so much in international terms, 79% agreed this year, up from 55% in 1964. Asked if the United States should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along as best they can, 37% said yes this year, compared to 18% in 1964. This last measure of disengagement – minding our own business – was higher in the immediate post-Vietnam period (41% in 1976) but nonetheless, it has risen markedly over the last 30 years.

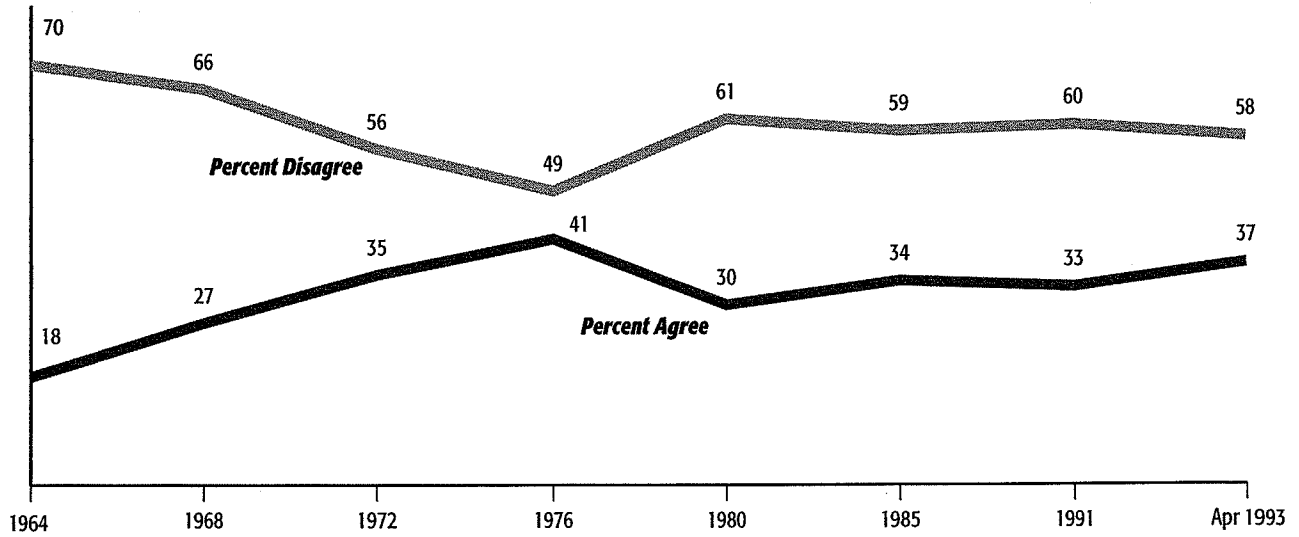
The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations.¹⁰



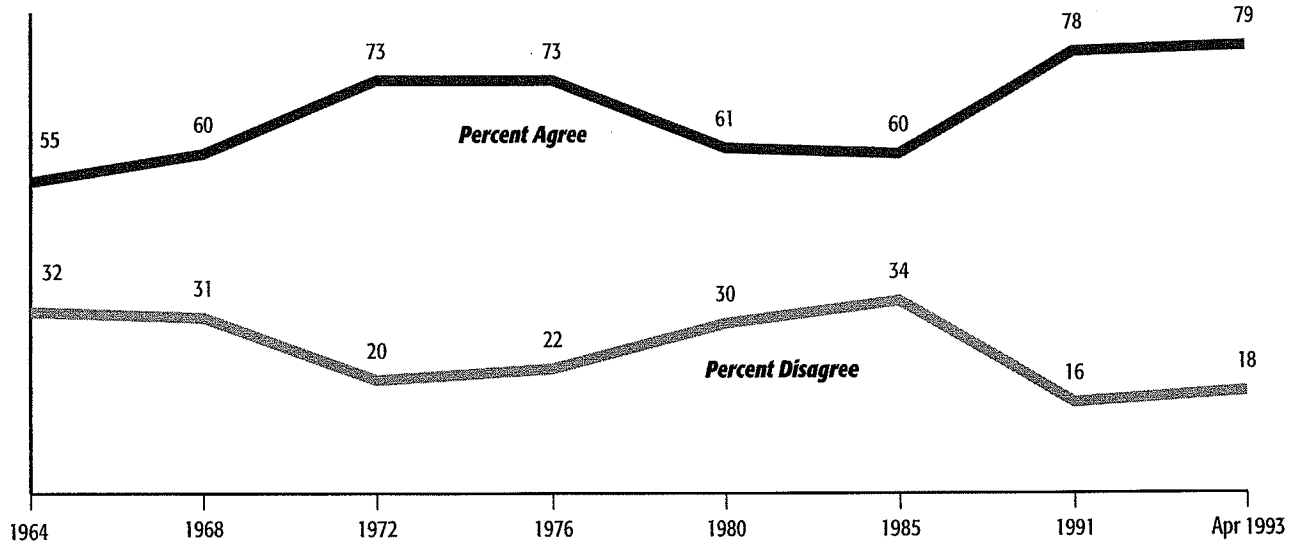
Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not.¹⁰



The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.¹⁰



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.¹⁰



¹⁰ All trend data are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research. The most recent figures from April 1993 are from surveys conducted by The Times Mirror Center.

An Exception to the Trend

An exception to this trend toward disengagement to some degree is support for the United Nations. Asked whether the United States should cooperate fully with the U.N., 55% answered yes in 1964, 71% said yes this year. Even here, however, a larger proportion, 78%, agreed in 1991 during the Gulf War period, indicating that erosion of support for the U.N. since that wartime high point has set in.

The public clearly remains wary about the United Nations in other respects as it showed in its lopsided **unwillingness** to put American troops under U.N. commanders, 69% vs. 25%. In contrast, Influentials were **willing** in almost precisely opposite proportion.

The public's foreign agenda has a pronounced domestic orientation. Protecting the jobs of Americans is its No. 1 long range goal, with 85% giving it top priority; for Influentials, jobs was sixth on their list. Similarly, the public saw halting drug trafficking and illegal immigration as much greater problems than the Influentials; 82% of the public gave drugs top priority, twice the concern level of the Influentials, and 65% of the public gave illegal aliens top priority, also twice the level of the Influentials.

V. Economics and Trade

Asked whether **European or Pacific Rim** nations are most important to the United States, the Influentials as a whole chose Japan and the Pacific Rim by a slight margin. The Business, Religion and Government groups most favored the Pacific (51%, 50%, and 47%, respectively) while Security was strongest for Europe (45%). Republicans leaned to the Pacific more than Democrats (45% vs. 34%), and Protestants and Catholics far more than Jews (51%, 40%, 24%, respectively).

For its part, the public chose Europe over Asia handily (50% to 31%). Even those Americans living in the Western part of the United States such as California divide about evenly on whether they look to the Orient or to the Old World (41% vs 38% for Europe).

Surprisingly, perhaps, was the view of Influentials about the Japanese and American economies in the future. One in four felt Japanese economic power would (certainly or probably) wane by the year 2000. Significantly fewer – one in six – felt that the United States would be economically much weaker by that time.

REGION OF IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S.

Question: The U.S. 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 U.S.?

	Europe	Pacific Rim	Both/Equal	Don't Know	(N)
Total	50	32	8	10=100	(2000)
Sex					
Male	51	34	9	6=100	(1001)
Female	49	29	8	14=100	(999)
Race					
White	51	31	8	10=100	(1695)
Non-white	46	32	7	15=100	(293)
Age					
Under 30	57	32	4	7=100	(443)
30-49	48	35	8	9=100	(883)
50+	48	28	10	14=100	(653)
Education					
College Grad.	47	35	13	5=100	(662)
Some College	48	34	10	8=100	(548)
High School Grad.	54	29	5	12=100	(597)
< H.S. grad.	49	28	6	17=100	(186)
Family Income					
\$50,000+	50	33	12	5=100	(504)
\$30,000-\$49,999	50	32	8	10=100	(512)
\$20,000-\$29,999	52	34	6	8=100	(320)
< \$20,000	50	31	6	13=100	(496)
Region					
East	53	31	8	8=100	(391)
Midwest	51	31	7	11=100	(494)
South	55	26	8	11=100	(706)
West	38	41	10	11=100	(409)
Party ID					
Republican	52	34	6	8=100	(584)
Democrat	52	30	7	11=100	(620)
Independent	48	32	9	11=100	(725)
Foreign Affairs Info Level					
High	49	35	11	5=100	(224)
Moderate	53	32	8	7=100	(702)
None	48	31	8	13=100	(1074)

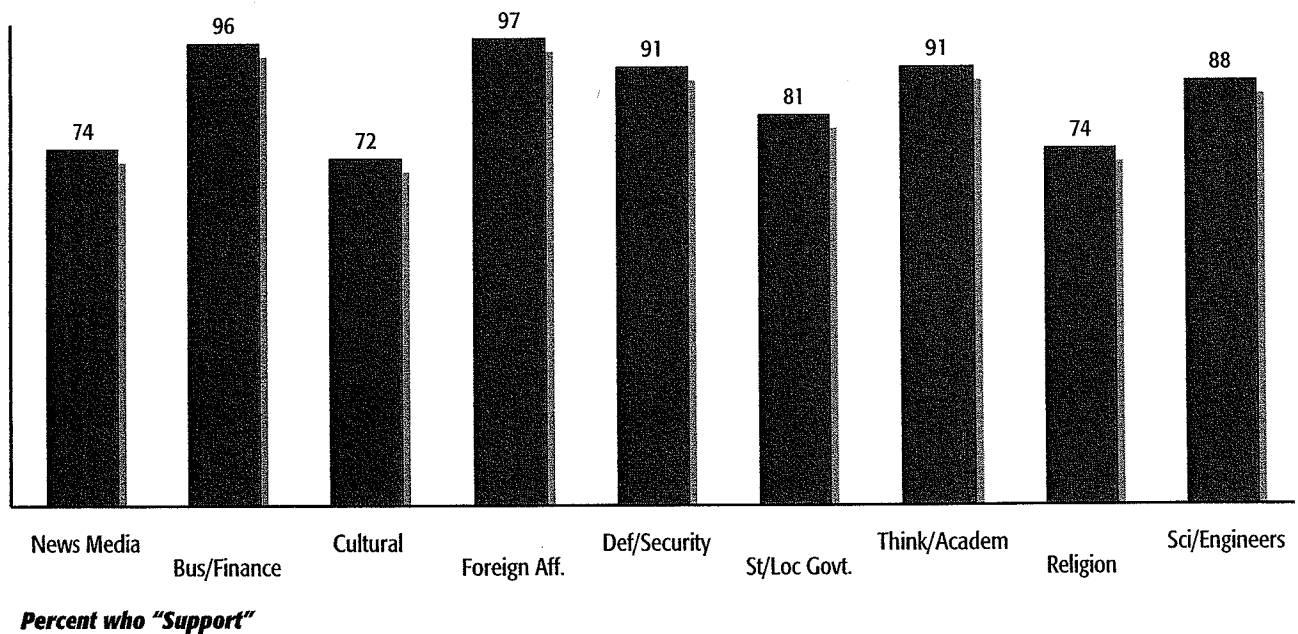
Japan Unfair, Europe Fair

Japan is an **unfair** trading partner with the United States, according to more than eight in ten Influentials. But a strong majority of all respondents – almost six in ten overall, with solid majorities in every group – opposed retaliation if it risked a protectionist war in world trade. The Business group offered the most support for retaliation, although still a minority view (36%). The public was slightly less willing to brand Japan unfair as a trading partner (72%), although this is considerably higher than the 63% who said unfair in January, 1989.

