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**PUBLIC OPINION OF THE UN:**  
**STRONG SUPPORT, STRONG CRITICISM**

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## **PUBLIC OPINION OF THE UN: STRONG SUPPORT, STRONG CRITICISM**

Despite signs of growing isolationism in the United States, Americans as a whole continue to express strong support for the United Nations. To a public increasingly pre-occupied with domestic concerns, the United Nations is seen as a means of carrying the burdens and sharing the costs of global leadership. The world organization is most prized for providing a forum for dialogue between states and for dealing with global problems. But it is most harshly criticized for its poor record of accomplishments. Americans are also under the impression that the U.S. pays more than its fair share of UN costs.

These are the principal findings of a nationwide survey by the Times Mirror Center to measure attitudes toward the United Nations on the eve of its 50th anniversary, as well as toward U.S. foreign policy priorities and interests in the post-Cold War world. As it said loud and clear two years ago in a comparable poll<sup>1</sup>, the public wants U.S. foreign policy to service its domestic agenda. Its insistence on protecting U.S. jobs and strengthening the American economy may have abated marginally, but traditional foreign policy concerns such as helping democracy succeed in Russia and altruistic activities such as promoting democracy abroad clearly are viewed as low priorities.

On balance, Americans remain internationalists not isolationists, but today a greater percentage of the public believes the U.S. should mind its own business and let other countries go their own way. While this remains a minority sentiment, the broader question is what the public as a whole is willing to pay or sacrifice for the sake of global cooperation. The percentage of Americans willing to spend *more* for a wide range of UN activities is sharply lower than at the end of the 1980's. Further, the public remains very cautious about seeing U.S. military forces participate in multinational peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts.

The challenge of sustaining public support for *any* foreign policy in this unsettled environment is considerable. Bosnia is a clear case in point. Attitudes toward the Administration's foreign policy performance are more affected by public perceptions of its Bosnia policy than any other international issue. And as the Balkan war attracted more American attention than at any time over the past three years, support for the administration's foreign policy slipped significantly.

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<sup>1</sup>"America's Place in the World," Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, November, 1993, Washington DC.

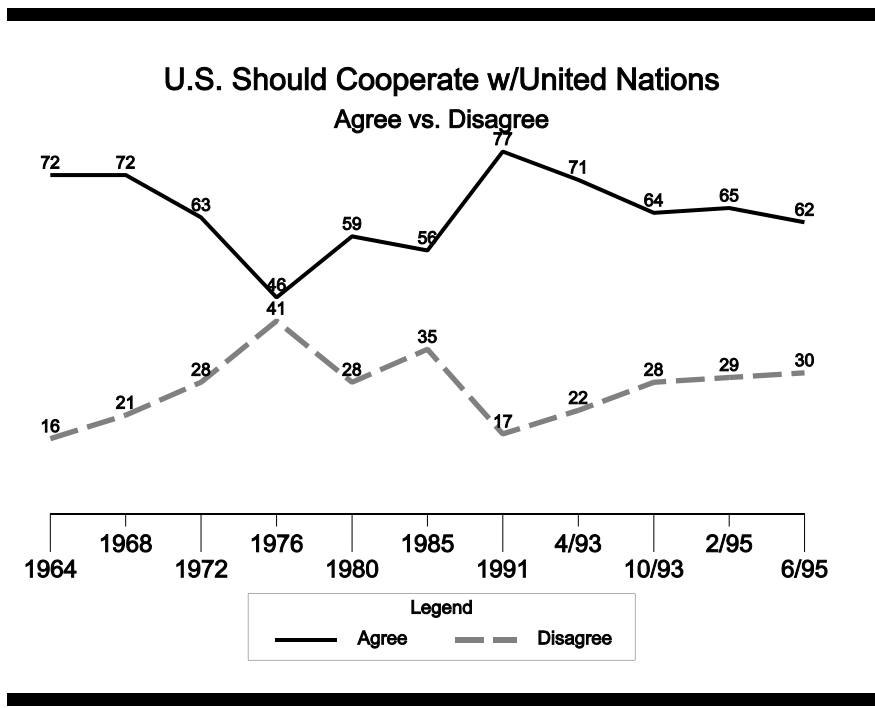
Incongruously, this disapproval has risen despite the fact that the public for the most part agrees with the substance of administration policy. The disconnect is further underscored by the fact that Americans who are the least interventionist and least sympathetic to the plight of the Bosnians offer the same critical judgments of the Administration as those who are most interventionist and take sides in the dispute.

In effect, unhappiness with Bill Clinton over Bosnia seems more a consequence of its prominence on the national agenda than a response to his specific courses of action.

### ***Strong Support for United Nations***

A favorable attitude toward the United Nations was held by a two-thirds majority of respondents: 14% said "very favorable," 53% said "mostly favorable." This is appreciably higher than the public rated the U.S. Congress (53% "very" and "mostly" favorable), the U.S. Court system (43%), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (61%). The poll also found nearly two out of three Americans (62%) want the United States to cooperate fully with the international body. These opinion measures have fluctuated over the years. Favorability has been more volatile in the short term: four months ago, it was 62% (February, 1995), while a year ago it was 76% (July, 1994). On whether to cooperate fully, opinion has been essentially flat for two years, before which it was as high as 77% in 1991 in the wake of the Persian Gulf War, and as low as 46% in the post-Vietnam doldrums of 1976.

There remains a hard core of opposition to the United Nations in the American public, however, and it appears to be growing rather than shrinking. Fully 28% said they had a mostly or very unfavorable opinion of the world organization, for example, its highest level in four years. A similar 30% disagree that the U.S. should cooperate fully with the UN. The survey suggests that at least over the past year opinion of the UN has become more politicized. In the last 12 months, favorable opinions of the UN fell most sharply among men, Republicans and Independents and among regular talk radio listeners (See Table on pp. 17-18).



*Analysis of news coverage of the UN gives no indication that traditional U.S. media are hostile to the world organization or to the American role in the UN. As described in greater detail below, the tone of the coverage (if any) is internationalist and multilateral in print and network stories examined over a two-month period (See section beginning on p.14).*

Americans who like the UN do so because they feel that it brings nations together, helps maintain world peace, helps countries in need of assistance and deals with global concerns. Those who dislike it are primarily critical of UN ineffectiveness, and secondarily critical of its costs to the U.S. When asked what kind of job the United Nations is doing overall, a 54% majority gave it low marks - 39% rated it only fair and 15% poor, while 42% said excellent (5%) or good (37%). Almost everyone who has an unfavorable view of the UN gives it a poor performance rating, but so do 42% of those who think favorably of the institution.

**OPINION OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
<u>OPINION OF UN PERFORMANCE:</u>		
Excellent/Good	57	11
Fair/Poor	42	85
Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100

Seeing the UN as ineffective is not a new attitude. Surveys by Gallup and Roper in 1974, and 1989, respectively, found the public similarly divided on UN performance then. Only during the Gulf war crisis did it receive a positive performance rating (in a CBS /NYT poll).

**TREND IN OPINION OF UNITED NATIONS**

	Gallup <u>1974</u>	Roper <u>1989</u>	---CBS/NYT---	
			<u>1991</u>	<u>1995</u>
<u>UNITED NATIONS DOES A:</u>				
Good job	41	38	67	42
Poor job	38	29	24	46
Don't know/Refused	<u>21</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100

Public perceptions of America's role in the world also play a significant part in how the public feels about the UN. Those who feel that the U.S. should play *no* leadership role in the world and those who feel it should be *the* single world leader both view the UN less favorably than those who think the U.S. should play a *shared* leadership role in the world.

