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&

THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

U.S. LEADERS TOPLINE REPORT

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Contents

Survey Findings (Question Ordering and Page Numbering)

Question Topic	Opinion Leaders Survey Question Number	Topline Report Page Number
Follow News	Not asked	--
Trust Government	Not asked	--
Biggest problem – Country	Not asked	--
Biggest Problem – Foreign	Q1085	1
Political Activism	Not asked	--
Written to Official	Not asked	--
Know office held by Dick Cheney	Not asked	--
Know which party has most members in House	Not asked	--
Government Expenditures	Q330 (1-9)	4
Foreign Aid	Q345	7
Should go to Foreign Aid	Q350	7
European Government Expenditures	Q355 (1-2)	8
Congress Role	Not asked	--
Impact on Foreign Policy	Q365 (1-6)	9
Impact Should have on Foreign Policy	Q370 (1-6)	11
President’s Success	Not asked	--
Attitude toward Economic aid	Q380	13
Favor Economic Aid	Q385 (1-6)	13
Economic Aid Increase	Q390 (1-8)	14
Sell Military Equipment	Not asked	--
Favor Military bases overseas	Not asked	--
Long-term Military Bases	Q410 (1-10)	17
Troops in Western Europe	Q415	17
Troops in Japan	Q420	17
Influence U.S.	Not asked	--
Influence European Union	Q430	18
Influence Japan	Q435	19
Overall Power and Influence	Not asked	--
Greater or Lesser Role	Not asked	--
Power and Influence	Not asked	--
U.S. Active in World Affairs	Q455	19
U.S. Involvement in World Affairs	Not asked	--
U.S. Exert Strong Leadership	Not asked	--
E.U. Exert Strong Leadership	Not asked	--
Japan Exert Strong Leadership	Not asked	--
Bush Administration Handling	Not asked	--
Vital Interest of Specific Countries	Not asked	--
Vital Interest of Specific Countries	Not asked	--
Thermometer Ratings – Countries + Summary of Changes	Not asked	--
Thermometer Ratings – Countries + Summary of Changes	Not asked	--
Thermometer Ratings – Leaders	Not asked	--

+ Summary of Changes		
Thermometer Ratings – Organizations	Not asked	--
+ Summary of Changes		
Japan-U.S. Relations	Not asked	--
Lesson of September 11 th	Not asked	--
Possible Threats	Q530 (1-20)	20
Justify Troops	Q535 (1-11)	28
Justify Troops	Not asked	--
Invade Iraq	Q545	32
Favor use of U.S. troops if Iraq Invades Saudi Arabia	Not asked	--
Favor use of U.S. troops if North Korea Attacks South Korea	Not asked	--
U.S. Responsibility to be World Policeman	Not asked	--
U.S. World Policeman more than it should be	Not asked	--
U.S. use of Nuclear Weapons	Q567	32
Approve of use of U.S. troops	Not asked	--
Foreign Policy Goals	Q575 (1-20)	33
Treaties and Agreements	Q580 (1-4)	43
International Institutions	Not asked	--
Environmental Treaty	Not asked	--
International Criminal Court	Not asked	--
More Important to U.S. – Asia or Europe	Q600	44
More Important to U.S. – Japan or China	Q605	44
Commitment to NATO	Q610	45
NATO--Essential or Not Essential	Not asked	--
NATO Expansion	Not asked	--
U.S. and European Specialization	Q625	45
U.S./European Superpower Status	Not asked	--
Role for E.U.	Not asked	--
Joint U.S./E.U. Decision-making	Not asked	--
Peace Keeping	Q645	46
Bosnia	Not asked	--
Taking Action during International Crises	Q655	46
Strengthening U.N.	Q660 (1-3)	47

Question Topic	Opinion Leaders Survey Question Number	Topline Report Page Number
Pay U.N. dues	Q670	47
Use of Economic Sanctions	Q675 (1-5)	48
Diplomatic Relations--Countries	Not asked	--
Trade--Countries	Not asked	--
Palestinian State	Not asked	--
U.S. Work to Establish Palestinian State	Q705	50
Bush Endorsement of Palestinian State	Not asked	--
Sides in Middle East Conflict	Q715	50
Side U.S. takes in Middle East Conflict	Not asked	--
U.S./Israel and Battlefield Weapons	Not asked	--
E.U. Involvement in Middle East Conflict	Not asked	--
Muslim Religion and 9-11	Not asked	--
Attitudes toward Muslims	Q740	50
Combating Terrorism	Q745 (1-14)	51
Combating Terrorism	Not asked	--
Partners in War on Terrorism	Not asked	--
Tariffs	Not asked	--
Free Trade	Q770	55
Standards for Working Conditions	Q775	55
Environmental Standards	Q780	55
World Trade Organization Disputes	Not asked	--
Fair Trade with U.S.--Countries	Not asked	--
Biotechnology in Agriculture	Not asked	--
Food labeling	Q799	56
Immigration	Q800	56
Restrictions on Muslim/Arab Immigration	Not asked	--
Globalization and U.S.	Q810	56
Globalization and others	Not asked	--
U.S. Promotion of Globalization	Not asked	--
Missile Defense	Q825	57
Euro	Not asked	--
Lesson of September 11 th	Not asked	--

Introduction

This study is designed to measure attitudes of a select group of opinion leaders on matters relating to foreign policy. The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations has commissioned this important research quadrennially since 1974. Harris Interactive was commissioned to conduct the research for 2002. The design of the questionnaires was developed by The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and a group of professional consultants working together with Harris Interactive.