The **European Community**, on the other hand, was considered an unfair trading partner by a minority of one in three Influentials, with nearly half judging the Europeans **fair**. A majority of respondents in the Business, Foreign Affairs and Security groups branded Europe unfair (51%, 48%, and 48%, respectively). But there was even less sentiment for retaliation against Europe (7% for, 27% against).

Support for NAFTA was huge among all Influentials. Well over eight in ten favored it, with very large majorities in every group of respondents. Of those who approve of Clinton's job performance, 85% support the Agreement. Over 90% of the Business, Foreign Affairs, Security and Academics groups endorsed the pact. Economic benefits were volunteered most often by far as the reason for support, but political advantages (including references to immigration) were also recorded at significant levels.

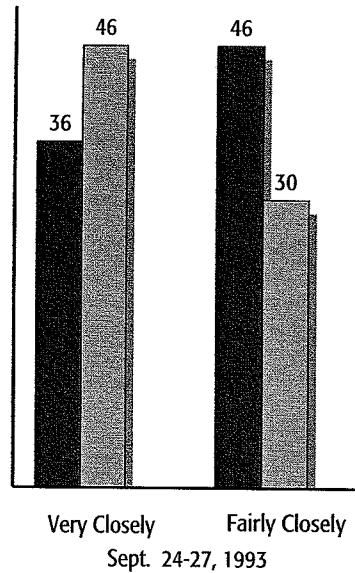
Influential Views on NAFTA



Most opposed to NAFTA was the Cultural elite (18%). As in the public debate on the issue, opponents usually cited the potential loss of American jobs for their position, with environmental concerns and low Mexican wages mentioned secondarily.

NAFTA enjoys far less support among the general public, with 46% in favor, 42% opposed, according to a recent Times Mirror Center poll. A surprising result was that among the attentive public, respondents who said they followed news about NAFTA very closely were more opposed to the Agreement, 46% to 36%, than those who followed the issue only fairly closely, 46% favor to 30% oppose. This survey also found that the most potent element by far in the debate about NAFTA was jobs. Trade, immigration and environmental concerns were far less important. Of those favoring the Agreement, 57% believe it will create jobs; of those opposed, 89% said it will lose U.S. jobs.¹¹

Opinions of NAFTA



Percent who Favor Oppose

A huge majority (81%) of Influentials saw no conflict between regional trading blocs like NAFTA and efforts to achieve free trade globally under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Several respondents, however, spoke of the value of NAFTA "to protect American interests in dealing with other trading blocs" like the European Community, leaving essentially unaddressed the more academic underlying question of global vs. regional blocs.

A strong majority (62%) of Influentials advised U.S. intelligence agencies not to share economic information with U.S. businesses with foreign operations, even if the information is collected routinely and incidental to the main mission of the agencies. The Business group was most closely divided on the issue (45% for sharing, 50% against).

¹¹ "Cautious Support for Clinton Plan," Oct. 1, 1993.

VI. Defense Spending and Force Levels Abroad

A solid majority of six in ten Influentials favored deeper cuts in defense spending than the Administration has proposed, although almost one-third of respondents opposed further reductions. Most sentiment for keeping defense spending at current levels came from the Business, Government and Security groups, where strong minorities – four in ten or more – were found.

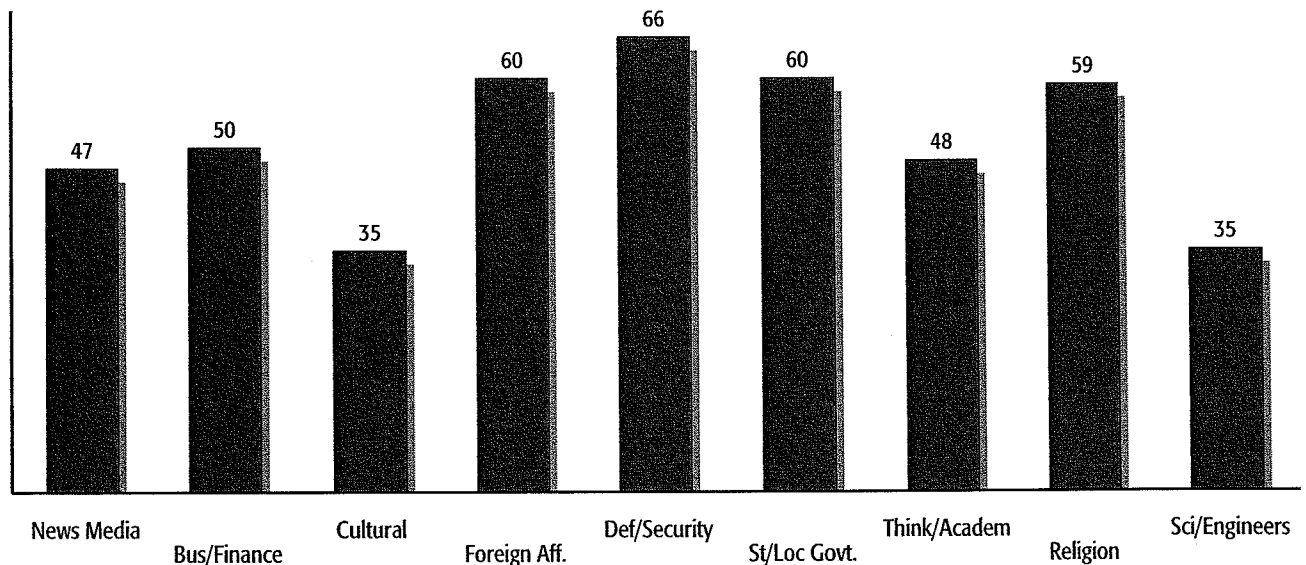
More than twice as many Democrats favored cuts compared to Republicans (77% vs. 30%) and the same ratio of liberals over conservatives (85% vs. 35%). Of those who approve of Clinton's performance, more than three in four (77%) favor additional cuts. And almost three times more Influentials who favor a **non-assertive shared leadership** role for the United States want deeper cuts than those favoring a **single leader** role (71% vs. 29%).

The public, in another surprise, is strongly in favor of keeping defense spending as it is (52%) or increasing it (10%).

Fewer Americans Abroad

A plurality of almost half of the Influentials would keep U.S. **troop strength in Europe** at the 100,000-man level now planned for the future (down from about 300,000 men in Cold War days). More than one-third of Influentials would cut significantly below the 100,000-man level, however, and more than one in ten favor bringing the U.S. force home entirely.

Support For U.S. Force of 100,000 in Europe

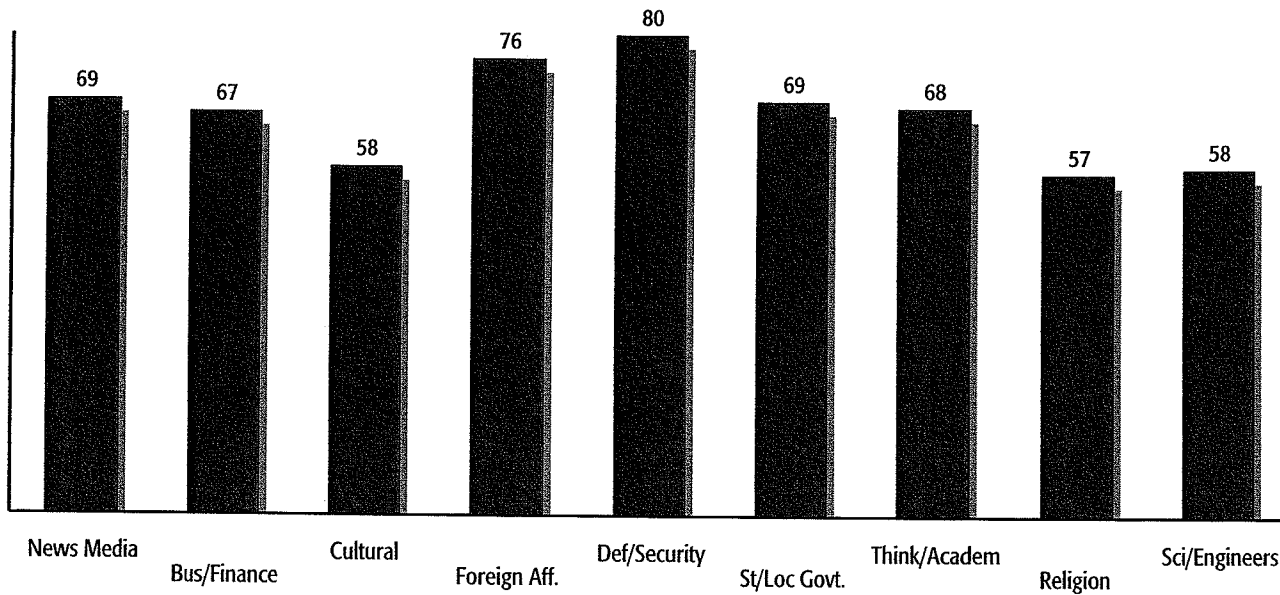


Percent who favor keeping a minimum force of this size

Strongest sentiment for staying at the 100,000-man level came from the Security, Foreign Affairs, Government and Religious groups, where the majorities ranged from 55% to 65%. At the other extreme, more than one in five respondents among the Culture and Science groups would bring all the Americans home (24% Culture, 21% scientists, 31% engineers). Among those favoring the non-assertive leadership role, 23% would bring all the men home.

In some contrast, a strong two-thirds majority of Influentials favored keeping U.S. troop strength in South Korea as it is, at 39,000 men, with fewer than one in four in favor of deep cuts and fewer than one in ten for bringing all the men home.

Support For Maintaining Current Troop Levels in South Korea



Percent who favor keeping a force at current levels (39,000) or more

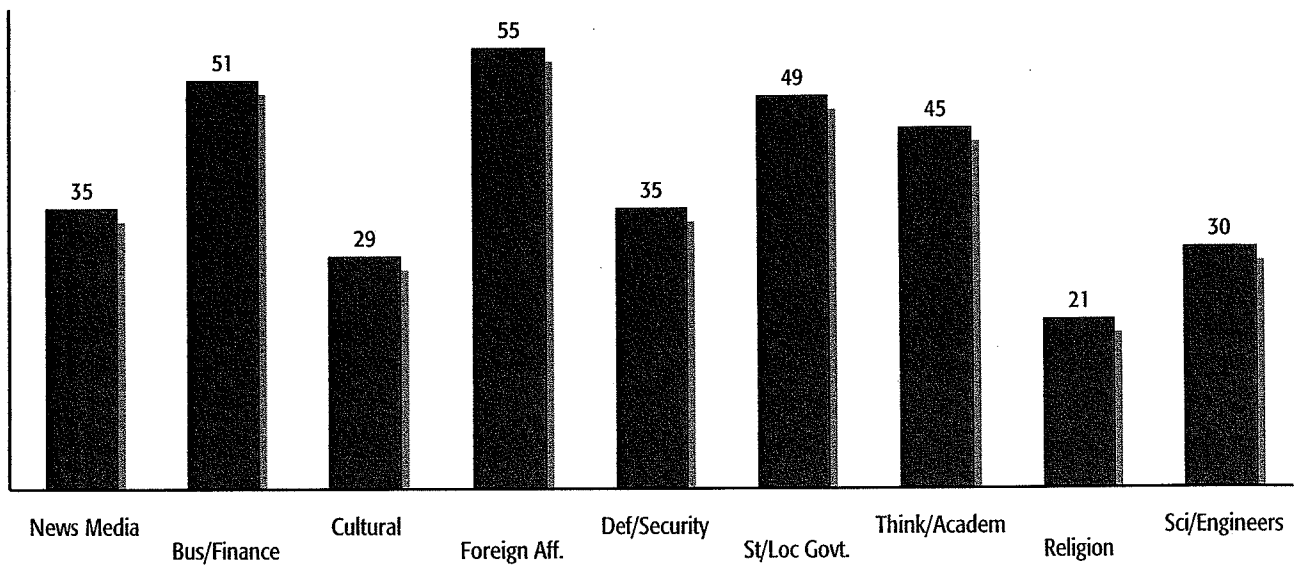
The Security and Foreign Affairs again were strongest for the force status quo in Korea (80% and 76%, respectively). Clinton's age cohort who had not served in the military favored significant cuts or total withdrawal twice as often as his cohort who were veterans (28% vs. 13%). The Science, Culture and Business groups were most in favor of reducing U.S. forces in Korea to zero (15%, 13%, 13%, respectively).