**UNITED STATES ROLE SHOULD BE ...**

	Single World <u>Leader</u>	Shared Leadership <u>Role</u>	No Leadership <u>Role</u>
<b><u>OPINION OF UNITED NATIONS:</u></b>			
Favorable	63	<b>71</b>	51
Unfavorable	34	25	43
Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100

The public is generally pleased with the leadership role that the U.S. now plays within the UN: 57% say it is "about right", while much smaller percentages feel the role is too great or too small (19% and 18%, respectively). But a strong majority of 60% complained that the United States pays "more than its fair share" for UN activities, while only 4% said it pays less than its fair share.

In an effort to determine which of its most visible activities drew praise and criticism, respondents were asked to rate the UN's performance as a forum for peaceful resolution of conflicts, as a peace-making organization, and as a peace-keeping organization. It received negative grades for all. As a forum, 53% rated it fair (42%) or poor (11%). In its efforts at "restoring law and order in parts of the world where it has broken down," an overwhelming 69% said only fair (45%) or poor (24%). And in "keeping the peace in world trouble spots when it has sent in troops," 63% rated the UN only fair (42%) or poor (21%). These latter two results suggest the American public does not see much distinction between the UN's peace-making and peace-keeping missions, and is disappointed about both.

***Wary Of Peacekeeping***

The public is also dubious about using U.S. forces as part of UN peacekeeping or peacemaking operations. A strong majority of 63% approved the dispatch of "UN forces, including some U.S. military forces," for famine relief in Asia or Africa; and only a bare majority (52%) approved such a UN force, including Americans, "to prevent slaughters" in regional conflicts. But majorities did not approve of sending such a force "to Asian or African countries to restore law and order if the governments completely break down:" 47% approved, 46% disapproved. And it was similarly wary of sending such a force "to keep the peace when two sides in a conflict have called a truce:" 46% approved, 47% disapproved.

Of the many UN activities around the world, most support from the U.S. public went to programs to stop disease and improve health care around the world. Fully 50% of respondents

said *more* U.S. money should go to this mission, down only insignificantly from 53% in 1989.<sup>2</sup> But the poll found erosion of increased financial support for all of the other UN activities measured in this respect. Most striking was the reduced backing for more money to "bring peace to regional conflicts:" 22% said this mission should get more money, down sharply from 46% in 1989; 21% said it should get less money, up from 11% six years ago. Similar but less precipitous drops in support for funds were expressed for monitoring human rights violations, for disaster relief, for economic assistance to poorer nations, for protecting the environment, and for slowing population growth via birth control.

The trend in opinion regarding funds for the UN is comparable to public opinion about government spending generally. Americans are less inclined to spend more money on a wide range of problems, but they *do not* particularly want to see less money spent either. This is the case for each of the seven UN programs areas tested in the poll.

<b>FUNDING FOR THE UNITED NATIONS</b>				
	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Right</u>	<u>Don't</u>
	<u>Money</u>	<u>Money</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Know</u>
Help poorer countries to develop their economies				
June 1995	23	21	44	12
March 1989	40	15	35	10
Stop disease and improve healthcare around the world				
June 1995	50	8	34	8
March 1989	53	8	28	11
Slow population growth by providing birth control information and devices				
June 1995	38	19	31	12
March 1989	48	11	30	12
Improve and protect the environment				
June 1995	43	13	35	9
March 1989	58	6	26	10
Bring peace to regional conflicts				
June 1995	22	21	45	12
March 1989	46	11	31	11
Monitor violations of human rights around the world				
June 1995	24	19	44	13
March 1989	45	12	31	12
Provide relief to victims of disaster				
June 1995	35	11	48	6
March 1989	53	6	32	9

<sup>2</sup>United Nations Association poll, March, 1989.

### ***Bosnia, The Use of Force, and the Clinton Administration***

Attentiveness to news of the Balkan civil war doubled in June to about its highest level since the start of the conflict three years ago, with 22% of respondents saying they followed the events "very closely."<sup>3</sup> Increased public knowledge and concern for Bosnia was found at the same time. More Americans than in past surveys knew the combatants, and a greater percentage expressed sympathies with the Bosnian side in the conflict. All were presumably spurred by the downing and rescue of U.S. F-16 pilot Scott O'Grady.

Nonetheless, views about U.S. involvement there were largely unchanged. A strong majority (61%) continued to oppose the use of U.S. military forces to help end the fighting there, a rise from 55% a year earlier. A larger majority of 64% said the United States does **not** have a responsibility to do something about the fighting there. But 58% said the United Nations **does** have such a responsibility (in a CBS/New York Times survey June 4-6). Having in effect turned over the job of ending the fighting to the UN, Americans then said they would come to the aid of UN peacekeepers when and if they encounter trouble. Fully 71% of the public would commit U.S. forces to help if the peacekeepers come under attack there, and 65% favor use of U.S. forces to help the peacekeepers move to safer places in Bosnia.

Although the public echoed the major policy positions of the Clinton Administration, on balance Americans said they disapproved of Bill Clinton's handling of Bosnia by a 46% to 39% margin. At the same time, public disapproval of "the way Bill Clinton is handling the "nation's foreign policy" overall increased to 52% and approval fell to 39%. Remarkably, the decline in support for the President on this measure came more from his own supporters than from those who generally dislike him or did not vote for him (See Table on pp. 19-20). In this connection, it should be noted that core Democratic groups do not give the Administration as much support on foreign policy generally, and on Bosnia, specifically, as they do on domestic issues.

### ***It's Not The Policy... It's Bosnia***

Further, criticisms of Clinton's handling of Bosnia appear unrelated to how people feel about that particular conflict. Americans who are pro-interventionist or sympathize with the Bosnians do not judge the Administration much differently than those who favor a hands off policy or take no sides (See Table on p. 21). Yet analysis of the survey indicates that the attitude toward Clinton's policies on Bosnia is a stronger correlate of overall assessments of the Administration's foreign policy than all other specific evaluations of Bill Clinton's foreign policy.

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<sup>3</sup> Medicare Debate Gets More Attention than Bosnia, Dole on Hollywood, and even OJ," June 15, 1995, Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, Washington, DC.



In other foreign policy areas, the public is still essentially split on the President's dispatch of troops to Haiti last September. It disapproved of the administration's financial aid to Russia, 54% to 36% approved. And it strongly disapproved his executive order granting loan guarantees to Mexico, 60% to 21% approve. The only international move he had made recently that won strong approval was the decision to impose tariffs on Japanese luxury cars, 61% to 25% disapprove.

These findings imply that the public is less swayed by the Administration's use of military force than by whether they think American interests are paramount in Clinton's policies. When asked directly, a plurality of Americans think Clinton makes the right decisions about military force (43%). Others split evenly on whether Clinton is too quick or too slow to use military forces (23% each). On the other hand, a plurality (42%) said Clinton does not push U.S. interests hard enough (42%) vs. 12% who think he pushed them too hard and 39% who feel they are appropriately addressed. It is striking that the public's views about the Bosnian conflict itself are less an indicator of attitudes toward Clinton's policy there than are the public's views about whether he generally pushes American interests hard enough.

The public expresses no greater confidence in the abilities of Clinton's principal political critics. About as many express at least some confidence in Clinton's foreign policy abilities (51%) as feel that way about Bob Dole (52%), and appreciably fewer (36%) have confidence in Newt Gingrich to make wise judgments in this area.

### ***Clinton Approval At 50%***

It is also of significance that even though the President's rating for *foreign policy* is in decline, his overall job approval rating, at 50%, is about as high as it has been since early 1994. And his handling of the nation's economy wins as much approval as disapproval (46% each), a significant improvement over that a year ago (38% approval in July, 1994). But Americans appear to be experiencing a sustained cycle of pessimism in national as well as international affairs. Almost three times more respondents said they were dissatisfied as satisfied with the way things are going in the country, 73% vs. 25%. Asked what was the most important problem facing the nation, crime led the list (cited by 22%), followed by family values and morality, unemployment, and the other well-ventilated issues. None were strikingly more pronounced than in previous polls, although the total of responses dealing with defense and international issues was significantly increased to 9% vs. 2% two months ago.