The summary topline report attached shows results to all questions based on the total sample of opinion leaders surveyed. In those instances where the same questions were asked in previous years, a trend measure is shown.

The primary objectives of the study are to define the parameters of public opinion within which decision-makers must operate and to compare the attitudes of the general public with those of opinion leaders. For the purposes of this study, “opinion leaders” are defined as those who are in positions of leadership in government, academia, business and labor, the media, religious institutions, special interest groups and private foreign policy organizations. (A more detailed description of the sample design can be found in the technical appendix, located at the back of this volume). The primary goal of the sample design was to replicate previous studies.

Since 1974, interviews with the general population have been conducted in person. For the first time, in 2002, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations is also conducting interviews using a telephone methodology. The general population survey was conducted by telephone using a random digit dialing technique with a national probability sample of 2,862 men and women, 18 years of age and older. Personal in-home interviews with a national probability sample of 400 men and women aged 18 years of age and older were also conducted. All interviewing of the general public was conducted between June 1 and June 30, 2002. The margin of sampling error associated with a sample size of 3,262 is plus or minus 1.7% at the 95% level of confidence.

Using an abridged version of the general public questionnaire, a total of 397 interviews were conducted by telephone with the nation’s opinion leaders between May 17 and July 15, 2002. This study is a census of top-level decision makers so the margin of sampling error is less applicable.

Detailed Findings

Question 1085

Question 1085: What do you feel are the two or three biggest foreign policy problems facing the United States today?

	1978 ^a	1982	1986	1990	1994	1998	2002	Change in % Points
ISSUES								
Terrorism	na	na	11	1	1	10	50	+40
Mid-East Situation (Non-specific)	47	39	15	29	7	12	38	+26
Unrest in Israel/Israel and Palestine	na	na	na	na	na	1	16	+15
India and Pakistan issues	na	na	na	na	na	na	14	+14
Arms Control (Nuclear weapons, too much military equipment sold or given to other countries)	16	14	33	6	14	15	9	-6
Third World Problems (Poverty, underdevelopment)	18	17	11	8	5	4	8	+4
World Economy	--	11	8	14	11	21	7	-14
Stronger Foreign Policy Needed (U.S. is compromising)	13	14	8	7	16	6	7	+1
China/Relations with China/China Economy	17	6	1	3	5	9	6	-3
International Trade (Free trade with all countries, some countries too strict with trade policies)	na	na	9	18	24	6	5	-1
Trade (non-specific)	na	na	na	na	na	2	5	+3
Re-defining America's Role in an unstable environment	na	na	na	na	na	na	4	+4
Iraq (Saddam Hussein)	na	na	na	44	1	18	4	-14
Foreign Relations	na	na	na	na	1	4	4	--
Changing Relations with African Countries	18	2	2	1	1	1	4	+3
Religious issues/Fanaticism	na	na	na	na	na	2	4	+2
Foreign Aid (Too much sent to other countries)	4	1	2	2	5	*	3	+3
Situation in Afghanistan	na	na	na	na	na	na	3	+3
Loss of respect for U.S. abroad	na	na	na	na	na	na	3	+3
Relations with Europe	na	na	na	na	na	na	3	+3
AIDS/virus/disease/world sickness	na	na	na	na	na	na	3	+3

^a The 1978 question differed slightly. It read the same as the current question but also included the phrase "...that you would like to see the Federal government do something about?"