Rearming Old Enemies?

A majority of Influentials oppose giving larger military roles to Japan and Germany, the defeated Axis of World War II, to match their post-war economic power. But a significant minority of almost four in ten support such new roles for them. Most opposed were the Religious group (75%), followed by Science (63%, including 69% of the scientists and 48% of engineers), and Culture (60%). In an example of the sometimes striking differences between them, most of the Foreign Affairs group favored such a shift (55%) while most of the Security group opposed it (55%).

Almost nine out of ten Influentials overall would negotiate further cuts in the U.S. nuclear arsenal from the 3,500-weapon ceiling due to be reached in 2003 under agreements already signed. Most favor a level of 1,500 strategic weapons or fewer, compared to roughly 12,000 weapons at the height of the Cold War.

Sentiment About a Larger Military Role For Japan and Germany



Percent who say we should urge a larger role

VII. Universalists vs. Pragmatists

Certain Influential groups appear natural allies in the agenda of their concerns, and these show striking differences from others.

The Culture and Religious respondents are consistently more agitated about issues that might be called "global," "universal," or "egalitarian." Along with above average sympathy for the United Nations and protecting U.S. jobs, these two groups are also consistently among the strongest supporters for promoting and defending democracy and human rights, and helping to improve living standards in the developing world. They are in the forefront of concern about ending the Balkan war and achieving a Mideast settlement. Along with the Government group, they are most concerned about drug trafficking and the spread of international terrorism into the United States.

The Science group often joins this universalist cluster, particularly when the scientists are separated from the engineers. The scientists are much more concerned than engineers with issues of maintaining world peace, with the environment, with promoting democracy and human rights, and with guarding against weapon proliferation. Engineers are more willing than the scientists to promote free markets in the world and much more apt to see a diminished U.S. leadership in the past decade. To a significant degree, engineers are more akin to the Business group than to the scientists.

Government, Public Views Coincide

The Government and Business groups were most similar in overall outlook, particularly in giving high priority to trade and economic issues, including insuring energy supplies as well as promoting U.S. business abroad. However, they go separate ways on other issues. The Government group is more supportive of military vigilance and promoting democracy, while Business is more supportive of NAFTA and other protectionist trade concerns.

The state and local Government officials who make up this group were most in tune with the public on these three issues – jobs, drugs and immigration – than with their fellow elites.

The Business group is perhaps most consistent and coherent in its pragmatic, unsentimental approach to foreign policy. In describing the biggest national problem, its respondents mentioned social concerns (i.e., drugs, education) and the global environment least often. They give lowest priority of any group to promoting democracy and human rights and raising Third World living standards.

The Foreign Affairs and Security groups are usually together on political-military issues such as the preventing weapon proliferation, insuring democracy in the former Soviet Union, and guarding against Mideast threats. Both appear to view economic issues in domestic rather than international terms. They are most critical of President Clinton on handling of foreign conflicts, particularly on Bosnia, but most laudatory on helping Russia and the former Soviet states.

Old Partners Part Company

When political and military issues are separated, however, these key allies in the containment policy against communism – one emphasizing diplomacy, the other security – see the post Cold War world through a different lens. In general, the Security group emphasizes military vigilance, befitting its expertise on defense issues, while Foreign Affairs is more focused on the searching-for-peace issues, reflecting a greater diplomatic orientation. The once-popular slogans of “peace through vigilance” and “peace through strength” no longer unites these constituencies; indeed, the phrases may be contradictory. “Vigilance” and “peace” don’t mean the same thing to these two groups in the post Cold War world.

Of 13 foreign policy **problems** offered in the poll, the Foreign Affairs and Security groups differed significantly on six of them (spreads of 9% to 21%). Of 11 possible foreign policy **goals**, the two groups gave significantly different priorities to seven of them (9% to 25% spreads). More specifically, a majority of Foreign Affairs respondents were willing to see Japan and Germany play a larger military role in the world (55%); the same majority (55%) of the Security group opposed an increased role for the former enemies. Most Security respondents chose Europe as more important to the United States, while most of the Foreign Affairs group chose than the Pacific Rim nations.

The **problems** with which the Foreign Affairs group are more concerned included strengthening the U.S. economy, bringing peace to Mideast, protecting the global environment, and adopting NAFTA. The problems of greater concern to the Security group are countering North Korean militarism and insuring democracy succeeds in Russia.

The **goals** to which the Foreign Affairs group give greater priority included insuring adequate energy supplies for the country, protecting the environment, strengthening the United Nations, reducing proliferation of weapons, helping the Third World reach higher living standards, and cutting trade deficits.

Weaker Nations Offered Support

Support from the Security group is greater only on the issue of protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression, even when U.S. national interests are not at stake, perhaps because of the nature of the posited aggression – foreign, across boundaries that the aggressor probably would want to change forcibly, rather than civil war.

Respondents among the Security group are much more apt to praise Clinton’s caution and restraint than were those in Foreign Affairs, but this appears to be unconnected to the Administration’s attitude toward the Bosnian conflict.

There is no difference in attitude between the two groups on concern that the Balkan war would spread or on the priority to give for ending that war. And there is essentially no difference on the willingness to use U.S. forces in four of the five contingencies suggested (Korea, Saudi Arabia, Ukraine, Mexico). The exception, repelling Arab invaders from Israel, was more attractive to Foreign Affairs. But the Security group was much more sympathetic to Israel than to the Palestinians.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Design of the Influential Americans Survey Sample

The results of the Times Mirror Influential Americans Survey are based on completed telephone interviews with 649 Americans who hold considerable and recognized power, prestige, or influence in their chosen field. The sample was designed to represent these "influential Americans" in seven professional areas of expertise; media, business and finance, entertainment and culture, foreign affairs and defense, state and local government, think tanks and academia, and religion and science. 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, where ever possible.

The final selected sample was drawn from seven subsamples. Each subsample was 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 number of completed interviews for each are listed below:

SUBSAMPLE	COMPLETED INTERVIEWS
Media	79
Business and Finance	69
Entertainment and Culture	79
Foreign Affairs and Defense	137
State and Local Government	69
Think Tanks and Academics	78
Religion and Science	138

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 pages, managing editors) and DC bureau chiefs were selected from the top daily newspapers and magazines (based on circulation) and from additional newspapers selected to round out the geographic representation of the sample and from different types of magazines including news, literary, political, and entertainment and cultural magazines.

For the television sample, people such as the DC bureau chief, news directors or news editors, national editors or political 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 3 different sources, the National Journal's *Capital Source*, *Hudson's* 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 & Financial

The Business and Financial sample was drawn from the *Fortune 1000* list of industry and service companies. The business part of the sample was a random selection of businesses in the *Fortune 500* list of industries.

The financial sample was drawn from the *Fortune* service companies in the three categories of commercial banking, diversified financial, and savings and loan institutions. The Chief Executive Officer was selected in each company.

III. Entertainment & Culture

This sample was comprised of a random sample of names of fine artists, writers/authors, critics and musicians from *Who's Who In America*.

IV. Foreign Affairs & Defense

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

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

V. State & Local Government

All governors were included in the sample as well as the mayors of cities with a population of 80,000 or more.

VI. Think Tanks & Academics

The heads of various influential think tanks listed in *The Capital Source* were selected.

For the academic sample, officers of the most competitive schools (as identified in a college directory) in the United States were selected.

VII. Religion, Science & Engineering

For the religion sample, religious bodies with membership over 700,000 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.

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

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

Each person sampled for this survey was mailed an advance letter on the Times Mirror 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, 1993 through August 26, 1993.

About the Public Survey

The survey results 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 9-15, 1993. 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.

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 households in the U.S. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence that have been updated with state-level information on new telephone installations and county-level projections of the number of households. 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.

At least three 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 1992). 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. After an optimum sample balancing solution is reached, the weights were constrained to fall within the range of 1 to 5. This constraint is useful to ensure that individual respondents do not exert an inordinate effect on the survey's overall results.

INFLUENTIALS QUESTIONNAIRE

**TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
INTERNATIONAL POLICY OPINION SURVEY
AMERICAN INFLUENTIALS**

July 7 – August 18, 1993
N=649

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research on behalf of The Times Mirror 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?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Approve	38	16	67	54	47	51	63	45	69
Disapprove	40	77	24	36	46	42	27	40	22
Don't know/Refused	22	7	9	10	7	7	10	15	9
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

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?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Satisfied	24	13	27	22	28	28	27	28	29
Dissatisfied	75	79	65	69	65	68	62	59	61
Don't know/Refused	1	7	8	9	6	4	10	13	10
Not asked	•	1	•	•	5	•	1	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Number of interviews:	(79)	(69)	(79)	(69)	(68)	(69)	(78)	(47)	(91)

Q.3 What is the most important problem facing the country today?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Budget Deficit/ National debt	16	25	6	25	12	17	21	9	19
Slow economic recovery/ Economic stagnation	10	23	11	17	21	13	18	6	9
Unemployment	10	13	9	13	7	25	8	9	11
The economy	•	7	6	7	4	10	3	6	5
Lack of civic values/Civic responsibilities/Patriotism/ National spirit	5	1	6	4	6	6	5	9	5
Quality of primary/ Secondary schools	8	3	9	1	6	3	3	•	7
Lack of leadership in formulating domestic economic policy	6	10	1	1	7	1	4	4	4
Lack of moral/Spiritual Values	1	1	4	•	1	•	1	43	2
Race/Ethnic relations	5	1	8	4	3	3	4	4	4
Crime/Violence	8	4	4	3	3	1	3	6	4
Lack of leadership in National government	11	6	5	3	•	3	3	4	•
Disparity between rich & poor/Decline of middle class	6	1	4	4	1	1	4	9	3
Other ¹	23	27	61	16	23	29	32	26	41
DOMESTIC (NET)	95	94	96	90	80	97	97	100	86
Economy (Sub-Net)	53	80	56	74	57	78	72	43	54
Unemployment (Sub Sub-Net)	15	13	20	17	9	30	19	11	14
Taxes/Deficit (Sub Sub-Net)	18	41	14	23	12	26	22	9	22
Social Issues (Sub-Net)	35	10	43	16	24	17	26	66	32
Health Care (Sub-Net)	3	•	11	•	3	•	3	9	7
Crime/Violence (Sub Sub-Net)	8	4	5	3	3	6	3	6	4
FOREIGN (NET)	6	9	8	12	19	4	4	2	16
Economy/Trade (Sub-Net)	6	6	4	6	7	3	4	•	4

¹ Comprised of categories 3% or less

Q.4 What is America's most important international problem today?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Conflict in Bosnia/Former Yugoslavia/Reducing threat of conflict	13	14	22	14	16	12	8	15	10
Global economic relationships worldwide	15	4	11	7	4	16	22	9	9
Assuming/Maintaining leadership role in post Cold War era	10	7	10	17	7	10	6	21	7
Helping effect a peaceful transition/The evolution of the former USSR/ Potential problems in the former USSR	9	10	4	14	15	10	9	2	11
What it means/ Responsibilities of being (a world's only) Super Power	11	1	11	10	7	6	13	17	4
Maintaining world peace/ Peace keeper/Resolution of international disputes	8	3	8	7	6	7	5	17	11
Deficit imbalance/ Reduction of trade deficit	11	10	8	4	3	12	6	6	5
World conflicts/Wars/ Chaos/World wide unrest/ Ethnic conflicts	4	1	10	9	12	7	4	9	11
Nuclear proliferation	8	4	3	12	15	4	5	2	8
Assisting/Encouraging economic growth/ Development worldwide	8	3	6	9	7	3	6	6	8

Q.4 con't...