America's most important international problem, respondents said, was Bosnia: 18% cited the issue, more than double the 7% of two years ago. There was increased concern, too,

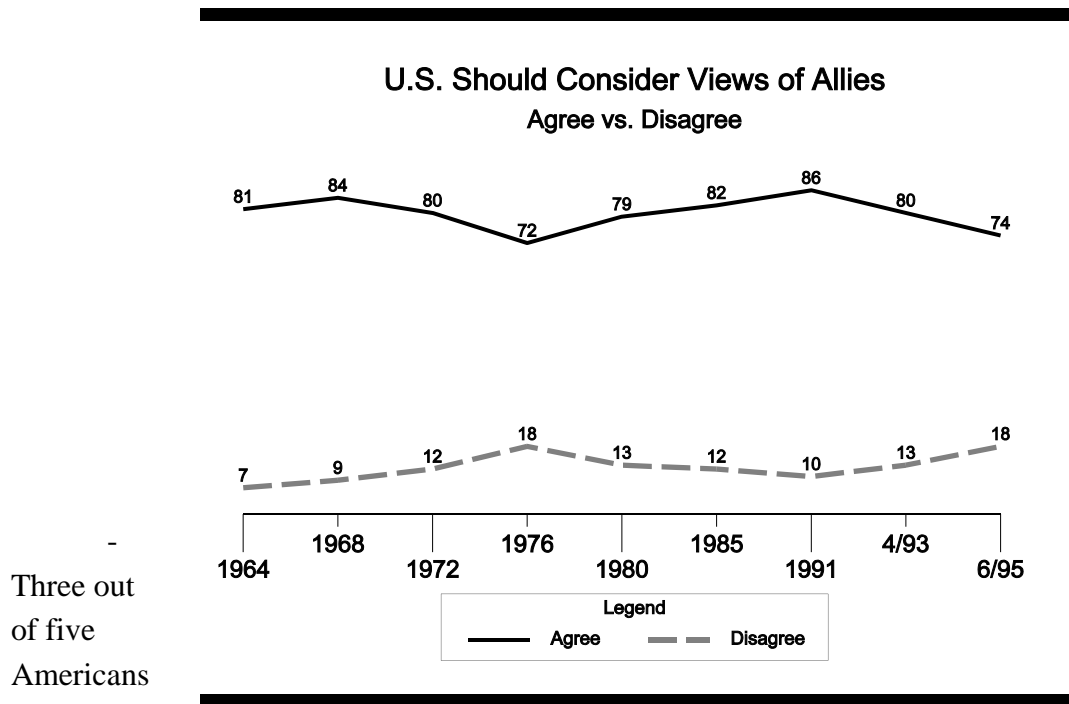
about trade issues and about various wars and ethnic conflicts around the globe compared to September, 1993. The most noticeable change was the rise in mentions of the U.S. leadership role, from 12% two years ago to 30% now. Only slightly less so was the drop in mentions of the need for maintaining peace in the world, from 31% two years ago to 16% now.

The survey found hints of a slightly increased sentiment for the United States to take a greater leadership role in the world. While the rise in respondents who want the U.S. to be the single world leader, from 10% two years ago to 13% now, is not statistically significant, the proportion favoring the U.S. in a shared leadership role dropped significantly from 81% to 74%. Those who wanted the U.S. to be no more or less active than other leading nations also fell somewhat from 52% to 47%.

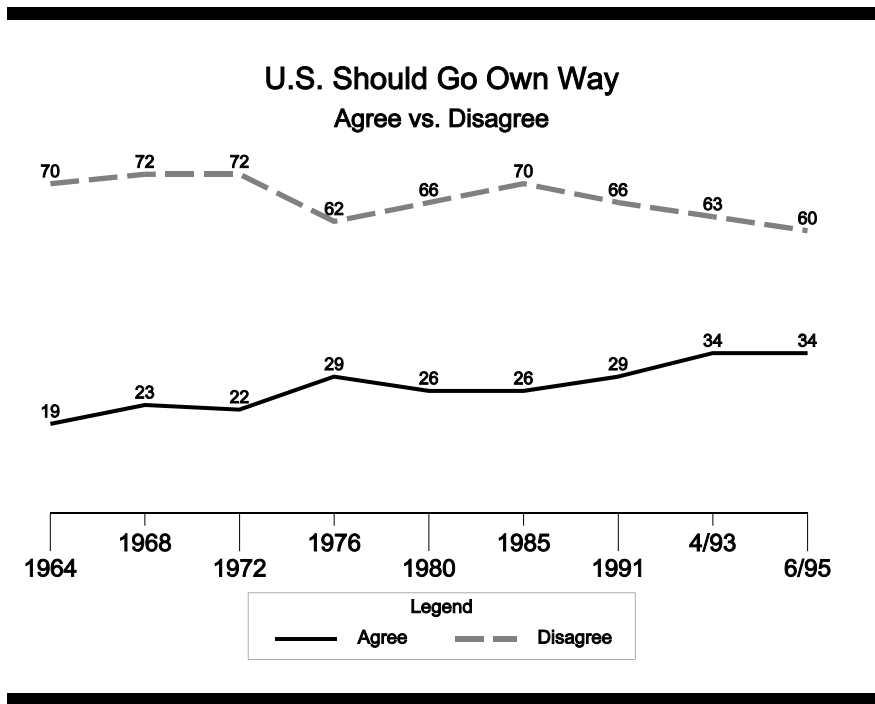
**More Isolationists**

The trend toward isolationism was more pronounced in various measures, although in most of them, strong majorities remained internationalist in their orientation:

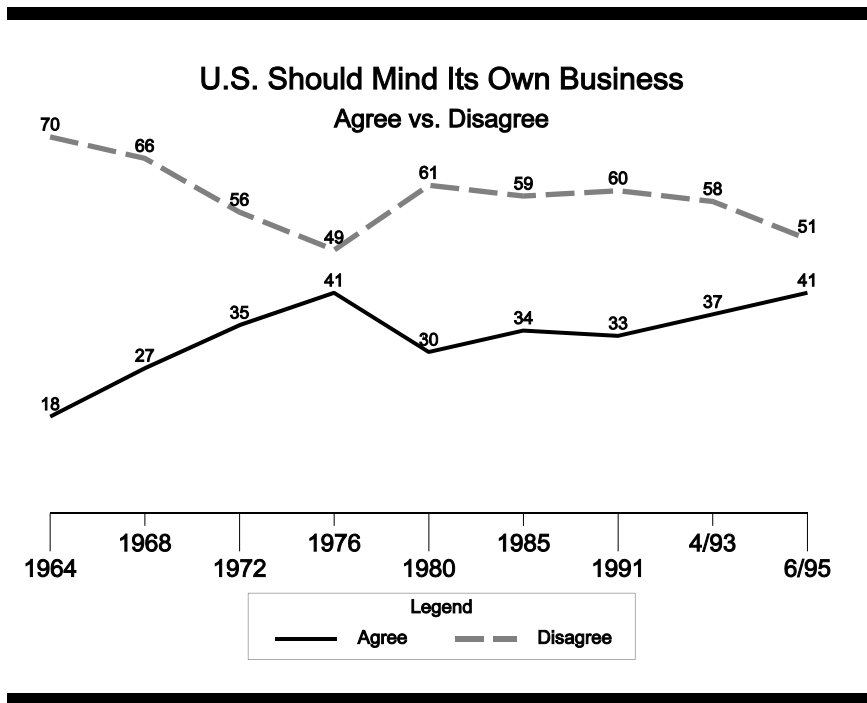
- Almost three out of four Americans (74%) agreed that in its foreign policy decisions, the United States "should take into account the views of its major allies." This is a drop from 86% who agreed in 1991 (amid the Persian Gulf War), however, and virtually the same as in 1976 when 72% agreed. The decrease was most pronounced among respondents 50 to 64 years old and those living in the Western U.S.