	1978	1982	1986	1990	1994	1998	2002	Change in % Points
Our Relationship with Israel	na	2	*	4	3	2	2	--
Environment (<i>environmental policies, oil spills, energy sources</i>)	na	na	na	6	4	2	2	--
Balance of Payments (<i>Trade deficit, too much money going out of country, import of foreign products</i>)	19	22	17	5	2	2	2	--
Russia/dealings with Russia	46	53	46	21	23	13	2	-11
Immigration (<i>Illegal aliens</i>)	1	1	2	1	3	1	2	+1
World Peace	na	na	na	na	na	1	2	+1
National Security	na	na	na	na	na	1	2	+1
Oil Problems (<i>Oil shortage, dependency on oil-producing countries</i>)	14	3	1	3	--	1	2	+1
War (<i>Threat of war, threat of nuclear war</i>)	na	13	6	3	2	*	2	+2
Don't Understand Foreign Culture	na	na	na	2	3	*	2	+2
Stay out of the affairs of other countries	na	na	na	na	na	na	2	+2
Gap between rich and poor nations	na	na	na	na	na	na	2	+2
Relations with far East countries	na	na	na	na	na	na	2	+2
Globalization (non-specific)	na	na	na	na	na	na	2	+2
U.S. Role as World Leader/World's Police	na	na	na	na	6	8	1	-7
Domestic Problems (<i>Crime, unemployment, government waste, etc.</i>)	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	--
Jobs going overseas (<i>Keep our jobs in U.S.</i>)	na	na	na	na	1	2	1	-1
Latin/South/Central America	5	21	28	6	1	1	1	--
Weak Leadership (<i>honesty in government/double standards with other countries</i>)	na	na	na	5	19	2	1	-1
Devaluation of the Dollar/Money	7	--	3	1	--	1	1	--
United Nations (<i>relations with UN, UN not doing its job</i>)	na	na	na	na	2	1	1	--
Human Rights Campaign	7	2	2	2	2	1	1	--
Too Much Military Involvement in Other Countries	na	*	3	4	2	*	1	+1
Industrial competitiveness/economically or technically behind/declining productivity	na	na	na	na	na	na	1	+1
U.S. relationship with NATO countries	na	na	na	na	na	na	1	+1
Lack of trust/trust between countries	na	na	na	na	na	na	1	+1
Drugs (<i>Smuggling, coming from other countries</i>)	na	na	*	2	--	1	1	--
bin Laden	na	na	na	na	na	na	1	+1

	1978	1982	1986	1990	1994	1998	2002	Change in % Points
Dealing with Communism	6	2	4	2	2	*	*	--
We need to help the children (<i>Needy children./children of foreign countries</i>)	na	na	na	na	na	*	*	--
Cuba	3	*	1	*	1	1	*	-1
Japan/Asian Economy/Crisis	na	na	na	na	na	13	na	-13
Our Relationship with North Korea	na	na	na	na	4	3	na	-3
Our Relationship with Bosnia	na	na	na	na	16	3	na	-3
Impact of Freedom in Eastern Europe	na	na	na	12	1	*	na	na
Hostages	na	na	na	na	na	*	na	na
South Africa/Apartheid	na	na	8	*	2	*	na	na
Overpopulation	na	na	na	na	1	1	na	-1
The Economic Unification of Europe	na	na	na	7	--	1	na	-1
Our Relationship with Japan	na	na	1	9	3	1	na	-1
Instability of foreign markets	na	na	na	na	na	1	na	-1
Politics	na	na	na	na	na	1	na	-1
Kosovo	na	na	na	na	na	1	na	-1
Need to Help the Needy (<i>Non-specific</i>)	na	na	na	na	na	*	na	na
Keeping Peace (<i>Should have better relations</i>)	13	17	5	13	7	6	na	-6
Countries taking advantage of us	na	na	na	na	1	3	na	-3
Total	262	242	226	237	199	192	242	+50

Note: Totals exceed 100% due to multiple responses
na=not available
* = less than 0.5%

Question 330 (1-9)

Question 330 (1-9): Now I am going to read a list of present federal government programs. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

330/1. Aid to Education

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	77	4	18	1	100
1994	59	13	26	2	100
1998	70	11	18	1	100
2002	72	6	20	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+2	-5	+2	+1	

330/2. Defense Spending

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	15	38	46	1	100
1998	26	32	41	1	100
2002	30	24	46	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+4	-8	+5	-1	

330/3. Social Security

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	11	19	69	1	100
1994	7	25	66	2	100
1998	30	9	57	4	100
2002	30	6	62	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	-3	+5	-2	

330/4. Military Aid to Other Nations

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	2	75	21	2	100
1994	3	67	27	3	100
1998	4	51	44	1	100
2002	8	40	49	3	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+4	-11	+5	+2	

330/5. Economic Aid to Other Nations

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	43	21	34	2	100
1994	20	31	45	4	100
1998	38	17	43	2	100
2002	58	14	27	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+20	-3	-16	-1	

330/6. Health Care

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	45	18	32	5	100
1998	60	9	30	1	100
2002	67	6	26	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+7	-3	-4	--	

330/7. Programs to Combat Violence and Crime

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	60	8	28	4	100
1998	50	9	40	1	100
2002	40	6	52	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-10	-3	+12	+1	

330/8. Gathering Intelligence Information about Other Countries

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	16	37	46	1	100
1998	34	15	49	2	100
2002	63	4	33	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+29	-11	-16	-2	

330/9. Homeland security

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	53	8	37	2	100

Question 345

Question 345: Just based on what you know, please tell me your hunch about what percentage of the federal budget goes to foreign aid?