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Loss of leadership/ Declining as a world leader/Power	6	7	1	6	4	6	6	2	11
Reduce/Lower trade barriers/Tariffs	4	6	1	•	3	10	5	•	5
Situation in Somalia	3	3	8	7	1	3	1	2	7
Trade agreements/ Trade relationships	4	9	5	1	3	1	4	2	4
Deficit imbalance/ Reduction of trade deficit	4	7	5	1	•	3	3	4	5
Keeping U.S. out of war	8	1	8	1	1	4	•	4	2
Support United Nations efforts	1	1	5	6	4	3	•	•	5
Helping Russia (other republics) get on its feet economically	1	4	3	•	3	1	5	2	5
Other ²	20	37	32	32	12	30	21	29	30
None	•	•	1	•	•	•	1	•	1
Don't know	1	1	1	•	1	•	•	•	1
ECONOMICS (NET)	39	51	37	23	15	43	45	26	36
Trade Imbalance/Deficit (Sub-Net)	25	42	22	9	7	29	19	13	20
U.S. LEADERSHIP ROLE (NET)	27	16	23	32	18	22	24	40	23
MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE/ WORLD UNREST (NET)	46	39	53	67	68	45	38	49	59
Relating to the Former U.S.S.R. (Sub-Net)	13	14	6	22	21	14	15	4	20
Relating to the Middle East (Sub-Net)	5	7	9	7	4	9	5	9	5
Relating to other specific global areas (Sub-Net)	13	16	23	19	16	14	8	15	13
SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)	5	1	6	7	1	6	3	6	8

² Comprised of categories 3% or less

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?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Satisfied	27	33	13	26	15	28	35	15	31
Dissatisfied	70	58	80	67	73	66	53	74	56
Don't know/Refused	3	9	7	7	12	6	12	11	13
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
All mentions of former USSR/Russia	20	10	6	32	38	9	18	2	20
Hasn't done anything yet/ Too early to tell/Needs more time	14	22	18	9	4	16	6	9	14
All mentions of G7	14	6	15	16	7	13	13	19	8
Multilateralism/Inter- national partnerships/ Cooperation/Consensus	9	3	8	7	19	7	22	13	7
All mentions of Bosnia/ Former Yugoslavia	8	7	9	16	9	3	9	11	16
Openness/Flexibility dealing with issues/ Problems	5	•	13	12	7	10	15	17	9
Handling trade issues/ Trade imbalance with Japan	8	10	6	9	4	16	8	11	13
Support NAFTA	10	9	3	10	7	9	4	6	7
Putting trade/Economic issues at top of agenda	14	7	3	6	10	3	9	2	4
Cautious/Doesn't rush into situations/Statements	9	7	8	4	3	6	10	2	5
All mentions of Middle East/Middle East peace talks	3	10	8	4	10	6	3	9	5
Shows restraint/Good judgment in use of force	6	4	9	4	7	7	6	4	3
All mentions of Iraq/ Hussein	5	10	5	1	•	10	6	•	7

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Willing to attack (difficult)Issues/ Problems	•	3	10	4	1	7	5	13	5
All mentions of Somalia	5	6	6	6	3	1	3	9	8
Shows willingness to learn	•	•	8	4	4	1	6	13	4
Handling of human rights issues	5	•	4	4	4	3	4	11	3
Good foreign policy appointments	3	1	6	3	6	3	4	9	2
Coordinates/Advocates international support/ Solutions for common problems	1	1	1	4	4	1	3	6	4
Clinton is positive image/Symbol	3	6	3	3	•	4	4	6	•
Good identification of issues/Problems	1	1	6	4	•	4	3	4	1
Made no blunders/ Mistakes	4	1	•	3	4	1	5	•	3
Other ³	24	16	9	28	34	17	14	12	24
None	5	•	•	•	•	3	3	4	1
Don't know	1	3	5	•	•	3	3	4	2
TRADE/ECONOMIC ISSUES (NET)	41	29	24	46	35	38	33	36	33
Trade agreements (Sub-Net)	23	14	18	32	19	20	17	21	16
HANDLING OF FOREIGN CONFLICTS(NET)	35	35	27	51	50	25	33	19	46
DEMONSTRATES CAUTION (NET)	23	19	25	19	31	19	33	21	20
ABILITY TO HANDLE ISSUES/ PROBLEMS (NET)	6	4	32	19	12	17	27	40	18

³ Comprised of categories 3% or less

Q.7 What are the worst things about the Clinton Administration's handling of foreign policy?
(CODE UP TO 3 RESPONSES)

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
All mentions of Bosnia/ Former Yugoslavia	51	35	20	55	44	36	33	21	36
Indecisive/Vacillates/ Unsure what to do	30	28	30	22	22	14	23	19	21
Lack foreign policy/ Direction goals	19	14	5	16	6	16	22	21	9
Fails to provide leadership in international community	10	9	8	10	18	9	10	9	8
Hasn't failed yet/ Too early to tell/ Needs more time	4	7	13	1	4	14	5	11	14
All mentions of Iraq/ Hussein	10	4	8	6	7	6	5	9	9
Fails to provide leadership among allies	10	3	6	9	10	•	6	9	10
Inexperienced/Naive	9	4	6	1	6	10	8	13	5
All mentions of Somalia	14	6	4	6	3	9	5	4	5
Slowness/Failure to make appointments in foreign policy positions	4	3	3	7	13	7	8	2	•
Lack of trade agreement/ Trade imbalance w/Japan	5	9	1	4	7	3	5	4	4
All mentions of former USSR/Russia	3	10	1	4	•	4	9	2	5

Q.7 con't...

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
No coherent policy on NAFTA	6	9	6	4	3	1	5	•	2
All mentions of Middle East/Middle East peace talks	5	4	5	1	4	1	3	4	7
No Haitian refugee policy	11	1	3	3	•	3	•	2	4
All mentions of China	4	4	4	6	•	1	•	2	3
Lack understanding of priority of foreign affairs	3	1	1	1	3	3	4	6	2
Weak on issues/Doesn't focus on issues	1	7	1	3	•	3	4	4	1
Other ⁴	6	10	11	19	5	2	11	12	9
None	3	1	1	•	4	3	1	2	1
Don't know	4	•	5	•	•	9	3	6	10
TRADE/ECONOMIC (NET)	11	17	9	12	10	6	15	4	8
Trade Agreements (Sub-Net)	10	16	8	10	10	4	10	4	5
HANDLING OF FOREIGN CONFLICTS (NET) INDECISIVE/SLOW/ INEXPERIENCED (NET)	63	59	33	67	47	42	44	36	52
	63	58	54	49	56	42	63	60	48

⁴ Comprised of categories 3% or less

Q.8 In your opinion, what country in the world, if any, represents the greatest danger to the United States?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Iran	13	10	13	25	15	7	8	13	19
China	9	9	10	10	21	12	17	9	12
Iraq	15	12	10	9	3	17	10	15	11
Japan	9	14	11	7	9	13	10	6	10
U.S.	8	4	10	3	1	7	4	9	8
Former Soviet Union	4	12	3	7	6	6	8	•	5
Russia	4	6	•	6	16	4	5	•	2
Middle East Countries	3	1	4	•	•	4	6	9	1
North Korea	4	1	5	•	1	4	1	•	1
Other Middle East Mentions	1	•	3	1	•	1	1	•	1
Germany	•	3	1	•	•	1	•	4	1
All Other Countries	3	1	1	•	1	•	•	2	•
Other	1	4	5	4	1	1	•	•	1
No One Country	8	6	5	13	7	6	17	9	11
None	19	14	16	14	19	13	10	13	19
Don't know	1	6	4	•	•	1	3	13	1

Q.9 The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists uses a clock to dramatize how near we are to nuclear catastrophe. During the Cold War the hands once stood at 2 minutes to midnight or 11:58, and now they have been moved back to 11:43. What time would you put it at now?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
11:00 or Earlier	23	34	11	20	18	14	26	26	15
11:42 – 11:01	23	14	22	25	27	28	23	17	14
11:43	18	21	28	23	21	16	26	28	28
11:44 or later	20	17	20	23	18	29	17	23	13
Don't know	16	14	19	9	16	13	8	6	30
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.10 Why do you feel that way?

BASE: 11:00 or EARLIER

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
End of cold war/ Soviets not a major threat/ Break up of USSR	28	43	44	29	25	•	50	33	21
Less threat/Danger/No imminent threat/Posturing between powers reduced	22	13	11	29	33	50	20	25	57
Nations not willing to start/Risk/Afraid of nuclear war	22	30	22	29	8	30	10	33	21
Unstable/Unpredictable governments with nuclear arms/Capabilities	11	9	22	29	•	30	20	17	21
Threat of use by terrorists	6	4	11	21	•	•	20	•	14
Nuclear capability in third world countries	18	3	16	16	7	19	22	11	12
Former USSR countries with nuclear capability	6	4	•	•	•	•	•	•	14
Imminent as long as arms exist	6	•	11	7	17	•	•	•	•
Other ⁵	41	4	22	7	40	10	25	32	7

⁵ Comprised of categories 3% or less

Q.10 con't...

BASE: 11:42pm to 11:01

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Less threat/Danger/ No imminent threat/ Posturing between powers reduced	11	20	29	29	42	32	33	50	46
End of cold war/ Soviets not a major threat/ Break up of USSR	58	20	24	29	42	26	22	25	23
Unstable/Unpredictable governments with nuclear arms/Capabilities	26	40	41	29	•	16	22	50	23
Nuclear capability in third world countries	11	10	6	24	16	26	17	13	23
Nations not willing to start/Risk/Afraid of nuclear war	22	30	22	29	8	30	10	33	21
Former USSR countries with nuclear capability	5	•	24	6	5	5	6	•	•
Threat of use by terrorists	11	•	•	6	5	5	11	•	15
Threat of use in Middle East	5	•	6	12	11	•	•	25	•
Everyone is selling arms/ A lot of arms dealing	5	•	•	•	11	5	6	•	15
Other ⁶	5	30	•	6	5	10	12	•	•

⁶ Comprised of categories 3% or less

BASE: 11:43pm

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
End of cold war/ Soviets not a major threat/ Break up of USSR	43	36	23	31	29	64	24	46	28
Less threat/Danger/No imminent threat/Posturing between powers reduced	29	29	23	6	29	18	10	15	16
Unstable/Unpredictable governments with nuclear arms/Capabilities	7	29	18	13	14	9	19	23	24
Everyone is selling arms/ A lot of arms dealing	14	14	14	25	29	9	10	15	16
Nuclear capability in third world countries	14	•	27	6	•	9	33	15	8
Former USSR countries with nuclear capability	7	7	5	31	14	•	5	15	24
Nations not willing to start/Risk/ Afraid of nuclear war	7	•	9	13	•	9	24	8	8
Threat of use by terrorists	•	7	9	•	7	•	10	15	12
Threat of use in Middle East	•	•	18	13	7	•	5	8	4
Imminent as long as arms exist	•	7	•	6	7	9	5	8	4
Nuclear threat always/ Is imminent	7	7	5	•	•	•	5	8	4
Other ⁷	14	21	15	6	14	•	15	8	8

⁷ Comprised of categories 3% or less

Q.10 con't...