(60%) did not believe the U.S. "should go its own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other nations agree with it or not," while 34% supported a go-it-alone approach. Whether the question measures multilateral sentiment as much as internationalist sentiment, this is the lowest level of opposition to going-it-alone sentiment in polls stretching over the past 30 years; highest was 72% recorded in both 1972 and 1968 amid the Vietnam War.



- Barely half (51%) did not agree that the U.S. "should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own." Again, this is virtually the lowest level of opposition to this attitude in thirty years, statistically the same as 49% registered in 1976. Fully 41% agreed with the attitude in the current poll, the highest level of agreement (and the same as in 1976).



These public attitudes on specific questions are consistent with the public's views of the broader foreign policy **problems** facing the United States and its agenda of long-range foreign policy **goals** for the country. Compared to two years ago, six of seven foreign problems receive a lower priority now. The exception is the Bosnian war, with 32% giving it a top priority now vs. 22% in 1993. Nevertheless, the ranking of these problems remains essentially unchanged since then. Less change in the prioritizing of American foreign policy goals was found, although here, too, the ranking of these goals remain essentially the same.

Top priority among 10 goals went to protecting American jobs, according to 80% of respondents; this was down from 85% in 1993. Second was preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction (68%). Third was insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S. (59%). Fourth was improving the global environment (56%). Then came strengthening the United Nations (36%, down from 41%), aiding U.S. business interests abroad (26%), promoting human rights (21%), protecting weaker nations against aggression (also 21%), promoting democracy (16%, down from 22%) and helping improve the living standard in developing nations (also 16%, down from 19%).

**FOREIGN POLICY GOALS**  
**The Public's View**

<u>TOP GOALS:</u>	% Who Say Top Priority	
	<u>Sept 1993</u>	<u>June 1995</u>
Protecting the jobs of American workers	85	80
Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction	69	68
Insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S.	60	59
Improving the global environment	56	56
Strengthening the United Nations	41	36
Aiding the interests of U.S. business abroad	27	26
Promoting and defending human rights in other countries	22	21
Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression	17	21
Helping improve the living standard in developing nations	19	16
Promoting democracy in other nations	22	16

Top priority among international problems should be given to stopping drug trafficking, according to 75% of respondents now, down from 82% two years ago. A close second was reducing the threat of international terrorism (71%), followed by strengthening the domestic economy in order to improve the U.S. international position (67%, compared to 71% in 1993). Fourth was stopping illegal immigration (61%), and fifth was protecting the global environment (55%, down from 63%). Other problems in their descending priority were better managing trade and economic disputes with Japan (40%), ending the Bosnian war (32%), helping Mexico become more stable politically and economically (16%), and insuring democracy succeeds in Russia and the other former Soviet states (14%, down from 23% two years ago).

### FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

#### The Public's View

<u>TOP PRIORITIES</u>	% Who Say Top Priority	
	<u>Sept 1993</u>	<u>June 1995</u>
Stopping international drug trafficking	82	75
Reducing the threat of international terrorism	-	71
Strengthening our domestic economy to improve the U.S. international position	71	67
Stopping illegal immigration into this country	65	61
Protecting the global environment	63	55
Better managing our trade and economic disputes with Japan	48	40
Ending the warfare in Bosnia (former Yugoslavia)	22	32
Helping Mexico become more stable politically and economically	-	16
Insuring democracy succeeds in Russia and the other former Soviet states	23	14

## ***CONTENT ANALYSIS OF UN MEDIA COVERAGE***

The Times Mirror Center has begun a content analysis of foreign and international news in selective media outlets, ranging from the traditional newspapers to talk radio. Only two months of stories, in March and April, 1995, have been analyzed so far. Some preliminary results regarding print and broadcast coverage of United Nations affairs are available, but conclusions are necessarily general and tentative because of the short time period and relatively few stories that were examined so far.

We found that the traditional American media -- The New York Times and eight quality regional newspapers, and the ABC World News Tonight and two CNN news programs -- are not hostile to the United Nations nor to the American role in the world organization. The overwhelming majority of newspaper articles and television stories regarding the United Nations had no discernible tone. But of those in which the number of comments, quotes, references and innuendo leaned in one direction or another by a margin of more than two to one<sup>4</sup>, the U.S. media were far more internationalist (than isolationist), interventionist (than hands-off), and multilateralist (than unilateralist) in their coverage. This emphasis was true of UN stories dealing primarily with Bosnia as well. Television reports about the UN were more often internationalist, interventionist and multilateralist in tone than were print stories which were more often neutral in this respect.

Overall, three times more stories on international affairs dealt with conflict (28%) rather than cooperation (9%) among states and parties. Television was much more inclined to conflict subjects compared to newspapers. Of stories related to the United Nations, 35% dealt with conflict, 10% with cooperation. Of UN stories related primarily to Bosnia, 55% dealt with conflict, 7% with cooperation.

The New York Times carried by far the most stories about foreign events as well as about the United Nations and Bosnia. Twice as many stories appeared in its pages than in the regional

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<sup>4</sup>Tone does not necessarily mean an article was biased or opinionated. A news report that objectively describes a situation but uses twice as many negative than positive comments, quotes and references is judged to have a negative tone, and vice versa. Editorials and Commentary/Op Ed pieces were excluded in this analysis of tone.

A brief description of the methodology used in the project is found at the end of this report. More details on methods as well as on the content analysis project itself are available from the Times Mirror Center on request.

newspapers;<sup>5</sup> most stories in these local papers were under 500 words in length, while those in the Times were longer for the most part. The Times volume of 1,556 stories was roughly 14 times greater than the 114 pieces on ABC programs. The number of CNN stories on foreign affairs was comparable or greater than ABC, but our examination does not permit a more detailed comparison because coverage of the O.J. Simpson trial often interfered with CNN international news programming. Surprisingly, the Christian Broadcast Network (CBN, run by sometime politician and preacher Pat Robertson) carried 96 stories, only slightly fewer than ABC.

The Times Mirror project also examined the international stories on a local television news program and on two talk radio shows. The local Philadelphia television program carried only four foreign stories in two months, suggesting that local TV news has abdicated coverage of foreign affairs to the networks. Neither Rush Limbaugh, the other radio talk show monitored, nor C-SPAN carried significant material on the United Nations.

The United Nations was the major or secondary subject in 7% of all foreign affairs articles examined. The New York Times carried 117 stories related to the UN during the two month period studied. ABC carried eight. CBN carried five. Bosnia was the primary subject of UN-related coverage, accounting for 30% of the articles. Of U.N. stories dealing with Bosnia, 55% were in the NYTimes and 31% in regional newspapers. ABC's coverage accounted for 7%. CBN ignored Bosnia during the period. Iraqi sanctions was the second major subject of the period, and coverage followed a similar pattern as Bosnia. Somalia and nuclear non-proliferation accounted for most of the rest.

The main topic of UN stories was peacekeeping (21%), followed by politics (18%), economics (15%), national security issues (13%), law (10%) and human rights (6%). Those on Bosnia were mostly political (27%), national security (26%), peacekeeping (20%), law (10%) and human rights (4%).

*A full report on the Times Mirror Content Analysis Project, covering a longer period and including the results of monitoring articles about Russia and Mexico as well as the UN, will be released in the fall.*

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<sup>5</sup>Of the eight newspapers, two were monitored daily via a rotation system. The newspapers are: the Buffalo News, the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer, Denver's Rocky Mountain News, the Hartford Courant, the Houston Chronicle, the Miami Herald, the San Francisco Chronicle, and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.



