

Times Mirror Analysis

As Clinton Goes to Seattle

AMERICA DIVIDES OVER ASIA

As with NAFTA, American opinion leaders and the American public have conflicting views about Asia. A plurality of opinion leaders believe Asia is now more important to the United States than Europe, a recent survey found, while the public (by a 50% to 31% margin) continues to see Europe as most important.

The choice of Asia by the Influentials was largely one of pocketbooks vs. hearts. Of those respondents selecting the Pacific Rim, more than three-fourths cited economic reasons. The public, in continuing to look to Europe, may not see the same economic opportunity as the Influentials; it believes by an overwhelming five to one margin (72% to 14%) that Japan has an unfair trade policy toward the United States.

The survey by the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press also found that the Influentials view the Asian region with most concern. No nation has replaced the former Soviet Union as the greatest danger to the United States, but the aggregated concern about the traditional nations of Asia was high. Those Influentials who specialize in security and defense issues considered it most dangerous to the United States, far more than the former Soviet Union or the Mideast.

Strong majorities or pluralities of almost all Influential groups would use U.S. troops to stop a North Korean invasion of South Korea, while most of the public would oppose it. Strong majorities in every Influential group would keep U.S. force levels in South Korea at current levels. Stronger sentiment was found for deep cuts in U.S. forces in Europe than in South Korea.

The survey of 649 opinion leaders in the nine groups -- foreign affairs, security-defense, business, media, religion, science, state and local government, academia, and culture -- was conducted in July and August, with two parallel public surveys in September and October. The results were released earlier this month in a report titled as **America's Place in the World.**¹

American Influentials are dubious about whether many of the ideals that have guided U.S. foreign policy for half a century can still do so today. President Clinton is being criticized for meeting Chinese President Jiang Zemin because of the bloody crackdown on democracy and human rights protestors in Tiananmen Square four years ago, but all except one group of Influentials opposed promoting human rights if it seriously risks antagonizing friendly nations with different traditions; and five of the nine groups said the United States should not promote democracy abroad if it seriously risked the election of totalitarian, anti-American governments.

Moreover, when asked to assign priorities to these principles in the abstract, i.e., without mention of the potentially undesirable outcome, the Influentials gave them middling to low priority -- seventh on a list of 11 for human rights, ninth for democracy. The public, for its part, was even more opposed to promoting these ideals abroad, in both circumstances.

Most Influential groups said that among the potential events affecting peace and stability by the end of the century, the emergence of China as an assertive world power was the most likely (either certain or probable). But they did not expect China to use force to win any disputed territory, such as the oil-rich Spratly Islands which it contests with Vietnam, and they gave moderate priority to monitoring China's anticipated advent as a new world power.

Influentials assigned a lower priority to countering the threat of North Korean militarism, and saw little probability that communism would end there by the year 2000.

¹ Available from the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press, 1875 Eye St., NW, Washington, DC 20006, 202-293-3126.

One in four Influentials believe Japan's economic power will wane by the year 2000. Much like the public, more than eight in 10 respondents of every group felt Japan was an unfair trading partner with the United States, but all groups opposed, often strongly, any retaliation that would risk a protectionist war. Europe was seen as an unfair trading partner by only one in three Influentials, with even less sentiment for retaliation.

For further information, contact Andrew Kohut or Robert Toth at the Times Mirror Center, 202-293-3126.

GREATEST DANGER TO THE U.S.

<i>Q.8 Country which represents greatest danger to the U.S.:</i>	<i>SAMPLE GROUPS (%)</i>								
	<i>Media</i>	<i>Busi- ness</i>	<i>Cult- ural</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	<i>Secur- ity</i>	<i>State & Local Gov.t</i>	<i>Aca- demics</i>	<i>Reli- gion</i>	<i>Science/ Eng.s</i>
<i>Asia</i>									
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
<i>Middle East</i>									
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
<i>Former Soviet Union</i>									
Former Soviet Union	4	12	3	7	6	6	8	*	5
Russia	4	6	*	6	16	4	5	*	2
Ukraine	1	3	*	1	1	*	*	*	*

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

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

SCIENTISTS/ MEDIA	NEWS	BUSINESS/ FINANCE	FOREIGN		STATE/LOCAL	THINK TANKS/		RELIGION	ENGINEERS
	<u>MEDIA</u>	<u>FINANCE</u>	<u>CULTURAL</u>	<u>AFFAIRS</u>	<u>SECURITY</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>ACADEMICS</u>		
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.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)

SCIENTISTS/ a. Russian efforts to restore parts of the old Soviet empire	NEWS	BUSINESS/ FINANCE	CULTURAL	FOREIGN AFFAIRS	SECURITY	STATE/LOCAL GOVERNMENT	THINK TANKS/ ACADEMICS	RELIGION	ENGINEERS
	<u>MEDIA</u>	<u>FINANCE</u>	<u>CULTURAL</u>	<u>AFFAIRS</u>	<u>SECURITY</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>ACADEMICS</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>ENGINEERS</u>
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	<u>3</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
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	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
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	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>*</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
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	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</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?