BASE: 11:44pm or LATER

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Everyone is selling arms/ A lot of arms dealing	25	25	31	38	33	10	31	9	17
Nuclear capability in third world countries	44	•	19	25	17	35	31	18	8
Former USSR countries with nuclear capability	13	17	19	19	25	5	31	•	42
Unstable/Unpredictable governments with nuclear arms/Capabilities	6	8	13	13	17	35	15	36	8
End of cold war/ Soviets not a major threat/ Break up of USSR	19	33	13	19	17	20	8	•	17
Less threat/Danger/No imminent threat/Posturing between powers reduced	19	25	6	13	•	10	8	18	8
Threat of use by terrorists	6	8	13	6	8	•	8	9	25
Imminent as long as arms exist	13	8	25	•	•	•	8	18	•
Nations not willing to start/Risk/ Afraid of nuclear war	13	8	6	•	8	•	•	•	8
Threat of use in Middle East	•	•	6	•	8	5	8	9	8
Other ⁸	25	16	6	13	40	20	24	18	8

⁸ Comprised of categories 3% or less

Q.11 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) And which would you name second?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
a. Nationalism and ethnic hatred									
1st Choice	47	33	24	33	44	35	49	40	15
2nd Choice	28	33	19	26	22	26	28	23	24
b. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction									
1st Choice	18	22	13	39	35	19	17	26	14
2nd Choice	16	22	22	23	32	23	23	30	14
c. International trade conflicts									
1st Choice	4	12	1	•	3	17	4	2	2
2nd Choice	8	12	4	4	10	4	6	4	•
d. Religious fanaticism									
1st Choice	15	20	15	6	3	12	9	11	16
2nd Choice	25	22	18	25	19	26	18	13	19
e. Environmental pollution									
1st Choice	3	1	15	•	4	1	•	11	1
2nd Choice	9	3	24	7	3	9	10	17	19
f. Population growth									
1st Choice	14	12	29	22	7	14	18	11	51
2nd Choice	10	7	13	14	12	10	10	9	22
g. Don't know/Refused	•	1	•	•	1	1	2	•	•
h. Other (VOL)									
1st Choice	•	•	3	•	1	1	3	•	•
2nd Choice	1	•	1	•	•	•	1	4	2

Q.12 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 by the year 2000: First... Do you think this is certain, probable, a possibility or not likely to happen... (READ AND ROTATE)

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
a. Russian efforts to restore parts of the old Soviet empire									
Certain	1	•	3	1	•	1	•	•	1
Probable	18	12	14	9	25	19	18	15	12
Possible	40	46	44	41	46	30	44	38	35
Not likely	38	42	38	46	29	49	38	45	51
Don't know	3	•	1	3	•	1	•	2	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
b. Development of China as an assertive world power									
Certain	15	25	23	19	12	22	12	17	19
Probable	58	47	40	48	47	33	53	40	36
Possible	19	22	24	20	25	33	22	30	26
Not likely	8	6	13	12	16	12	13	13	19
Don't know	•	•	•	1	•	•	•	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
c. Full economic unification of Western Europe									
Certain	4	1	8	1	1	7	4	2	3
Probable	18	19	22	19	22	33	32	15	18
Possible	32	32	36	45	19	44	26	53	47
Not likely	46	48	33	35	58	16	38	28	32
Don't know	•	•	1	•	•	•	•	2	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
d. A waning of Japanese economic power									
Certain	3	1	3	3	3	1	3	4	3
Probable	18	28	23	17	18	28	28	36	18
Possible	35	39	42	36	35	48	32	39	43
Not likely	44	32	32	43	44	23	37	21	34
Don't know	•	•	•	1	•	•	•	•	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
e. Balkan war spreads throughout Central Europe									
Certain	1	•	•	1	•	1	•	6	•
Probable	11	7	20	13	18	12	4	19	10
Possible	47	43	52	45	48	33	45	36	34
Not likely	41	50	27	41	34	53	51	37	55
Don't know	•	•	1	•	•	1	•	2	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
f. German economic and political dominance of Western Europe									
Certain	10	6	14	6	9	9	14	9	10
Probable	32	40	35	32	31	29	41	38	36
Possible	36	25	36	35	41	34	26	30	30
Not likely	19	29	15	26	16	28	19	21	22
Don't know	3	•	•	1	3	•	•	2	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
g. Resumed warfare between Iran and Iraq									
Certain	•	1	1	•	•	6	3	4	•
Probable	16	28	22	25	24	32	19	32	12
Possible	68	56	44	51	53	49	60	41	56
Not likely	16	14	27	23	22	13	15	23	32
Don't know	•	1	6	1	1	•	3	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
h. An outbreak of open warfare between Israel and her Arab neighbors									
Certain	3	6	8	•	1	4	•	6	3
Probable	16	17	16	12	6	19	12	19	15
Possible	59	55	53	56	61	49	69	56	46
Not likely	22	22	22	32	32	28	19	17	36
Don't know	•	•	1	•	•	•	•	2	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
i. The end of Communism in North Korea									
Certain	1	1	3	4	6	1	1	2	4
Probable	15	17	19	23	28	12	23	17	20
Possible	44	36	30	47	47	33	39	38	32
Not likely	39	43	44	25	18	53	37	41	41
Don't know	1	3	4	1	1	1	•	2	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
k. Armed clashes between Russia and Ukraine									
Certain	•	•	3	4	•	•	•	2	•
Probable	19	13	10	12	19	25	13	17	5
Possible	52	58	63	48	65	47	69	49	45
Not likely	29	28	20	35	16	25	18	30	49
Don't know	•	1	4	1	•	3	•	2	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.12 con't...

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
l. Extensive international terrorism in the United States									
Certain	6	4	8	6	7	9	1	13	3
Probable	24	16	35	19	15	35	22	36	25
Possible	48	58	47	43	59	42	54	28	52
Not likely	22	22	10	32	19	14	23	23	20
Don't know	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
m. A nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan									
Certain	•	•	3	•	•	•	•	•	•
Probable	1	3	5	3	1	4	5	2	3
Possible	50	36	46	48	57	36	37	34	32
Not likely	48	58	42	49	41	53	57	60	62
Don't know	1	3	4	•	1	7	1	4	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
n. The United States becoming much weaker economically than it is today									
Certain	5	3	5	1	•	3	•	4	4
Probable	8	16	18	14	6	9	19	13	12
Possible	37	49	39	38	40	55	41	55	45
Not likely	50	32	38	46	54	33	40	28	38
Don't know	•	•	•	1	•	•	•	•	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
o. Use of force by China to take over disputed lands									
Certain	3	1	4	1	•	•	1	•	1
Probable	11	6	19	9	25	9	17	26	9
Possible	44	44	41	35	50	35	45	32	31
Not likely	41	48	35	54	25	55	38	38	56
Don't know	1	1	1	1	•	1	•	4	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.13 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?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
More important	29	18	19	26	14	36	26	24	21
Less important	46	49	37	41	54	26	33	38	33
As important	25	33	44	32	32	38	40	38	46
Don't know/Refused	•	•	•	1	•	•	1	•	•
	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$

Q.14 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?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Single leader	9	12	5	7	17	1	7	4	7
Shared leadership (GO TO Q.14a)	87	87	95	92	83	99	93	96	91
No leadership	3	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	2
Don't know/Refused	1	1	•	1	0	•	•	•	•
	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$	$\frac{100}{100}$

IF ANSWERED 2 "SHARED LEADERSHIP ROLE", ASK:

Q.14a 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?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Most assertive	62	62	37	68	58	77	60	53	48
No more or less assertive	22	23	57	16	17	17	25	38	40
Don't know/Refused	4	1	1	7	5	4	8	4	3
Not asked	•	•	•	•	3	•	1	•	•
	$\frac{87}{87}$	$\frac{87}{87}$	$\frac{95}{95}$	$\frac{91}{91}$	$\frac{83}{83}$	$\frac{98}{98}$	$\frac{94}{94}$	$\frac{96}{96}$	$\frac{91}{91}$

Q.15 As I read a list of possible long-range foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me if you think they should have top priority, a priority but not top priority, or no priority at all: (READ AND ROTATE)

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
a. Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction									
Top Priority	86	80	86	90	78	86	86	83	85
A Priority	13	19	13	10	22	14	14	11	14
Not a Priority	1	1	1	•	•	•	•	6	1
Don't know	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
b. Improving the global environment									
Top Priority	34	22	78	42	25	45	42	45	63
A Priority	60	68	22	55	68	52	54	55	34
Not a Priority	6	10	•	3	7	3	4	•	3
Don't know	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
c. Helping improve the living standard in developing nations									
Top Priority	15	9	38	25	13	19	24	43	26
A Priority	74	75	56	66	77	72	75	55	66
Not a Priority	11	16	2	9	10	9	1	2	7
Don't know	•	•	4	•	•	•	•	•	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
d. Insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S.									
Top Priority	56	70	53	60	35	71	50	58	54
A Priority	35	22	43	36	55	26	45	36	41
Not a Priority	8	7	4	4	9	3	5	6	3
Don't know	1	1	•	•	1	•	•	•	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
e. Promoting democracy in other nations									
Top Priority	20	13	23	28	26	29	17	15	20
A Priority	64	67	58	62	68	64	68	66	63
Not a Priority	15	20	18	10	6	6	15	19	15
Don't know	1	•	1	•	•	1	•	•	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
f. Aiding the interests of U.S. business abroad									
Top Priority	16	33	16	25	19	29	19	6	12
A Priority	68	54	57	67	60	65	73	75	69
Not a Priority	16	12	24	9	18	6	8	19	18
Don't know	•	1	3	•	3	•	•	•	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
g. Protecting the jobs of American workers									
Top Priority	34	32	53	19	21	61	26	55	32
A Priority	52	54	41	65	54	33	65	43	62
Not a Priority	11	13	3	10	22	3	5	2	4
Don't know	3	1	3	6	3	3	4	•	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
h. Strengthening the United Nations									
Top Priority	29	25	51	45	32	35	28	46	43
A Priority	53	61	48	48	53	52	63	43	50
Not a Priority	18	14	1	7	15	12	9	9	7
Don't know	•	•	•	•	•	1	•	2	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
i. Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries									
Top Priority	34	48	43	30	21	65	41	49	47
A Priority	60	42	48	64	75	32	55	51	43
Not a Priority	6	10	8	6	4	3	4	•	8
Don't know	•	•	1	•	•	•	•	•	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
j. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries									
Top Priority	32	9	47	22	21	20	22	56	29
A Priority	63	59	49	71	69	79	75	38	61
Not a Priority	5	32	4	7	10	1	3	4	10
Don't know	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	2	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
k. Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression even if U.S. vital interests are not at stake									
Top Priority	4	6	14	12	22	7	5	23	8
A Priority	59	55	59	65	56	70	60	64	65
Not a Priority	34	39	24	23	22	23	32	9	26
Don't know	3	•	3	•	•	•	3	4	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