# **TABLES**

**Attitudes Toward the United Nations**  
**July 1994 vs. June 1995**

	<i>July 1994</i>		<i>June 1995</i>		<i>Change in Favorability</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>		
<b><i>Total</i></b>	76	20	66	28	-10	(1500)
<b><i>Sex</i></b>						
Male	75	23	60	36	-15	(750)
Female	78	17	72	20	-6	(750)
<b><i>Race</i></b>						
White	77	20	68	27	-9	(1232)
Non-White	75	18	61	31	-14	(255)
<b><i>Age</i></b>						
Under 30	81	17	73	23	-8	(313)
30-49	79	18	70	27	-9	(651)
50-64	76	20	64	30	-12	(268)
65+	65	26	56	31	-9	(252)
<b><i>Education</i></b>						
College Grad.	77	21	66	31	-11	(426)
Some College	79	19	68	29	-11	(381)
High School Grad.	77	19	68	26	-9	(540)
<H.S. Grad.	70	21	63	26	-7	(146)
<b><i>Family Income</i></b>						
\$50,000+	76	22	67	31	-9	(399)
\$30,000-\$49,999	81	17	69	27	-12	(365)
\$20,000-\$29,999	77	20	70	24	-7	(251)
<\$20,000	73	20	68	26	-5	(330)
<b><i>Region</i></b>						
East	81	17	65	29	-16	(309)
Midwest	76	19	66	27	-10	(369)
South	75	21	66	29	-9	(512)
West	76	20	69	25	-7	(310)
<b><i>Party ID</i></b>						
Republican	74	23	63	32	-11	(463)
Democrat	81	14	75	19	-6	(426)
Independent	76	22	66	30	-10	(532)

	<i>July 1994</i>		<i>June 1995</i>		<i>Change in Favorability</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>		
<i>1992 Vote</i>						
Bush	72	25	56	40	-16	(362)
Clinton	80	16	72	23	-8	(439)
Perot	75	22	66	30	-9	(153)
<i>Presidential Approval</i>						
Approve	85	12	74	22	-11	(753)
Disapprove	68	28	60	36	-8	(618)
Don't Know	79	12	57	25	-22	(129)
<i>Listens to Talk Radio</i>						
Regularly	68	30	51	42	-17	(250)
Sometimes	79	18	70	26	-9	(414)
Rarely/Never	78	17	69	25	-9	(829)

## Trend In Clinton Foreign Policy Approval

	<i>October 1994</i>		<i>June 1995</i>		<i>Difference In Approval</i>
	<i><u>Approve</u></i>	<i><u>Disapprove</u></i>	<i><u>Approve</u></i>	<i><u>Disapprove</u></i>	
<b><i>Total</i></b>	50	42	39	52	-11
<b><i>Sex</i></b>					
Male	49	46	39	56	-10
Female	51	40	40	48	-11
<b><i>Race</i></b>					
White	48	44	39	53	-9
Non-white	60	32	45	43	-15
<b><i>Age</i></b>					
Under 30	48	46	45	43	-3
30-49	53	41	40	53	-13
50-64	48	45	40	51	-8
65+	49	38	31	59	-18
<b><i>Education</i></b>					
College Grad.	53	44	39	56	-14
Some College	47	47	38	54	-9
High School Grad.	48	42	42	47	-6
< H.S. grad.	55	36	35	54	-20
<b><i>Family Income</i></b>					
\$50,000+	49	47	42	54	-7
\$30,000-\$49,999	51	43	38	55	-13
\$20,000-\$29,999	52	44	42	47	-10
< \$20,000	50	38	41	48	-9
<b><i>Region</i></b>					
East	56	39	40	52	-16
Midwest	48	45	42	48	-6
South	49	42	39	52	-10
West	48	44	37	55	-11
<b><i>Party ID</i></b>					
Republican	32	61	22	72	-10
Democrat	71	21	57	35	-14
Independent	47	46	42	50	-5
<b><i>1992 Vote</i></b>					
Bush	25	72	20	74	-5
Clinton	75	20	58	33	-17
Perot	37	55	35	58	-2

*Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the nation's foreign policy?*

	<i>October 1994</i>		<i>June 1995</i>		<i>Difference</i>
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>In Approval</u>
<i>Presidential Approval</i>					
Approve	80	16	61	32	-19
Disapprove	26	69	16	78	-10
No Opinion	44	28	28	44	-16
<i>Listens To Talk Radio</i>					
Regularly	41	55	28	66	-13
Sometimes	47	45	46	48	-1
Rarely/Never	54	38	40	50	-14

## OPINION ABOUT BOSNIA

	<i>View of Clinton's Handling of Bosnia:</i>			<i>N</i>
	<i>Approve</i>	<i>Disapprove</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>	
<b>Total</b>	39%	46%	15%=100	(1500)
 <b><i>Q.14 View of how Clinton pushes American interests:</i></b>				
Too Hard	26	<b>66</b>	8=100	(174)
Not Hard Enough	32	<b>58</b>	10=100	(642)
About Right	<b>56</b>	29	15=100	(584)
Don't Know	14	37	49=100	(100)
 <b><i>Q.18d Priority of ending warfare in Bosnia:</i></b>				
Top Priority	41	41	18=100	(225)
A Priority (not Top)	45	45	10=100	(328)
No Priority	35	55	10=100	(175)
Don't Know	22	35	43=100	(25)
 <b><i>Q.29 Side most sympathetic to in conflict in former Yugoslavia:</i></b>				
Bosnians	47	45	8=100	(646)
Serbs	42	51	7=100	(141)
Neither (vol.)	33	57	10=100	(303)
Don't Know	31	39	30=100	(410)

**U.S. Should Take Into Account Views Of Major Allies**  
**(Percent Who AGREE)**

	<u>April '93</u>	<u>June '95</u>	<u>Change</u>
<b>Total</b>	80	74	-6
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	85	81	-4
Female	76	69	-7
<b>Race</b>			
White	81	76	-5
Non-White	76	73	-3
<b>Age</b>			
18-29	82	80	-2
30-49	85	80	-5
50-64	81	68	-13
65+	68	61	-7
<b>Education</b>			
College Grad.	87	84	-3
Some College	87	81	-6
High School Grad.	79	72	-7
< H.S. Grad.	68	59	-9
<b>Income</b>			
\$50,000+	88	83	-5
\$30,000-\$49,999	87	80	-7
\$20,000-\$29,999	82	77	-5
<\$20,000	72	67	-5
<b>Region</b>			
East	84	77	-7
Midwest	76	78	+2
South	79	72	-7
West	84	72	-12
<b>Party ID</b>			
Republican	83	81	-2
Democrat	79	73	-6
Independent	83	79	-4

*Question:*

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies.

**U.S. Should Go Its Own Way In International Matters**  
**(Percent Who DISAGREE)**

	<u>April '93</u>	<u>June '95</u>	<u>Change</u>
<b>Total</b>	63	60	-3
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	69	64	-5
Female	57	56	-1
<b>Race</b>			
White	63	61	-2
Non-White	58	57	-1
<b>Age</b>			
18-29	67	60	-7
30-49	63	65	+2
50-64	63	55	-8
65+	52	54	+2
<b>Education</b>			
College Grad.	81	70	-11
Some College	65	68	+3
High School Grad.	59	56	-3
< H.S. Grad.	46	45	-1
<b>Income</b>			
\$50,000+	75	72	-3
\$30,000-\$49,999	67	61	-6
\$20,000-\$29,999	62	56	-6
<\$20,000	54	51	-3
<b>Region</b>			
East	65	62	-3
Midwest	63	61	-2
South	58	56	-2
West	67	63	-4
<b>Party ID</b>			
Republican	66	60	-6
Democrat	59	64	+5
Independent	65	59	-6

*Question:* Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement:  
 Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not.