345. Foreign Aid

	<u>Less than 1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11+</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline</u>	Total	Median	Mean
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)		
<u>Year</u>																
2002	29	19	12	8	2	7	-	1	2	-	4	12	4	100	1	5

Question 350

Question 350: What do you think would be an appropriate percentage of the federal budget to go to foreign aid, if any?

350. Should go to foreign aid

	<u>Less than 1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11+</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline</u>	Total	Median	Mean
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)		
<u>Year</u>																
2002	9	11	12	11	3	17	1	3	3	1	10	10	9	100	5	7

Question 355 (1-2)

Question 355 (1-2): Turning to Europe, do you think spending on the following programs by European governments should be expanded, cut back, or kept about the same?

355/1. Defense Spending

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	57	8	32	3	100

355/2. Economic aid to other nations

	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	57	5	35	3	100

Question 365 (1-6)

Question 365 (1-6): Now I would like to ask you about how much influence you think some people and groups have on U.S. foreign policy. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning they are not at all influential and 10 meaning they are extremely influential?

365/1. The American Public

	<u>Not at all influential</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential</u> <u>10</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)	
Year																
2002	1	3	7	16	15	22	14	10	8	2	2	--	4.9	5	100	

365/2. Congress

	<u>Not at all influential</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential</u> <u>10</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)	
Year																
2002	--	--	1	2	5	12	16	24	23	10	6	1	6.9	7	100	

365/3. The President

	<u>Not at all influential</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential</u> <u>10</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)	
Year																
2002	--	--	--	--	--	4	2	7	17	23	46	1	8.9	9	100	

365/4. The Secretary of State

	<u>Not at all influential</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential</u> <u>10</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)	
Year																
2002	--	--	--	2	2	8	14	22	23	17	12	--	7.5	8	100	

365/5. The Secretary of Defense

	<u>Not at all influential 0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential 10</u>	<u>Not sure/ Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)
<u>Year</u>															
2002	--	--	--	1	2	5	10	22	29	18	13	--	7.8	8	100

365/6. Interest Groups

	<u>Not at all influential 0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential 10</u>	<u>Not sure/ Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)
<u>Year</u>															
2002	--	--	2	5	9	22	17	22	13	4	3	3	6.1	6	100

Question 370 (1-6)

Question 370 (1-6): Now, using the same scale, I would like to know how much influence you think these people or groups should have on U.S. foreign policy. 0 means they should not be at all influential and 10 means they should be extremely influential.

370/1. The American Public

	<u>Not at all influential</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential</u> <u>10</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)	
<u>Year</u>																
2002	1	--	1	4	2	21	13	22	18	7	11	--	6.8	7	100	

370/2. Congress

	<u>Not at all influential</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential</u> <u>10</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)	
<u>Year</u>																
2002	--	--	--	1	3	15	11	21	27	13	9	--	7.3	7		

370/3. The President

	<u>Not at all influential</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential</u> <u>10</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)	
<u>Year</u>																
2002	--	--	--	--	1	2	3	6	21	20	47	--	8.9	9	100	

370/4. The Secretary of State

	<u>Not at all influential</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential</u> <u>10</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)	
<u>Year</u>																
2002	--	--	1	1	2	4	6	15	28	25	18	--	8.1	8	100	

370/5. The Secretary of Defense

	<u>Not at all influential 0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential 10</u>	<u>Not sure/ Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)
Year															
2002	1	--	3	3	4	16	14	22	22	8	7	--	6.7	7	100

370/6. Interest Groups

	<u>Not at all influential 0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Extremely Influential 10</u>	<u>Not sure/ Decline</u>	Mean	Median	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)			(%)
Year															
2002	4	3	10	15	22	27	9	6	3	--	1	--	4.2	4	100

Question 380

Question 380: On the whole, do you favor or oppose our giving economic aid to other nations?

380. Attitude Toward Economic Aid

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
Year				
1974	na	na	na	100
1978	90	7	3	100
1982	94	4	2	100
1986	91	7	2	100
1990	90	9	1	100
1994	86	12	2	100
1998	88	10	2	100
2002	90	9	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+2	-1	-1	

Question 385 (1-6)

Question 385 (1-6): As I read some types of foreign aid, tell me whether you favor or oppose them . . .

385. Economic aid

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
385/1. Food and medical assistance to people in needy countries	98	2	--	100
385/2. Aid that helps needy countries develop their economies	91	9	--	100
385/3. Assistance with the prevention and treatment of AIDS in poor countries	93	5	2	100
385/4. Aid for birth control in poor countries to help reduce population growth	74	23	3	100
385/5. Aid for women's education in poor countries to help reduce population growth	85	14	1	100
385/6. Assistance to promote democracy abroad	88	11	1	100

Question 390 (1-8)

Question 390 (1-8): *In particular, do you think economic aid to the following people or nations should be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?*

390/1. Egypt

	Increased (%)	Decreased (%)	Kept About the Same (%)	Stopped Altogether (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>						
1990	18	17	62	1	2	100
1994	7	39	49	2	3	100
1998	na	na	na	na	na	na
2002	7	32	54	4	3	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--	--