**ON ANOTHER SUBJECT:
(READ AND ROTATE)**

Q.16 Should the United States be willing to promote democracy around the world, even if it seriously risks the election of totalitarian, anti-American governments?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Yes	48	32	34	49	49	36	44	40	44
No	46	61	60	41	44	61	48	52	40
Other (VOL)	5	1	1	6	6	•	3	6	5
Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.17 Should the United States promote free markets and economic capitalism around the world, even if it seriously risks exploitation of underdeveloped peoples by Western businessmen?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Yes	27	57	18	36	44	30	44	9	30
No	63	30	73	49	38	64	48	87	56
Other (VOL)	4	9	3	6	15	3	4	2	5
Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.18 Should the United States promote self-determination of local ethnic groups within long-standing nations of the world, even if it seriously risks leading to the break-up of those nations into warring ethnic regions?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Yes	4	•	9	3	4	14	8	9	4
No	93	99	83	93	90	84	86	87	93
Other (VOL)	3	•	4	4	3	1	5	2	2
Don't know	<u>•</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>•</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.19 Should the United States insist on applying its human and civil right 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?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Yes	35	6	34	33	31	22	38	45	37
No	61	94	53	56	59	67	60	45	59
Other (VOL)	4	•	8	10	7	7	1	4	3
Don't know	•	•	5	1	3	4	1	6	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.20 As I read a list of **specific** foreign policy problems, tell me whether each one should have top priority in the U.S. government, a priority but not top priority, or no priority: (READ AND ROTATE)

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
a. Insuring democracy succeeds in Russia and the other former Soviet states									
Top Priority	53	38	38	60	69	57	53	30	55
A Priority	39	52	46	39	25	41	37	57	35
Not a Priority	8	10	16	•	6	1	10	11	7
Don't know	•	•	•	1	•	1	•	2	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
b. Strengthening our domestic economy to improve the U.S. international position									
Top Priority	89	90	72	94	75	93	94	83	83
A Priority	9	9	24	6	24	6	6	17	16
Not a Priority	1	•	3	•	1	•	•	•	1
Don't know	1	1	1	•	•	1	•	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
c. Better managing our trade and economic disputes with Japan									
Top Priority	49	64	43	49	55	57	38	45	43
A Priority	47	33	53	51	41	43	61	53	52
Not a Priority	4	3	4	•	4	•	1	2	4
Don't know	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
d. Ending the warfare in the Balkans									
Top Priority	33	17	42	30	28	30	19	53	32
A Priority	52	66	54	64	63	68	73	38	57
Not a Priority	15	17	3	6	6	1	8	9	10
Don't know	•	•	1	•	3	1	•	•	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.20 con't...

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
e. Bringing about a permanent settlement between Israel and the Arabs									
Top Priority	50	41	55	55	34	41	38	68	46
A Priority	39	50	41	42	60	53	61	28	50
Not a Priority	8	9	3	3	6	4	•	4	3
Don't know	3	•	1	•	•	1	1	•	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
f. Stopping the flood of illegal aliens into the country									
Top Priority	18	38	32	25	24	45	14	30	34
A Priority	61	53	50	55	60	45	72	38	53
Not a Priority	20	9	18	19	16	9	14	32	12
Don't know	1	•	•	1	•	1	•	•	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
g. Adopting a North American Free Trade Agreement									
Top Priority	34	74	30	54	44	36	50	23	37
A Priority	45	23	48	42	49	48	41	73	52
Not a Priority	20	3	16	4	7	10	9	4	8
Don't know	1	•	6	•	•	6	•	•	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
h. Guarding against a resurgent Germany									
Top Priority	10	3	13	4	9	12	4	4	7
A Priority	29	36	49	25	19	36	26	34	32
Not a Priority	57	60	33	71	72	49	70	62	57
Don't know	4	1	5	•	•	3	•	•	4
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
i. Protecting the global environment									
Top Priority	38	19	80	42	29	48	45	60	73
A Priority	56	69	20	55	61	48	52	38	25
Not a Priority	5	12	•	3	10	4	3	2	2
Don't know	1	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
j. Getting Saddam Hussein out of Iraq									
Top Priority	9	14	22	10	7	33	5	15	12
A Priority	49	57	52	54	56	49	50	51	52
Not a Priority	42	29	25	36	37	17	44	34	35
Don't know	•	•	1	•	•	1	1	•	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.20 con't...

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
k. Stopping international drug trafficking									
Top Priority	32	49	57	32	28	71	28	74	43
A Priority	50	45	30	62	55	25	57	26	45
Not a Priority	18	6	13	6	16	4	15	•	12
Don't know	•	•	•	•	1	•	•	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
l. Countering the threat of North Korean militarism									
Top Priority	22	19	25	25	46	16	17	28	21
A Priority	54	53	55	65	45	78	62	55	63
Not a Priority	24	28	16	10	9	6	21	17	15
Don't know	•	•	4	•	•	•	•	•	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
m. Keeping a careful watch on the emergence of China as a world power									
Top Priority	32	36	34	25	32	35	38	32	33
A Priority	54	51	56	63	53	55	51	57	52
Not a Priority	14	13	9	9	13	10	10	11	13
Don't know	•	•	1	3	2	•	1	•	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.21 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Palestinians	18	10	23	32	17	12	21	42	19
Israel	44	56	39	38	51	62	40	26	48
Both (VOL)	16	21	23	25	14	7	30	21	20
Neither (VOL)	13	9	9	4	14	12	9	9	11
Don't know/Refused	9	4	6	1	4	7	•	2	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

NOW A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR DEFENSE POLICIES...

Q.22 Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Expand	3	9	•	6	11	•	4	2	2
Keep same	28	45	27	30	40	41	19	36	24
Cut back	68	43	66	60	46	52	71	60	70
Same as Administration's planned cuts	1	3	3	4	1	6	6	•	3
Don't know/Refused	•	•	4	•	2	1	•	2	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.23 The latest strategic nuclear arms agreement sets a ceiling of 3,500 nuclear weapons for the United States by the year 2003. In your opinion, should the United States negotiate further cuts in nuclear arsenals?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Yes (GO TO Q.23a)	96	80	93	94	74	83	88	79	91
No	16	6	6	25	11	7	15	9	•
Don't know/Refused	3	4	1	•	1	6	5	6	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

IF ANSWERED 1 "YES, FOR FURTHER CUTS", ASK:

Q.23a To what level should the weapons be reduced from 3,500? (READ CHOICES)

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
2,500	5	10	3	6	13	10	10	9	2
1,500 (about half)	28	32	33	29	37	38	38	36	31
500	33	17	22	30	19	6	23	13	26
Zero	11	9	20	9	1	7	5	4	19
Don't know/Refused	19	12	15	20	4	22	12	17	13
	<u>96</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>91</u>

Q.24 Would you approve or disapprove of the use of U.S. forces in the following situations:

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
a. If Russia invaded Ukraine									
Approve	4	1	10	9	6	12	5	13	5
Disapprove	91	96	85	88	81	81	89	76	93
Don't know	5	3	5	3	9	7	6	11	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
b. If Iraq invaded Saudi Arabia									
Approve	74	87	58	93	92	73	83	55	69
Disapprove	22	12	38	6	6	20	17	43	30
Don't know	4	1	4	1	2	7	•	2	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
c. If the Mexican government were threatened by revolution or civil war									
Approve	10	38	28	23	25	36	18	21	18
Disapprove	84	56	68	73	68	55	77	68	77
Don't know	6	6	4	4	7	9	5	11	5
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
d. If North Korea invaded South Korea									
Approve	69	72	43	86	92	65	77	49	68
Disapprove	25	28	52	13	6	29	23	40	32
Don't know	6	•	5	1	2	6	•	11	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
e. If Arab forces invaded Israel									
Approve	67	63	55	76	66	69	70	53	55
Disapprove	27	34	37	20	25	22	26	38	42
Don't know	6	3	8	4	9	9	4	9	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.25 Should the United States contribute military units to a permanent force under United Nations command, or should American forces always remain under an American officer?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
U.S. forces under United Nations command	71	51	74	77	72	57	80	75	77
U.S. forces only under U.S. command	25	47	23	19	22	42	15	19	16
Don't know/Refused	4	1	3	4	6	1	4	6	7
Not asked	•	1	•	•	5	•	1	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.26 The United States now plans to reduce its ground troops in Europe to 100,000. Do you believe this force should be:

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Increased above the 100,000-man ceiling	1	4	1	•	1	3	3	4	4
Reduced to the 100,000-man ceiling but not cut further	46	46	34	60	65	57	45	55	31
Cut significantly below the 100,000-man ceiling	34	32	40	30	34	30	36	19	41
Brought home entirely	15	17	24	9	•	7	13	9	24
Don't know/Refused	4	1	1	1	•	3	3	13	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.27 Do you believe U.S. ground forces in South Korea should be:

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Increased above the current 39,000-man level	•	•	4	•	•	•	•	2	2
Kept at the current 39,000-man level	69	67	54	76	80	69	68	55	56
Cut significantly below the current 39,000-man level	20	20	24	17	19	19	19	28	23
Brought home entirely	8	13	13	3	•	6	9	4	15
Don't know/Refused	3	•	5	4	1	6	4	11	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.28 Japan and Germany have now emerged as two of the strongest economic and financial powers in the world. Some people have urged Japan and Germany to assume a larger military role in the world; others believe this would be unwise. Which alternative corresponds most closely to your view?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Should urge a larger military role	35	51	29	55	35	49	45	21	30
Should oppose a larger military role	59	43	60	36	55	42	49	75	63
Other (VOL)	6	6	10	6	8	6	6	•	5
Don't know/Refused	•	•	1	3	2	3	•	4	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.29 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:

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Europe	34	26	25	33	45	30	33	38	33
Pacific Rim	39	51	37	35	28	47	43	50	27
Equally important	24	19	28	26	24	19	19	6	31
Don't know (GO TO Q.30)	3	4	10	6	3	4	5	6	9
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

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

Q.29a 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?

BASE: EUROPE & PACIFIC RIM EQUALLY IMPORTANT

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Political-military reasons	11	•	•	•	15	8	7	•	•
Economic reasons	32	42	23	31	15	46	14	33	21
Cultural and ethnic reasons	5	•	5	•	•	•	•	•	•
Other (VOL)	•	•	5	6	•	•	•	•	11
Political and economic	26	17	4	19	31	8	7	33	21
Political and cultural	•	8	•	•	•	•	•	•	4
Economic and cultural	5	8	4	6	•	7	•	•	11
All three	21	25	59	39	38	31	65	34	32
Don't know/Refused	•	•	•	•	•	•	7	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.29a con't...