**U.S. Should Mind Its Own Business Internationally**  
**(Percent Who DISAGREE)**

	<u>April '93</u>	<u>June '95</u>	<u>Change</u>
<b>Total</b>	58	51	-7
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	60	55	-5
Female	56	48	-8
<b>Race</b>			
White	59	52	-7
Non-White	51	50	-1
<b>Age</b>			
18-29	61	49	-12
30-49	59	56	-3
50-64	61	50	-11
65+	49	46	-3
<b>Education</b>			
College Grad.	74	64	-10
Some College	65	58	-7
High School Grad.	51	48	-3
< H.S. Grad.	43	33	-10
<b>Income</b>			
\$50,000+	66	66	0
\$30,000-\$49,999	63	53	-10
\$20,000-\$29,999	60	48	-12
<\$20,000	50	39	-11
<b>Region</b>			
East	57	53	-4
Midwest	64	58	-6
South	55	47	-8
West	57	50	-7
<b>Party ID</b>			
Republican	66	57	-9
Democrat	50	55	+5
Independent	62	46	-16

*Question:*

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.

# **SURVEY METHODOLOGY**

## ABOUT THIS SURVEY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,007 adults 18 years of age or older, during the period June 2-6, 1995 and a nationwide sample of 1,500 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period June 8-11, 1995. For results based on either total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 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.

## CONTENT ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

The New York Times was monitored daily, as were two of the eight regional papers. ABC's World News Tonight and CNN's Prime News were taped in Washington daily; CNN's International Hour Monday through Friday. CBN News was monitored Monday through Friday, as was the 6 p.m. half-hour news broadcast of WKWY in Philadelphia, an NBC affiliate. C-SPAN's morning call-in shows (cable), the Rush Limbaugh Show (national radio) and WWDB's Susan Bray Show (Philadelphia radio) were examined Monday through Friday, and two hours of Limbaugh and one hour of Bray were selected daily for coding on a rotational basis.

Articles were included if one-third or more of a news story or discussion was related to foreign or international news, except print stories of less than 100 words and television anchor's lead-in of less than 35 seconds (which were considered part of the upcoming report). Positive or negative tone was recorded if the number of positive or negative comments, interpretations or innuendos exceeded a ratio of two to one; if less than two to one, tone was recorded as neutral.

# **THE QUESTIONNAIRES**

**TIMES MIRROR CENTER**  
**U.S. FOREIGN POLICY/UN SURVEY**  
**OMNIBUS TOPLINE**  
**JUNE 2-6, 1995**  
**N=1007**

US-1 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

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

		Feb 1995	Oct 1993	April 1993	1991 <sup>6</sup>	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
62	Agree	65	64	71	77	56	59	46	63	72	72
30	Disagree	29	28	22	17	35	28	41	28	21	16
<u>8</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100

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

				April 1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
74	Agree			80	86	82	79	72	80	84	81
18	Disagree			13	10	12	13	18	12	9	7
<u>8</u> 100	Don't know/Refused			<u>7</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100

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

				April 1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
34	Agree			34	29	26	26	29	22	23	19
60	Disagree			63	66	70	66	62	72	72	70
<u>6</u> 100	Don't know/Refused			<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>8</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100

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<sup>6</sup> All trend data are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research.



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

		April							
		<u>1993</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>
41	Agree	37	33	34	30	41	35	27	18
51	Disagree	58	60	59	61	49	56	66	70
<u>8</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>10</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100

- e. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home

		April							
		<u>1993</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>
78	Agree	79	78	60	61	73	73	60	55
18	Disagree	18	16	34	30	22	20	31	32
<u>4</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100

**ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

US-2 How much confidence do you have in (INSERT ITEM AND ROTATE) to make wise judgments about foreign policy? Would you say that you have a lot of confidence, some confidence, a little confidence or no confidence?

		A				DK/
		<u>Lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
a.	Bill Clinton	16	35	22	22	5
b.	Newt Gingrich	10	26	23	27	14
c.	Bob Dole	15	37	20	16	12

**NOW A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS ...**

US-3 Do you approve or disapprove of sending UN forces, including some U.S. military forces, to Asian or African countries in order to prevent famines and mass starvation?

63 Approve

30 Disapprove

$\frac{7}{100}$  Don't know/Refused

US-4 Do you approve or disapprove of sending UN forces, including some U.S. military forces, to Asian or African countries to restore law and order if the governments completely break down?

47 Approve

46 Disapprove

$\frac{7}{100}$  Don't know/Refused

US-5 Do you approve or disapprove of sending UN forces, including some U.S. military forces, to keep the peace when two sides in a conflict have called a truce?

46 Approve

47 Disapprove

$\frac{7}{100}$  Don't know/Refused

US-6 Do you approve or disapprove of sending UN forces, including some U.S. military forces, to prevent one side from slaughtering the other in a regional conflict?

52 Approve

40 Disapprove

$\frac{8}{100}$  Don't know/Refused

**TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS**  
**FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONNAIRE**  
**-- FINAL TOPLINE --**  
**June 8 - 11, 1995**  
**N=1,500**

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]**

		April 1995	March 1995	Feb 1995	Dec 1994	Oct 1994	Early Oct 1994	Sept 1994	July 1994	May 1994	Mar 1994	Jan 1994	Early Jan 1994	Dec 1993	Oct 1993	Sept 1993	Aug 1993	June 1993	May 1993	April 1993	Feb 1993
50	Approve	47	44	44	41	41	38	41	45	46	45	51	48	48	44	49	39	39	45	49	56
40	Disapprove	43	44	44	47	47	47	52	46	42	42	35	35	36	42	35	46	43	37	29	25
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know	<u>10</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>12</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>22</u> 100	<u>19</u> 100

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

		April 1995	July 1994	Mar 1994	Oct 1993	Sept 1993	June 1993	Jan 1993	Early Jan 1992	Nov 1991	May 1990	Feb 1989	Oct 1988	May 1988	Jan 1988
25	Satisfied	23	24	24	22	20	22	39	28	34	41	45	56	41	39
73	Dissatisfied	74	73	71	73	75	71	50	68	61	54	50	40	54	55
<u>2</u> 100	No Opinion	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>11</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100

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]**

	April 1995	Oct 1994	July 1994	June 1994	Mar 1994	Dec 1993	Sept 1993	June 1993	April 1993	Jan 1992	May 1990	Feb 1989	April 1987
22 Crime/Gangs/Justice system	23	28	26	22	31	25	15	7	5	3	7	8	3
7 Health care (cost/accessibility)	5	10	14	20	14	14	12	11	13	3	3	1	*
10 Unemployment/Lack of jobs	9	9	12	12	12	15	23	19	18	22	7	9	13
12 Morality/Ethics/ Family values	10	8	9	10	10	6	8	7	3	3	5	2	3
5 Drugs/Alcohol	9	2	3	6	10	8	5	5	4	4	37	23	6
6 Dissatisfaction with government/Politics	6	5	4	5	5	2	5	5	3	2	2	1	0
9 Deficit/National debt/ Balanced budget	13	8	5	4	5	6	9	13	17	4	11	19	12
6 Education	7	2	3	4	5	5	4	5	2	2	4	4	0
5 Economy (general)	5	7	5	4	4	6	9	17	18	43	5	4	7
3 Taxes	4	2	2	1	3	2	3	4	4	1	3	2	0
2 Racism	2	1	1	1	3	1	3	2	3	1	2	0	0
4 Homeless	3	4	4	2	3	5	2	5	2	6	8	10	*
4 Poverty	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	1	3	4	6

**Q.3 con't ...**

	<u>April</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>April</u>
	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1987</u>
3 Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3
2 Too much foreign aid/ Spend money at home	3	2	2	1	2	1	*	2	2	1	3	1	0
1 Environment/Pollution	1	*	1	1	2	1	1	*	2	1	8	2	0
5 Welfare abuse	9	1	2	4	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1 AIDS	1	*	1	2	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
* Issues related to elderly	1	*	*	*	1	1	*	2	2	1	2	2	0
0 Other Social Issues	0	0	*	0	*	3	4	*	*	*	*	*	*
5 Other domestic	3	1	3	1	1	3	1	2	1	10	11	10	21
4 Other international	1	3	2	4	1	2	3	3	1	4	6	10	22
2 Other	3	4	6	2	2	*	2	4	8	1	5	9	1
3 Don't know/No answer	3	5	3	5	4	6	4	2	4	3	1	3	3
<b>28 ECONOMIC (NET)</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>8 POVERTY/HOMELESS (NET)</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>
<b>9 DEFENSE/INTER- NATIONAL (NET)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>
	(1800)	(2052)	(3800)	(511)	(989)	(1479)	(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]**