390/2. Russia

	Increased (%)	Decreased (%)	Kept About the Same (%)	Stopped Altogether (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>						
1990	na	na	na	na	na	na
1994	40	12	45	2	1	100
1998	na	na	na	na	na	na
2002	37	12	47	3	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--	--

390/3. Israel

	Increased (%)	Decreased (%)	Kept About the Same (%)	Stopped Altogether (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>						
1990	4	51	41	3	1	100
1994	4	47	45	3	1	100
1998	na	na	na	na	na	na
2002	12	40	43	4	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--	--

390/4. African countries

	Increased (%)	Decreased (%)	Kept About the Same (%)	Stopped Altogether (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>						
1990	na	na	na	na	na	na
1994	40	13	43	1	3	100
1998	na	na	na	na	na	na
2002	73	5	19	1	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--	--

390/5. Afghanistan

	Increased (%)	Decreased (%)	Kept About the Same (%)	Stopped Altogether (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>						
1990	na	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na	na
2002	66	5	26	2	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--	--

390/6. Pakistan

	Increased (%)	Decreased (%)	Kept About the Same (%)	Stopped Altogether (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>						
1990	na	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na	na
2002	12	28	32	23	5	--
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--	--

390/7. India

	Increased (%)	Decreased (%)	Kept About the Same (%)	Stopped Altogether (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>						
1990	na	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na	na
2002	25	10	58	3	4	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--	--

390/8. The Palestinians

	Increased (%)	Decreased (%)	Kept About the Same (%)	Stopped Altogether (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>						
1990	na	na	na	na	na	na
1994	48	14	32	3	3	100
1998	na	na	na	na	na	na
2002	42	14	29	11	4	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--	--

Question 390 Summary

	Increased (%)	Decreased (%)	Kept About the Same (%)	Stopped Altogether (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
390/1. Egypt	7	32	54	4	3	100
390/2. Russia	37	12	47	3	1	100
390/3. Israel	12	40	43	4	1	100
390/4. African countries	73	5	19	1	2	100
390/5. Afghanistan	66	5	26	2	1	100
390/6. Pakistan	32	13	49	3	3	100
390/7. India	25	10	58	3	4	100
390/8. The Palestinians	42	14	29	11	4	100

Question 410 (1-10)

Question 410 (1-10): Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?

410. Attitude Toward Long-Term Military Bases

	Should Have (%)	Should Not Have (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
410/1. Germany	67	31	2	100
410/2. Turkey	77	21	2	100
410/3. Japan	64	35	1	100
410/4. Guantanamo Bay in Cuba	54	42	4	100
410/5. Uzbekistan	39	56	5	100
410/6. Saudi Arabia	50	48	2	100
410/7. The Philippines	61	37	2	100
410/8. Pakistan	40	59	1	100
410/9. South Korea	78	21	1	100
410/10. Afghanistan	46	52	2	100

Question 415

Question 415: Currently the United States has about 100,000 troops in Western Europe. In your view, is that too many, too few, or about right?

415. Troops in Western Europe

	Too many (%)	Too few (%)	About right (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	49	1	48	2	100

Question 420

Question 420: The United States currently has about 44,000 troops in Japan, including Okinawa. In your view, is that too many, too few, or about right?

420. Troops in Japan

	Too many (%)	Too few (%)	About right (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	48	3	48	1	100

Question 430

Question 430: Do you think the European Union plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role, or about as an important a role as it did 10 years ago?

430. Influence European Union

	More important (%)	Less Important (%)	As important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	64	13	22	1	100

Question 435

Question 435: Do you think Japan plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role, or about as important a role as a world leader as it did 10 years ago?

435. Influence Japan

	More important (%)	Less Important (%)	As important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	15	58	27	--	100

Question 455

Question 455: Do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?

455. US active in world affairs

	Active part (%)	Stay out (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1978	97	1	2	100
1982	98	1	1	100
1986	98	1	1	100
1990	97	2	1	100
1994	98	1	1	100
1998	96	3	1	100
2002	96	3	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	

Question 530 (1-20)

Question 530 (1-20): I am going to read to you a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please tell me if you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all.

530/1. The Military Power of Russia

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>				<u>Total (%)</u>
	<u>Critical (%)</u>	<u>Important but not critical (%)</u>	<u>Not important (%)</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline (%)</u>	
1990	20	56	24	--	100
1994	16	52	32	*	100
1998	19	49	32	--	100
2002	7	51	42	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-12	+2	+10	--	

530/2. Economic Competition from Japan*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>				<u>Total (%)</u>
	<u>Critical (%)</u>	<u>Important but not critical (%)</u>	<u>Not important (%)</u>	<u>Not sure/Decline (%)</u>	
1990	63	33	4	*	100
1994	21	65	14	*	100
1998	14	62	24	--	100
2002	5	48	47	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-9	-14	+23	--	

* Wording in 1990 was "economic power of Japan."