BASE: EUROPE IS MOST IMPORTANT

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Political-military reasons	11	5	10	35	13	5	8	11	10
Economic reasons	8	28	5	5	7	52	15	11	17
Cultural and ethnic reasons	33	22	60	17	19	9	35	22	37
Other (VOL)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	5	3
Political and economic	4	17	•	4	16	•	4	11	3
Political and cultural	7	6	•	4	16	10	15	•	7
Economic and cultural	4	•	5	4	•	5	4	17	10
All three	33	22	20	31	29	19	19	17	13
Don't know/Refused	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	6	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

BASE: PACIFIC RIM IS MOST IMPORTANT

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Political-military reasons	•	3	•	12	11	3	9	8	4
Economic reasons	61	83	62	50	47	91	61	43	80
Cultural and ethnic reasons	3	•	3	•	•	3	3	9	•
Other (VOL)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Political and economic	13	11	7	25	26	3	12	9	12
Political and cultural	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Economic and cultural	10	•	7	•	•	•	6	22	•
All three	13	3	21	13	16	•	9	9	4
Don't know/Refused	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.30 (ROTATE WITH Q.31) Do you think Japan has a fair trade policy or an unfair trade policy with the United States?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Fair	4	8	6	3	12	6	10	6	5
Unfair (GO TO Q.30a)	90	91	81	89	81	94	82	83	79
Both	5	1	3	4	4	•	5	•	3
Don't know/Refused	1	•	10	4	3	•	3	11	12
U.S. unfair (VOL)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

IF ANSWERED 2 "JAPAN UNFAIR", ASK:

Q.30a Should the US retaliate in kind even at the risk of setting off a protectionist war in world trade?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Yes	25	36	27	28	18	28	21	30	21
No	62	49	49	61	62	62	60	51	55
Don't know/Refused	3	6	5	•	1	4	1	2	3
	<u>90</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>79</u>

Q.31 Do you believe that the countries of the European Community have a fair trade policy or an unfair trade policy with the United States?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Fair	39	42	35	35	43	48	69	43	47
Unfair (GO TO Q.31a)	46	51	25	48	48	29	21	25	20
Both	9	7	8	10	4	7	5	•	14
Don't know/Refused	6	•	32	7	4	16	5	32	17
U.S. unfair (VOL)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

IF ANSWERED 2 "EUROPEAN COMMUNITY UNFAIR", ASK:

Q.31a Should the United States retaliate in kind even at the risk of setting off a protectionist war in world trade?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Yes	10	12	6	9	7	4	3	6	3
No	35	38	19	36	41	23	18	19	16
Don't know/Refused	1	1	•	3	•	2	•	•	1
	<u>46</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>20</u>

Q.32 Do you support or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that would bring the United States, Canada and Mexico into a single trading bloc?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Support	74	96	72	97	91	81	91	74	88
Oppose	15	4	18	3	6	10	8	13	7
Don't know/Refused	11	•	10	•	3	9	1	13	5
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.33 Why do you feel that way?

BASE: THOSE WHO SUPPORT N.A.F.T.A.

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
All three countries Benefit by economic Stimulation/Growth	21	27	14	25	26	18	34	26	23
Believe in free trade/ Opening of more markets	19	20	14	15	18	14	17	9	19
America will have economic stimulation/Growth	14	12	14	16	16	5	8	3	8
Economic integration of the Continent	3	14	25	7	5	7	11	17	10
Mexico will have economic stimulation/Growth	14	6	5	12	10	5	8	11	9
U.S. benefits by helping Mexico	9	5	9	7	5	11	7	3	6
Improving living standards in Mexico	3	8	5	12	5	9	13	•	3
Creates more jobs/ More jobs for all three countries	3	8	2	7	8	11	14	•	3
Better/More advantageous to have own trading bloc	3	9	12	1	3	5	7	9	6
Leads to new jobs for Americans	9	8	4	6	8	11	•	6	1
Creates larger market for U.S. goods	3	8	4	9	8	5	3	•	4

Q.33 con't...

BASE: THOSE WHO SUPPORT N.A.F.T.A.

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
May be painful in the beginning/ Short term pains	3	•	2	1	2	4	4	6	10
Improving living standards	5	2	4	6	2	4	1	6	3
Economic competition Beneficial to U.S. in the long run	3	2	•	4	3	4	4	3	5
Ability to compete with/ Defend against European trading bloc/ European bloc is growing	•	5	4	3	2	7	1	3	4
Less protectionism results in our being more competitive	3	2	5	1	2	2	1	3	6
Increase world/ International Trade	5	•	5	4	2	2	1	•	3
Good idea/ Good for world/ For continent/Does more good than harm	10	•	7	4	10	2	3	6	4
Will speed up dealing with/Strengthens our position dealing with other blocs/ Japanese/Europeans	•	11	4	4	5	5	7	•	3
Concept of one smaller World/Working with the rest of the world	5	3	7	1	3	5	4	11	4
Will reduce flow of immigrants/aliens	9	6	5	12	13	11	4	3	16
Creates large market for goods	2	9	4	1	5	13	4	6	4
Because other nations have trading blocs	•	3	5	4	6	2	4	9	5
Need more environment safeguards/Protection	3	•	2	3	2	11	•	3	5
Don't see any benefits/All other negative comments	2	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	1

Q.33 con't...

BASE: THOSE WHO SUPPORT N.A.F.T.A.

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Other	16	21	34	26	24	34	19	6	23
Don't know	3	2	•	1	3	•	•	•	1
ECONOMIC (NET)	79	89	84	84	89	80	87	86	85
POLITICAL (NET)	16	20	25	13	24	16	15	17	13
ENVIRONMENTAL (NET)	•	•	•	1	2	2	•	•	3

BASE: THOSE WHO OPPOSE N.A.F.T.A.

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Loss of jobs in the U.S.	67	100	50	50	50	57	50	50	83
Need more environmental safeguards/Protection	17	•	21	•	•	14	17	33	17
Lack of environmental control in Mexico	17	33	36	•	25	•	17	•	•
Environmental pollution	•	•	29	•	25	•	17	•	•
Exploitation of labor/ Use low labor cots	33	67	29	50	•	14	17	•	•
Hurts american work/ Keep U.S. wages down	8	•	•	•	25	•	•	33	33
Improving living standards in Mexico	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	17	17
Don't see any benefits/All other negative comments	16	•	21	•	•	14	33	17	•
Other	24	•	•	100	•	14	34	34	17
Don't know	•	•	•	•	•	14	33	17	•
ECONOMIC (NET)	67	100	50	50	50	57	50	50	83
ENVIRONMENTAL (NET)	25	33	71	•	50	14	50	33	17
IMMIGRATION LABOR EXPLOITED/ WAGES (NET)	42	67	29	50	25	14	17	33	33

Q.34 Do regional trading blocs like NAFTA and the European Common Market conflict with global free trade efforts such as GATT, or can global free trade exist side by side with trading blocs?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Conflict	6	6	6	6	7	10	4	4	9
Exist Side by Side	84	91	57	87	83	83	90	86	73
Don't know/Refused	$\frac{10}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{37}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{10}{100}$	$\frac{7}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{11}{100}$	$\frac{18}{100}$

Q.35 Should government intelligence agencies (like the CIA) share the economic information they routinely collect on foreign businesses with American businesses that operate internationally, or should the U.S. government stay out of such activities altogether?

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
Should share	16	45	28	32	34	32	24	30	38
Should stay out of altogether	78	50	64	55	59	61	68	68	56
Don't know/Refused	5	4	5	7	7	6	8	2	5
Other	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{3}{100}$	$\frac{6}{100}$	$\frac{\cdot}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$	$\frac{\cdot}{100}$	$\frac{\cdot}{100}$	$\frac{1}{100}$

Q.36 Do you think economic aid to the following nations and regions should be increased from the current level, decreased from the current level, or stay the same:

	News Media	Business/ Finance	Cultural	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Government	Think Tanks/ Academics	Religion	Scientists/ Engineers
a. Underdeveloped nations of Asia									
Increase	24	23	27	41	31	14	41	38	22
Decrease	13	17	13	10	12	14	6	6	7
Same	58	59	52	43	56	63	50	52	67
Don't know	5	1	8	6	1	9	3	4	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
b. Underdeveloped nations of Africa									
Increase	43	30	44	64	49	35	60	67	43
Decrease	10	13	9	9	9	14	5	6	8
Same	44	57	42	23	41	45	32	23	46
Don't know	3	•	5	4	1	6	3	4	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
c. Underdeveloped nations of Latin America									
Increase	49	48	54	55	54	36	62	60	45
Decrease	10	13	8	14	7	14	3	6	3
Same	38	39	34	28	38	44	32	28	45
Don't know	3	•	4	3	1	6	3	6	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
d. Israel and Egypt									
Increase	5	7	19	3	•	3	4	11	2
Decrease	49	51	22	51	65	33	53	44	38
Same	42	41	54	45	32	61	42	43	56
Don't know	4	1	5	1	3	3	1	2	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
e. New democracies of East Europe									
Increase	72	58	58	86	77	50	85	59	55
Decrease	6	10	4	1	4	10	•	9	7
Same	18	29	27	9	19	33	15	30	31
Don't know	4	3	11	4	•	7	•	2	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
f. Russia									
Increase	68	68	60	80	74	65	82	45	72
Decrease	5	10	4	•	7	9	3	11	1
Same	23	19	30	19	19	25	15	44	24
Don't know	4	3	6	1	•	1	•	•	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
g. Other former Soviet republics									
Increase	56	69	44	75	69	52	72	45	59
Decrease	6	9	4	•	3	9	4	6	3
Same	30	19	37	22	25	30	23	47	30
Don't know	8	3	15	3	3	9	1	2	8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

GENERAL POPULATION QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
INTERNATIONAL POLICY OPINION SURVEY
GENERAL PUBLIC

September 9-15, 1993
N=2000

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]

Sept 1993		Aug 1993	June 1993	May 1993	April 1993	Feb 1993
43	Approve	39	39	45	49	56
43	Disapprove	46	43	37	29	25
14	Don't know/Refused	15	18	18	22	19
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

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?

Sept 1993		June 1993	Jan 1993	Jan 1992	Nov 1991	May 1990	Jan 1989	Oct 1988	May 1988	Jan 1988
20	Satisfied	22	39	28	34	41	45	56	41	39
75	Dissatisfied	71	50	68	61	54	50	40	54	55
4	No Opinion	7	11	4	5	5	5	4	5	6
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

* All trends are Times Mirror Center Studies unless otherwise stated

Q.3 What is the most important problem facing the country today? [PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION]

Sept 1993		June 1993	April 1993	Jan 1992	May 1990	Jan 1989	April 1987
9	Economy (general)	17	18	43	5	4	7
23	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	19	18	22	7	9	13
9	Deficit/National debt/ Balanced budget	13	17	4	11	19	12
12	Health care (cost/accessibility)	11	13	3	3	1	•
8	Morality/Ethics/ Family values	7	3	3	5	2	3
15	Crime/Gangs/Justice system	7	5	3	7	8	3
3	Taxes	4	4	1	3	2	0
5	Drugs/Alcohol	5	4	4	37	23	6
5	Dissatisfaction with government/Politics	5	3	2	2	1	0
3	Racism	2	3	1	2	0	0
2	Poverty	3	3	1	3	4	6
2	Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	2	2	2	3	2	3
•	Too much foreign aid/ Spend money at home	2	2	1	3	1	0
2	Homelessness	5	2	6	8	10	•
4	Education	5	2	2	4	4	0
•	Issues related to elderly	2	2	1	2	2	0
1	Pollution	•	2	1	8	2	0
4	Other Social Issues	•	•	•	•	•	•
1	Other domestic	2	1	10	11	10	21
3	Other international	3	1	4	6	10	22
2	Other	4	8	1	5	9	1
4	Don't know/No answer	2	4	3	1	3	3
47	ECONOMIC (NET)	53	58	76	26	28	35
94	DOMESTIC (NET)	•	•	•	•	•	•
4	FOREIGN (NET)	•	•	•	•	•	•
(2000)		(1507)	(1011)	(1220)	(3004)	(2048)	(4244)

Q.4 What is America's most important international problem today? [PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION]

- 9 Not getting involved in other countries problems/Political Situations/Internal Affairs
- 7 Situation in Bosnia/Former Yugoslavia/Reducing threat of conflict in Eastern Europe
- 6 Too much money/Aid to other countries/Keep the money in the U.S.
- 6 Deficit imbalance/Reduction of trade deficit
- 5 Maintaining world peace/Peace keeper/Resolution of international Disputes
- 5 Situation in Somalia
- 4 World conflicts/Wars/Chaos/World wide unrest/Ethnic conflicts
- 3 All other social issue mentions
- 2 Trade agreements/Trade relationships
- 3 International Violence/Threats of terrorism
- 36 Other¹
- 2 Nothing
- 25 Don't know
- 22 **ECONOMIC (NET)**
- 12 **U.S. LEADERSHIP ROLE (NET)**
- 31 **MAINTAINING PEACE/WORLD UNREST (NET)**
- 7 **SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)**

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?