SCIENTISTS/ MEDIA	NEWS	BUSINESS/ FINANCE	CULTURAL	FOREIGN AFFAIRS	SECURITY	STATE/LOCAL GOVERNMENT	THINK TANKS/ ACADEMICS	RELIGION	ENGINEERS
	Yes	35	6	34	33	31	22	38	45
No	61	94	53	56	59	67	60	45	59
Other (VOL)	4	*	8	10	7	7	1	4	3
Don't know	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

SCIENTISTS/ MEDIA	NEWS	BUSINESS/ FINANCE	CULTURAL	FOREIGN AFFAIRS	SECURITY	STATE/LOCAL GOVERNMENT	THINK TANKS/ ACADEMICS	RELIGION	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	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
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	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
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	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>

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

SCIENTISTS/ Increased above the current 39,000-man level	NEWS	BUSINESS/	FOREIGN		STATE/LOCAL	THINK TANKS/			
	<u>MEDIA</u>	<u>FINANCE</u>	<u>CULTURAL</u>	<u>AFFAIRS</u>	<u>SECURITY</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>ACADEMICS</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>ENGINEERS</u>
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	<u>3</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>2</u> 100

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:

SCIENTISTS/ Europe	NEWS	BUSINESS/	FOREIGN		STATE/LOCAL	THINK TANKS/			
	<u>MEDIA</u>	<u>FINANCE</u>	<u>CULTURAL</u>	<u>AFFAIRS</u>	<u>SECURITY</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>ACADEMICS</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>ENGINEERS</u>
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)	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100

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

SCIENTISTS/	NEWS	BUSINESS/		FOREIGN		STATE/LOCAL	THINK TANKS/		
	<u>MEDIA</u>	<u>FINANCE</u>	<u>CULTURAL</u>	<u>AFFAIRS</u>	<u>SECURITY</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>ACADEMICS</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>ENGINEERS</u>
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	<u>*</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100	<u>*</u> 100

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

SCIENTISTS/ /	NEWS	BUSINESS/	FOREIGN			STATE/LOCAL	THINK TANKS/		
	<u>MEDIA</u>	<u>FINANCE</u>	<u>CULTURAL</u>	<u>AFFAIRS</u>	<u>SECURITY</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>ACADEMICS</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>ENGINEERS</u>
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)	<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>1 100</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?

SCIENTISTS/ /	NEWS	BUSINESS/	FOREIGN			STATE/LOCAL	THINK TANKS/		
	<u>MEDIA</u>	<u>FINANCE</u>	<u>CULTURAL</u>	<u>AFFAIRS</u>	<u>SECURITY</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>ACADEMICS</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>ENGINEERS</u>
Yes	25	36	27	28	18	28	21	30	21
No	62	49	49	61	62	62	60	51	55
Don't know/Refused	<u>3 90</u>	<u>6 91</u>	<u>5 81</u>	<u>* 89</u>	<u>1 81</u>	<u>4 94</u>	<u>1 82</u>	<u>2 83</u>	<u>3 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?

SCIENTISTS/ /	NEWS	BUSINESS/	FOREIGN			STATE/LOCAL	THINK TANKS/		
	<u>MEDIA</u>	<u>FINANCE</u>	<u>CULTURAL</u>	<u>AFFAIRS</u>	<u>SECURITY</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>ACADEMICS</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>ENGINEERS</u>
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)	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{*}{100}$	$\frac{2}{100}$
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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?

SCIENTISTS/	NEWS	BUSINESS/	FOREIGN	STATE/LOCAL	THINK TANKS/				
	<u>MEDIA</u>	<u>FINANCE</u>	<u>CULTURAL</u>	<u>AFFAIRS</u>	<u>SECURITY</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>ACADEMICS</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>ENGINEERS</u>
Yes	10	12	6	9	7	4	3	6	3
No	35	38	19	36	41	23	18	19	16
Don't know/Refused	$\frac{1}{46}$	$\frac{1}{51}$	$\frac{*}{25}$	$\frac{3}{48}$	$\frac{*}{48}$	$\frac{2}{29}$	$\frac{*}{21}$	$\frac{*}{25}$	$\frac{1}{20}$

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 GENERAL PUBLIC
 TOPLINE
 September 9-15, 1993
 N=2000

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

	<u>Sept.</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>March</u> <u>1990</u>	
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.16² 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:

	<u>TOP</u> <u>PRIORITY</u>	<u>A</u> <u>PRIORITY</u>	<u>NO</u> <u>PRIORITY</u>	<u>DK</u>
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

² 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.

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

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 Don't know/Refused
 100

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

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- Approve</u>	<u>DK</u>	
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.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
 100

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

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