530/3. Economic Competition from Europe

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	41	53	6	--	100
1994	11	62	27	*	100
1998	16	56	28	--	100
2002	9	58	33	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-7	+2	+5		

530/4. The Development of China as a world power

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	16	59	25	--	100
1994	46	47	6	1	100
1998	56	41	3	--	100
2002	47	47	6	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-9	+6	+3	--	

530/5. Islamic Fundamentalism

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	39	52	8	1	100
1998	31	57	12	--	100
2002	61	36	3	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+30	-21	-9	--	

530/6. The Possibility of Unfriendly Countries Becoming Nuclear Powers

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	61	36	3	--	100
1998	67	30	3	--	100
2002	72	26	2	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+5	-4	-1	--	

530/7. International Terrorism

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	33	58	8	1	100
1998	61	35	4	--	100
2002	83	16	1	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+22	-19	-3	--	

530/8. Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the U.S.

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	31	47	22	*	100
1998	18	51	31	--	100
2002	14	45	41	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-4	-6	+10	--	

530/9. Economic Competition from Low-wage Countries

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	16	47	36	1	100
2002	7	49	44	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-9	+2	+8	-1	

530/10. Global Warming

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Don't know/refused (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	27	46	26	1	100
2002	28	52	20	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+1	+6	-6	-1	

530/11. Chemical and Biological Weapons

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	64	33	3	--	100
2002	67	31	2	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+3	-2	-1	--	

530/12. AIDS, the Ebola Virus, and other Potential Epidemics

<u>Year</u>	Total Sample				Total (%)
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	34	55	11	--	100
2002	48	49	3	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+14	-6	-8	--	

530/13. Tensions between India and Pakistan

<u>Year</u>	Total Sample				Total (%)
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na
2002	61	38	1	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--

530/14. World population growth

<u>Year</u>	Total Sample				Total (%)
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na
2002	25	58	17	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--

530/15. Financial crises in other countries

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na
2002	14	77	8	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--

530/16. Globalization

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na
2002	22	48	28	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--

530/17. Military conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na
2002	73	26	1	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--

530/18. Civil wars in Africa

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na
2002	9	65	25	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--

530/19. Iraq developing weapons of mass destruction

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na
2002	72	25	3	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--

530/20. Political turmoil in Russia

Total Sample					
	Critical (%)	Important but not critical (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	na	na	na	na	na
2002	26	65	9	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	--	--	--	--	--

530. 2002 Summary

	Critical Threat	Important But Not Critical	Not Important	Not sure/ Decline	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
530/1. The military power of Russia	7	51	42	--	100
530/2. Economic competition from Japan	5	48	47	--	100
530/3. Economic competition from Europe	9	58	33	--	100
530/4. The development of China as a world power	47	47	6	--	100
530/5. Islamic fundamentalism	61	36	3	--	100
530/6. The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers	72	26	2	--	100
530/7. International terrorism	83	16	1	--	100
530/8. Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the U.S.	14	45	41	--	100
530/9. Economic competition from low-wage countries	7	49	44	--	100
530/10. Global warming	28	52	20	--	100
530/11. Chemical and biological weapons	67	31	2	--	100
530/12. AIDS, the Ebola virus, and other potential epidemics	48	49	3	--	100
530/13. Tensions between India and Pakistan	61	38	1	--	100
530/14. World population growth	25	58	17	--	100
530/15. Financial crises in other countries	14	77	8	1	100
530/16. Globalization	22	48	28	2	100
530/17. Military conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors	73	26	1	--	100
530/18. Civil wars in Africa	9	65	25	1	100
530/19. Iraq developing weapons of mass destruction	72	25	3	--	100
530/20. Political turmoil in Russia	26	65	9	--	100

Question 535 (1-11)

Question 535 (1-11): There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. I'd like to ask your opinion about some situations. First, would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops...

535/1. If North Korea invaded South Korea

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1990	57	40	3	100
1994	82	16	2	100
1998	74	24	2	100
2002	82	16	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+8	-8	--	

535/2. If Iraq invaded Saudi Arabia

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1990	89	10	1	100
1994	84	14	2	100
1998	79	20	1	100
2002	82	17	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+3	-3	--	

535/3. If Arab forces invaded Israel

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1990	70	28	2	100
1994	72	26	2	100
1998	69	29	2	100
2002	77	21	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+8	-8	--	

535/4. If China invaded Taiwan

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1990	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na
1998	51	47	2	100
2002	52	44	4	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+1	-3	+2	

535/5. If the government of Pakistan requested our help against a radical Islamic revolution

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	61	35	4	100

535/6. To be part of an international peacekeeping force in Afghanistan

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	88	11	1	100

535/7. If the government of Saudi Arabia requested our help against an attempt to overthrow it