- 28 Satisfied
- 66 Dissatisfied
- Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (VOL)
- 6 Don't know/Refused
- 100

¹ Comprised of categories 3% or less

Q.6 In your opinion, what country in the world, if any, represents the greatest danger to the United States?

Sept 1993		Jan. 1993	Feb 1992	March 1990
18	Iraq	17	12	•
11	Japan	8	31	8
11	China	9	8	8
8	Russia, the Soviet Union, the CIS	13	13	32
7	Iran	6	4	6
2	Bosnia, Yugoslavia	•	•	•
1	Libya	1	2	2
1	Other Asian	•	•	•
1	North Korea	•	•	•
1	Germany	2	2	3
•	The U.S. itself	6	3	4
•	Other European	1	•	•
•	Other Mideastern	4	6	5
•	Cuba	1	1	3
•	Mexico	1	•	•
•	Other Latin American	•	•	8
9	Other	1	0	2
6	None	9	5	6
<u>24</u>	Can't say/Don't know	<u>21</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.7 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]

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at All Closely	(VOL) DK
a. The civil war in Bosnia					
September, 1993	17	38	26	19	•=100
August, 1993	19	37	25	18	1=100
May, 1993	23	34	28	13	2=100
February, 1993	15	32	33	20	•=100
January, 1993	15	33	30	22	•=100
September, 1992	10	27	31	31	1=100
b. The situation in Somalia					
September, 1993	20	42	26	12	•=100
c. Reports about the condition of the U. S. economy					
September, 1993	39	39	14	9	•=100
August, 1993	41	36	14	9	•=100
May, 1993	37	38	18	6	1=100
February, 1993	49	36	10	5	•=100
January, 1993	42	39	12	7	•=100
September, 1992	43	37	13	6	•=100
May, 1992	39	39	15	6	1=100
March, 1992	47	38	11	4	•=100
February, 1992	47	37	10	6	•=100
January, 1992	44	40	11	5	•=100
October, 1991	36	38	16	9	1=100
d. The political and economic changes going on in Russia					
September, 1993	12	36	29	22	•=100
e. The story of Irma, the wounded 5 year old Bosnian girl airlifted to London for medical treatment					
September, 1993	11	29	29	30	•=100
f. Vice President Gore's program to reform the workings of the Federal Government					
September, 1993	18	30	23	28	1=100

Q.7 con't...

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at All Closely	(VOL) DK
g. The reports about White House plans for health care reform ²					
September, 1993	37	37	16	10	•=100
August, 1993	27	32	25	15	1=100
June, 1993	28	38	19	15	•=100
May, 1993	30	30	25	14	1=100
h. Talks between Israel and the PLO about Arab self-rule for The Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho					
September, 1993	19	31	23	26	1=100
i. Debate about the North American Free Trade Agreement					
September, 1993	15	28	26	30	8=100
October, 1992	13	27	29	30	1=100

Q.8 How have you been getting most of your news about national and international issues ... from television, from newspapers, from radio or from magazines? [ACCEPT THE FIRST TWO ANSWERS, IF ONLY ONE PROBE FOR SECOND: What other source have you gotten most of your news about national and international issues?]

83	Television
60	Newspapers
17	Radio
9	Magazines
3	Other (VOL)
•	Can't say/Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

ASK ALL:
ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.9 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]

		Aug 1993	Newsweek June 30-July 1 1993
47	Approve	52	49
33	Disapprove	25	35
20	Don't know/Refused	23	16
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

2 In previous months story was listed as Reports about the White House task force on health care reform headed by Hillary Clinton

Q.10 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 1993		Aug 1993	Newsweek June 30-July 1 1993
38	Approve	49	36
29	Disapprove	25	37
<u>23</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>26</u>	<u>27</u>
100		100	100

Q.11 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]

38	Approve
39	Disapprove
<u>23</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

12. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the situation in Somalia? [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 Somalia? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

41	Approve
39	Disapprove
<u>19</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.13 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 LIST IN ROTATED ORDER... RECORD RESPONSE UNDER COL."1ST"] And which would you name second? [READ REMAINING CHOICES IF NEEDED]

	1ST	2ND
a. Nationalism and ethnic hatreds	27	19
b. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction	24	24
c. International trade conflicts	7	10
d. Religious fanaticism	11	12
e. Environmental pollution	18	21
f. Population growth	10	10
g. Other (VOL)	•	1
h. None/Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	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?

		Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Sept 1993		Oct-Nov 1990
37	More important	37
30	Less important	35
31	As important	24
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100 (1662)

Q.15 What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it: **[READ LIST]**

Q.15a Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be no more or less active than other leading nations?

10	Be the single world leader, or [SKIP TO INST. BEFORE Q.16]
81	Should it play a shared leadership role, or [ASK Q.15A]
27	Most active
51	No more/less active
3	Don't know/Refused
7	Shouldn't it play any leadership role? [SKIP TO INST. BEFORE Q.16]
<u>2</u>	(VOL) Don't know [SKIP TO INST. BEFORE Q.16]
100	

Q.16³ As I read a list of possible LONG-RANGE foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me if you think they should have top priority, priority but not top priority, or no priority at all:

	Top Priority	A Priority	No Priority	DK
a. Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction?	69	24	5	1=100
b. Improving the global environment?	56	37	6	1=100
c. Helping improve the living standard in developing nations?	18	60	20	1=100
d. Insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S.?	60	34	4	2=100
e. Promoting democracy in other nations?	22	52	24	2=100
f. Aiding the interests of U.S. business abroad?	27	51	19	3=100
g. Protecting the jobs of American workers?	85	13	2	•=100
h. Strengthening the United Nations?	41	46	11	2=100
i. Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries?	55	36	5	4=100
j. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries?	22	55	22	2=100
k. Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression even if U.S. vital interests are not at stake?	17	55	25	3=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT:

[READ AND ROTATE]

Q.17 Should the United States be willing to promote democracy around the world, even if that policy seriously risks the election of totalitarian, anti-American governments?

30 Yes, worth risk

60 No, not worth risk

1 Other (VOL)

9 Don't know/Refused

100

3 Split sample question: 1/2 of the respondents asked a,b,c,d,f,g,h,j and the other 1/2 of respondents asked a,b,d,e,g,h,i,k.

Q.18 Should the United States promote free markets and economic capitalism around the world, even if that policy *seriously* risks exploitation of underdeveloped peoples by Western businessmen?

18 Yes, should promote

72 No, should not promote

1 Other (VOL)

9

100

Q.19 Should the United States promote self-determination of local ethnic groups within long-standing nations of the world, even if that policy *seriously* risks leading to the break-up of those nations into warring ethnic regions?

15 Yes, worth risk

75 No, not worth risk

1 Other (VOL)

9

100

Q.20 Should the United States insist on applying its human and civil right standards throughout the world, even if that policy *seriously* risks antagonizing friendly nations whose traditions do not conform to our ideals?

26 Yes, worth risk

69 No, not worth risk

• Other (VOL)

5

100

Q.21 As I read another list of SPECIFIC foreign policy problems, tell me whether each one should have top priority in the U.S. government, a priority but not top priority, or no priority: [READ AND ROTATE]

	Top Priority	A Priority	No Priority	DK
a. Insuring democracy succeeds in Russia and the other former Soviet states?	23	53	21	3=100
b. Strengthening our domestic economy to improve the U.S. international position?	71	24	2	2=100
c. Better managing our trade and economic disputes with Japan?	48	43	7	2=100
d. Ending the warfare in the Balkans?	21	47	24	7=100
e. Bringing about a permanent settlement between Israel and the Arabs?	34	45	19	2=100
f. Stopping the flood of illegal aliens into the country?	65	28	6	1=100
g. Adopting a North American Free Trade Agreement?	27	49	17	7=100
h. Guarding against a resurgent Germany?	17	46	31	6=100
i. Protecting the global environment?	64	31	5	1=100
j. Getting Saddam Hussein out of Iraq?	54	28	17	2=100
k. Stopping international drug trafficking?	82	14	3	•=100
l. Countering the threat of North Korean militarism?	20	49	25	6=100
m. Monitoring the emergence of China as a world power?	33	45	20	3=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.22 Do you happen to know the name of the ethnic group that has conquered much of Bosnia and has surrounded the city of Sarajevo?

Sept 1993		Jan 1993	Sept 1992
25	Serbs	21	20
75	Croats/Other/ Don't know	79	80
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

FORM A

Q.23a Which side are you most sympathetic to in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia? **(READ LIST)**

Sept 1993		Jan 1993
35	Bosnians	30
11	Serbs	8
22	Neither (VOL)	17
32	No Opinion/Don't know	45
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>

Q.24a To the best of your knowledge, which of the following three answers, A, B, or C, is the principle reason the Serbs and Bosnians are fighting? **(READ LIST)**

Sept 1993		Jan 1993
6	A: The Bosnians invaded Serbia	5
40	B: Serbians think that large parts of Bosnia should be inhabited by Serbs only, OR	32
30	C: Bosnians have attempted to drive Serbs out of Bosnia	32
24	Can't say/Don't know (VOL)	31
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>

FORM B

Q.23b Which side are you most sympathetic to in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia? **(READ LIST)**

33	The Bosnian Muslims, or
15	The Serbs
20	Neither (VOL)
<u>34</u>	No opinion/Don't know (VOL)
100	

Q.24b To the best of your knowledge, which of the following three answers, A, B, or C, is the principle reason the Serbs and Bosnians are fighting? **(READ LIST)**

7	A: The Bosnian Muslims invaded Serbia,
32	B: Serbians think that large parts of Bosnia should be inhabited by Serbs only, or
36	C: Bosnian Muslims have attempted to drive Serbs out of Bosnia
<u>25</u>	Can't say/Don't know (VOL)
100	

ASK ALL

Q.25 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

Sept 1993		Chicago Council on Foreign Relations		
		Oct-Nov 1990	Oct-Nov 1982	Nov 1978
21	Palestinians	13	17	12
45	Israel	34	41	39
3	Both (VOL)	7	8	8
18	Neither (VOL)	26	19	15
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>20</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>
100		100	100	100
		(1662)	(1547)	(1546)

NOW A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR DEFENSE POLICIES...

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

Sept 1993		Chicago Council on Foreign Relations			
		Oct-Nov 1990	Oct-Nov 1986	Oct-Nov 1982	Nov 1978
10	Expand	12	21	22	32
52	Keep same	53	55	52	45
36	Cut back	32	23	24	16
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100	100
		(1662)	(1585)	(1547)	(1546)

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

	Approve	Dis- Approve	DK	
a. If Russia invaded Ukraine	21	69	10	100
b. If Iraq invaded Saudi Arabia	53	40	6	100
c. If the Mexican government were threatened by revolution or civil war	41	52	7	100
d. If North Korea invaded South Korea	31	63	6	100
e. If Arab forces invaded Israel	45	48	7	100

Q.28 Should the United States contribute military units to a permanent force under United Nations command, or should American forces always remain under an American officer?

25	U.S. forces under United Nations command
69	U.S. forces only under U.S. command
6	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

Q.29 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? [READ LIST]

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

Q.30 Do you think Japan has a fair trade policy or an unfair trade policy with the United States?

Sept 1993		Jan 1989
14	Fair	22
72	Unfair	63
1	Both	•
1	U.S. unfair (VOL)	•
11	Don't know/Refused	15
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>
		(2048)

Q.31 Do you support or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that would bring the United States, Canada and Mexico into a single trading bloc?

46 Support

42 Oppose

12 Don't know/Refused

100 (N=921; those who said they were following NAFTA Very or Fairly Closely in Q.7)