	<u>Sept 1993</u>
12 Not getting involved in other countries problems/ Political Situations/Internal Affairs	9
18 Situation in Bosnia/Former Yugoslavia/Reducing threat of conflict in Eastern Europe	7
8 Too much money/Aid to other countries/Keep the money in the U.S.	6
5 Deficit imbalance/Reduction of trade deficit	6
5 Maintaining world peace/Peace keeper/Resolution of international Disputes	5
0 Situation in Somalia	5
8 World conflicts/Wars/Chaos/World wide unrest/ Ethnic conflicts	4
All other social issue mentions	3
10 Trade agreements/Trade relationships	2
4 International Violence/Threats of terrorism	3
9 Other <sup>7</sup>	36
3 Nothing	2
20 Don't know	25
<b>23 ECONOMIC (NET)</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>30 U.S. LEADERSHIP ROLE (NET)</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>16 MAINTAINING PEACE/WORLD UNREST (NET)</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>0 SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)</b>	<b>7</b>

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<sup>7</sup> Comprised of categories 3% or less

**ON ANOTHER SUBJECT . . .**

Q.12 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]**

		Oct	July	Oct	Sept	Aug	<b>Newsweek</b> June 30-July 1
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>
39	Approve	50	38	39	47	52	49
52	Disapprove	42	53	46	33	25	35
<u>9</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>20</u> 100	<u>23</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100

Q.13 Do you think Bill Clinton is too quick to employ military forces, too slow to employ military forces or do you think he makes the right decisions about using military forces?

23 Too quick

23 Too slow

43 Right

11  
100 Don't know

Q.14 In international affairs, do you think Bill Clinton pushes American interests too hard, not hard enough, or about right?

12 Too hard

42 Not hard enough

39 About right

7  
100 Don't know

Q.15 Now I am going to read you a list of policy decisions made by the Clinton administration. Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of each of the following. If you are unaware of the decision please tell me that. (First,) do you approve or disapprove of President Clinton's... **(READ AND ROTATE) REPEAT FOR NEXT ITEM:** And how do you feel about his...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	Never Heard of/ Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
a. Executive order granting loan guarantees to Mexico February, 1995	21 30	60 55	19=100 15=100
b. Decision to impose tariffs on Japanese luxury cars	61	25	14=100
c. Handling of the situation in Bosnia	39	46	15=100
October, 1993	36	43	21=100
Early September, 1993	38	39	23=100
d. Providing financial aid to Russia	36	54	10=100
e. Decision last September to send U.S. troops to Haiti	48	44	8=100
February, 1995	47	47	6=100

**NOW ON A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT SUBJECT...**

Q.16 What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it: **[READ LIST]**

Q.16a 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?

	<u>Oct 1993</u>	Early Sept <u>1993</u>
13 Be the single world leader, or	9	10
74 Should it play a shared leadership role	78	81
25 Most active	23	27
47 No more/less active	53	52
2 Don't know/Refused	2	2
9 Shouldn't it play any leadership role	9	7
<u>4</u> Don't know (VOL)	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
100	100	100



**SPLIT FORM ITEMS: (FORM 1, N=747) (FORM 2, N=753)**

Q.17 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: **[READ AND ROTATE]**

		<u>Top Priority</u>	<u>A Priority</u>	<u>No Priority</u>	<u>DK</u>
aF1.	Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction? September, 1993	68 69	21 24	9 5	2=100 1=100
bF2.	Improving the global environment? September, 1993	56 56	36 37	6 6	2=100 1=100
cF1.	Helping improve the living standard in developing nations? September, 1993	16 19	59 60	22 20	3=100 1=100
dF2.	Insuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S.? September, 1993	59 60	34 34	3 4	4=100 2=100
eF1.	Promoting democracy in other nations? September, 1993	16 22	57 52	24 24	3=100 2=100
fF2.	Aiding the interests of U.S. business abroad? September, 1993	26 27	50 51	20 19	4=100 3=100
gF1.	Protecting the jobs of American workers? September, 1993	80 85	17 13	2 2	1=100 *=100
hF2.	Strengthening the United Nations? September, 1993	36 41	45 46	17 11	2=100 2=100
iF1.	Promoting and defending human rights in other countries? September, 1993	21 22	56 54	20 22	3=100 2=100
jF2.	Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression? <sup>8</sup> September, 1993	21 17	60 55	16 25	3=100 3=100

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<sup>8</sup> In previous month question was stated as, "protecting ..., even if US vital interests are not at stake."

(FORM 1, N=747) (FORM 2, N=753)

Q.18 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]

		<u>Top</u> <u>Priority</u>	<u>A</u> <u>Priority</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Priority</u>	<u>DK</u>
aF1.	Insuring democracy succeeds in Russia and the other former Soviet states? September, 1993	14 23	54 53	29 21	3=100 3=100
bF2.	Strengthening our domestic economy to improve the U.S. international position? September, 1993	67 71	28 24	3 2	2=100 3=100
cF1.	Better managing our trade and economic disputes with Japan? September, 1993	40 48	48 43	9 7	3=100 2=100
dF2.	Ending the warfare in Bosnia (former Yugoslavia)? <sup>9</sup> September, 1993	32 22	43 47	22 24	3=100 7=100
eF1.	Helping Mexico become more stable politically and economically?	16	55	27	2=100
fF2.	Stopping illegal immigration into this country? <sup>10</sup> September, 1993	61 65	32 28	6 6	1=100 1=100
gF1.	Protecting the global environment? September, 1993	55 63	37 31	6 5	2=100 1=100
hF2.	Stopping international drug trafficking? September, 1993	75 82	20 14	4 4	1=100 *=100
iF1.	Reducing the threat of international terrorism?	71	23	5	1=100

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<sup>9</sup> In previous month question was stated as, "warfare in the Balkans."

<sup>10</sup> In previous month question was stated as, "stopping the flood of illegal aliens into the country."

Q.19 Now I'd like your views on some things in the news. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of ... **(INSERT ITEM. ROTATE a-h)** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly Unfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")**

		Very Favor- <u>Able</u>	Mostly Favor- <u>Able</u>	Mostly Unfavor- <u>Able</u>	Very Unfavor- <u>Able</u>	Never Heard <u>Of</u>	Can't <u>Rate</u>
a.	Congress	8	45	31	11	*	5=100
	February, 1995	10	44	27	10	0	9=100
	July, 1994	7	46	34	9	*	4=100
	May, 1993	8	35	35	13	0	9=100
	November, 1991	7	44	34	9	0	6=100
	May, 1990	6	53	25	9	1	6=100
	May, 1988	8	56	23	5	0	8=100
	January, 1988	6	58	25	4	0	7=100
	May, 1987	10	64	16	4	*	6=100
	January, 1987	7	52	23	8	0	10=100
	June, 1985	9	58	21	5	*	7=100
b.	Network TV News	16	51	21	9	*	3=100
	July, 1994	17	52	22	7	*	2=100
	May, 1993	23	58	12	3	0	4=100
	January, 1992	27	55	11	2	0	5=100
	November, 1991	24	51	16	5	0	4=100
	March, 1991	40	51	5	2	0	2=100
	May, 1990	22	60	12	3	*	3=100
	August, 1989	28	54	11	3		4=100
	February, 1989	21	61	12	3		3=100
	August <sup>11</sup> , 1988	29	52	9	5		5=100
	May, 1988	20	58	14	4		4=100
	January 27, 1988	12	69	13	3		3=100
	January 7-18, 1988	18	60	14	4		4=100
	October, 1987	19	62	10	3		6=100
	May, 1987	21	63	11	3		2=100
	January, 1987	19	55	16	6		4=100
	July, 1986	30	53	10	4		3=100
	August, 1985	30	51	8	2		7=100
	June, 1985	25	59	8	2		6=100