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	41	51	8	100

535/8. To fight drug lords in Colombia

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	31	68	1	100

535/9. To assist the Philippine government to fight terrorism

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	70	30	--	100

535/10. To be part of an international peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	79	18	3	100

535/11. To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	85	10	5	100

Summary: Favor Use of U.S. Troops in Some Situations

Summary: Favor Use of U.S. Troops in Some Situations

	If Iraq Invaded Saudi Arabia	If North Korea Invaded South Korea	If Arab Forces Invaded Israel	If China Invaded Taiwan
<u>YEAR</u>	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
1978	NA	45	31	NA
1982	na	50	47	NA
1986	NA	64	57	na
1990	89	57	70	na
1994	84	82	72	na
1998	79	74	69	51
2002	82	82	77	52
Change in % points 1998- 2002	+3	+8	+8	+1

Summary: Favor Use of U.S. Troops in Some Situations

	If the government of Pakistan requested our help against a radical Islamic revolution	To be part of an international peace-keeping force in Afghanistan	If the government of Saudi Arabia requested our help against an attempt to overthrow it	To fight drug lords in Colombia	To assist the Philippine government to fight terrorism	To be part of an international peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians	To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
<u>YEAR</u>							
2002	61	88	41	31	70	79	85

Question 545

Question 545: There has been some discussion about whether the U.S. should use its troops to invade Iraq and overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein. Which of the following positions is closest to yours?

545. Invade Iraq

	The U.S. should not invade Iraq	The U.S. should only invade Iraq with UN approval and the support of its allies	The U.S. should invade Iraq even if we have to go it alone	Not sure/Decline	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	26	49	22	3	100

Question 567

Question 567: Here are some positions about the possible use of nuclear weapons by the United States. Which one comes closest to yours?

567. Use of nuclear weapons

	The U.S. should never use nuclear weapons under any circumstances	The U.S. should only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack	In certain circumstances, the U.S. should use nuclear weapons even if it has not suffered a nuclear attack	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	22	58	19	1	100

Question 575 (1-20)

Question 575 (1-20): I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please say whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all.

575/1. Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	30	63	5	2	100
1982	43	52	3	2	100
1986	29	64	4	3	100
1990	28	66	5	1	100
1994	21	68	9	2	100
1998	29	66	4	1	100
2002	27	67	5	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-2	-1	+1	--	

575/2. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	35	56	8	1	100
1982	41	54	5	*	100
1986	44	51	6	*	100
1990	45	52	3	*	100
1994	26	65	9	--	100
1998	41	54	5	--	100
2002	46	48	6	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+5	-6	+1	--	

575/3. Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	na	na	na	na	na
1982	na	na	na	na	na
1986	na	na	na	na	100
1990	62	34	4	*	100
1994	49	42	9	--	100
1998	34	52	13	1	100
2002	21	56	22	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-13	+4	+9	--	

575/4. Strengthening the United Nations

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	26	49	25	*	100
1982	25	47	28	*	100
1986	22	44	33	1	100
1990	39	50	11	--	100
1994	33	46	21	--	100
1998	32	48	19	1	100
2002	28	45	26	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-4	-3	+7	--	

575/5. Combating world hunger

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	67	31	2	*	100
1982	64	35	1	*	100
1986	61	36	3	*	100
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	41	52	7	--	100
1998	56	39	4	1	100
2002	59	37	4	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+3	-2	--	-1	

575/6 Combating international terrorism

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	na	na	na	na	na
1982	na	na	na	na	na
1986	na	na	na	na	na
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	74	24	2	--	100
2002	87	12	1	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+13	-12	-1	--	

575/7. Maintaining superior military power worldwide

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	na	na	na	na	na
1982	na	na	na	na	na
1986	na	na	na	na	na
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	54	37	8	1	100
1998	58	32	9	1	100
2002	52	37	10	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-6	+5	+1	--	

575/8. Protecting the jobs of American workers

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	34	57	7	2	100
1982	43	46	10	1	100
1986	43	43	12	2	100
1990	39	49	12	*	100
1994	50	42	6	2	100
1998	45	46	9	--	100
2002	35	51	14	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-10	+5	+5	--	

575/9. Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	15	62	23	*	100
1982	23	57	19	1	100
1986	29	56	15	*	100
1990	26	61	12	1	100
1994	21	65	14	*	100
1998	27	61	12	--	100
2002	33	57	10	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+6	-4	-2	--	

575/10. Securing adequate supplies of energy

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	88	11	1	*	100
1982	72	27	1	*	100
1986	72	26	2	*	100
1990	60	37	3	--	100
1994	67	30	3	*	100
1998	55	40	4	1	100
2002	51	45	4	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-4	+5	--	-1	

575/11. Promoting market economies abroad

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	na	na	na	na	na
1982	na	na	na	na	na
1986	na	na	na	na	na
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	na	na	na	na	na
1998	36	54	9	1	100
2002	27	59	14	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-9	+5	+5	-1	