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<sup>11</sup> Based on Registered Voters

**Q.19 con't ...**

	<u>Very Favor- Able</u>	<u>Mostly Favor- Able</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavor- Able</u>	<u>Very Unfavor- Able</u>	<u>Never Heard Of</u>	<u>Can't Rate</u>
c. The Daily Newspaper (you are most familiar with)	22	52	14	7	1	4=100
July, 1994	23	57	13	5	*	2=100
May, 1993	26	55	10	4	0	5=100
January, 1992	27	51	13	5	0	4=100
November, 1991	24	56	11	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	30	55	7	3	*	5=100
May, 1990	22	56	12	5	*	5=100
August, 1989	25	52	12	5	6=100	
February, 1989	22	56	13	4	5=100	
August <sup>12</sup> , 1988	30	48	10	5	7=100	
May, 1988	19	59	13	4	5=100	
January 27, 1988	19	62	11	3	5=100	
January 7-18, 1988	21	59	12	4	4=100	
October, 1987	21	58	9	4	8=100	
May, 1987	22	59	12	3	4=100	
January, 1987	19	57	13	6	5=100	
July, 1986	28	51	11	6	4=100	
August, 1985	25	52	10	5	8=100	
June, 1985	25	56	8	3	8=100	
d. The National Rifle Association	16	28	24	24	2	6=100
July, 1994	19	36	21	16	1	7=100
e. The United Nations	14	53	20	8	*	5=100
February, 1995	13	49	18	8	*	12=100
July, 1994	21	55	14	5	1	4=100
May, 1993	21	52	13	4	0	10=100
May, 1990	15	55	13	6	1	10=100
f. The U.S. Court System	6	37	34	20	*	3=100
February, 1995	8	35	31	19	0	7=100
g. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)	8	47	25	8	1	11=100
February, 1995	9	34	24	11	1	21=100
h. NATO	8	53	18	7	4	10=100

**IF ANSWERED '1', '2', '3', OR '4' IN Q.19e, ASK:**

Q.20 You said you have a (in Q.19e) opinion of the United Nations. Why do you feel that way?

<b><u>Favorable Opinion</u></b>	<b><u>Unfavorable Opinion</u></b>	
<b>69</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Positive Mentions</b>
29	2	Bring nations together/Means of communication between nations/Keeps unity
20	2	They maintain peace/World peace
17	1	Helps nations solve problems/Helps countries that need assistance
6	1	They look at the world/Global community/Economy
3	0	Helped in Bosnia
<b>9</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>Negative Mentions</b>
4	37	Don't accomplish much/Lack of decision making/Out dated/No purpose
2	11	Leave too much for the U.S./More than its fair share
1	6	Involved in Bosnia/No positive role in Bosnia
1	9	They can't keep the peace/Solve problems
1	9	Too much power
1	12	Very expensive/They let the U.S. foot the bill
*	4	Other countries should not command our troops
6	5	Other
18	13	No answer/Not sure/Don't know/Refused
<b>(N=1004)</b>	<b>(N=423)</b>	

Q.21 In general, do you feel that the United Nations is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job in trying to solve the problems that it has had to face?

5	Excellent
37	Good
39	Only fair
15	Poor
<u>4</u>	Don't know
100	

**SPLIT FORM ITEMS: (FORM 1, N=747) (FORM 2, N=753)**

Q.22 Do you think the United States and other member countries should provide the United Nations with more money than it has now to **(INSERT ITEM)** or should they provide less money for this purpose or are they providing the United Nations with the right amount of money for this purpose? **(ROTATE)**

		<u>More Money</u>	<u>Less Money</u>	<u>Right Amount</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
aF1.	Help poorer countries to develop their economies	23	21	44	12=100
	UN Association - March 1989	40	15	35	10=100
bF2.	Stop disease and improve healthcare around the world	50	8	34	8=100
	UN Association - March 1989	53	8	28	11=100
cF1.	Slow population growth by providing birth control information and devices	38	19	31	12=100
	UN Association - March 1989	48	11	30	12=100
eF2.	Improve and protect the environment	43	13	35	9=100
	UN Association - March 1989	58	6	26	10=100

**ASK ALL:**

f.	Bring peace to regional conflicts	22	21	45	12=100
	UN Association - March 1989	46	11	31	11=100

**SPLIT FORM AGAIN:**

gF1.	Monitor violations of human rights around the world	24	19	44	13=100
	UN Association - March 1989	45	12	31	12=100
hF2.	Provide relief to victims of disaster	35	11	48	6=100
	UN Association - March 1989	53	6	32	9=100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.23 At the UN, do you think the United States plays too great a leadership role, too small a leadership role, or about the right kind of leadership role?

19	Too Great
18	Too Small
57	About Right
<u>6</u>	Don't know
100	

Q.24 As compared to other major countries, do you think the United States pays more than its fair share for United Nations activities, less than its fair share, or about its fair share?

60 More than fair share

4 Less than fair share

28 About right

$\frac{8}{100}$  Don't know

Q.25 In your opinion, has the United Nations done an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job of providing a forum where countries can try to resolve their conflicts peacefully?

6 Excellent job

37 Good job

42 Only fair job

11 Poor job

$\frac{4}{100}$  Don't know

Q.26 In your opinion, has the United Nations done an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job of restoring law and order in parts of the world where it has broken down?

3 Excellent job

24 Good job

45 Only fair job

24 Poor job

$\frac{4}{100}$  Don't know

Q.27 In your opinion, has the United Nations done an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job of keeping the peace in world trouble spots when it has sent in troops?

5	Excellent job
29	Good job
42	Only fair job
21	Poor job
<u>3</u> 100	Don't know

**JUST A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT BOSNIA ...**

Q.28 Do you happen to know the name of the ethnic group that has conquered much of Bosnia and has surrounded the city of Sarajevo?

		<u>Feb</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1992</u>
47	Serbs	27	28	25	21	20
<u>53</u> 100	Croats/Other/No/Don't know	<u>73</u> 100	<u>72</u> 100	<u>75</u> 100	<u>79</u> 100	<u>80</u> 100

Q.29 Which side are you most sympathetic to in the conflict in the former country of Yugoslavia - the Bosnians or the Serbs?

		<u>Sept</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Jan</u> <u>1993</u>
42	Bosnians	35	30
10	Serbs	11	8
20	Neither ( <b>VOL</b> )	22	17
<u>28</u> 100	No Opinion	<u>32</u> 100	<u>45</u> 100



Q.30 Do you think the United States has a responsibility to do something about the fighting between the Serbs and Bosnians in what used to be Yugoslavia, or doesn't the United States have this responsibility?

		----- CBS Poll -----					
		April	Feb	Dec	June	May	Jan
		<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>
30	U.S. has responsibility	41	36	26	37	37	24
64	U.S. doesn't have responsibility	49	53	65	51	52	67
<u>6</u>	Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

**FORM 1:**

Q.32F1 Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. military force in Bosnia to help end the fighting there?

		Jan
		<u>1993</u>
32	Favor	32
61	Oppose	55
<u>7</u>	No Opinion	<u>13</u>
100		100
<b>(N=747)</b>		

Q.33F1 Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. military force in Bosnia if United Nations peacekeepers come under attack there?

71	Favor
22	Oppose
<u>7</u>	No Opinion
100	
<b>(N=747)</b>	

**FORM 2:**

Q.34F2 Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. military forces to help United Nations peacekeepers move to safer places in Bosnia?

65	Favor
29	Oppose
<u>6</u>	No Opinion
100	
<b>(N=753)</b>	

**ASK ALL:**

Q.35 How often if ever do you listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics -- regularly, sometimes, rarely or never?

15 Regularly

26 Sometimes

27 Rarely

31 Never

$\frac{1}{100}$  Don't Know/Refused