575/12. Defending our allies' security

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	77	21	1	1	100
1982	82	16	1	1	100
1986	78	21	1	*	100
1990	56	41	3	*	100
1994	60	38	1	1	100
1998	58	38	3	1	100
2002	55	42	3	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-3	+4	--	-1	

575/13. Controlling and reducing illegal immigration

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	na	na	na	na	na
1982	na	na	na	na	na
1986	na	na	na	na	na
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	28	63	9	--	100
1998	21	58	21	--	100
2002	22	56	22	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+1	-2	+1	--	100

575/14. Helping to improve the standard of living of less developed nations

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	64	33	3	*	100
1982	55	44	1	*	100
1986	46	51	3	*	100
1990	42	54	4	--	100
1994	28	64	8	*	100
1998	36	56	7	1	100
2002	42	51	7	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+6	-5	--	-1	

575/15. Improving the global environment

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	na	na	na	na	na
1982	na	na	na	na	na
1986	na	na	na	na	na
1990	72	26	2	--	100
1994	49	47	4	--	100
1998	46	47	6	1	100
2002	43	51	6	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-3	+4	--	-1	

575/16. Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	na	na	na	na	na
1982	na	na	na	na	na
1986	na	na	na	na	na
1990	94	6	--	--	100
1994	90	10	--	--	100
1998	85	14	--	1	100
2002	89	10	1	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+4	-4	+1	-1	

575/17. Stopping the flow of illegal drugs into the United States

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1978	na	na	na	na	na
1982	na	na	na	na	na
1986	na	na	na	na	na
1990	na	na	na	na	na
1994	57	36	6	1	100
1998	57	34	8	1	100
2002	45	45	10	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-12	+11	+2	-1	

575/18. Safeguarding against global financial instability

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	49	48	3	--	100

575/19. Protecting the interests of American business abroad

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	23	61	16	--	100

575/20. Strengthening international law institutions

	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	49	42	9	--	100

Summary: U.S. Foreign Policy Goals (2002)

Ranking of U.S. Foreign Policy Goals (by Very Important)

Goal	Very important (%)	Somewhat important (%)	Not important (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons	89	10	1	--	100
Combating international terrorism	87	12	1	--	100
Combating world hunger	59	37	4	--	100
Defending our allies' security	55	42	3	--	100
Maintaining superior military power worldwide	52	37	10	1	100
Securing adequate supplies of energy	51	45	4	--	100
Safeguarding against global financial instability	49	48	3	--	100
Strengthening international law and institutions	49	42	9	--	100
Promoting and defending human rights in other countries	46	48	6	--	100
Stopping the flow of illegal drugs into the United States	45	45	10	--	100
Improving the global environment	43	51	6	--	100
Helping to improve the standard of living of less developed nations	42	51	7	--	100
Protecting the jobs of American workers	35	51	14	--	100
Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations	33	57	10	--	100
Strengthening the United Nations	28	45	26	1	100
Promoting market economies abroad	27	59	14	--	100
Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression	27	67	5	1	100
Protecting the interests of American business abroad	23	61	16	--	100
Controlling and reducing illegal immigration	22	56	22	--	100
Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries	21	56	22	1	100

Question 580 (1-4)

Question 580 (1-4): Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements . . . ?

580/1. The Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming

	Should Participate (%)	Should Not Participate (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	63	35	2	100

580/2. The treaty that bans all use of land mines

	Should Participate (%)	Should Not Participate (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	74	24	2	100

580/3. The treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

	Should Participate (%)	Should Not Participate (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	82	17	1	100

580/4. The agreement to establish an International Criminal court that would try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them

	Should Participate (%)	Should Not Participate (%)	Not sure/Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	65	33	2	100

Question 600

Question 600: In your view, which continent is more important to the U.S., Asia or Europe?

600. More important to U.S. -- Asia or Europe

	Asia more important (%)	Europe more important (%)	Both equally important (volunteered only) (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1994	38	42	16	4	100
1998	37	51	10	2	100
2002	38	47	11	4	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+1	-4	+1	+2	

Question 605

Question 605: In terms of American vital interests today, which country is more important to the United States—Japan or China?

605. More important to U.S. -- Japan or China

	Japan more important (%)	China more important (%)	Both equally important (volunteered only) (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1998	48	47	4	1	100
2002	31	64	4	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-17	+17	--	--	

Question 610

Question 610: Next, we have a question about NATO, the military organization of Western Europe and the United States. Do you feel we should increase our commitment to NATO, keep our commitment what it is now, decrease our commitment but still remain in NATO, or withdraw from NATO entirely?

610. Commitment to NATO

	Increase commitment (%)	Keep commitment same (%)	Decrease commitment (%)	Withdraw entirely (%)	Not sure/ Decline/ refused (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>						
1974	na	na	na	na	na	100
1978	21	65	12	1	1	100
1982	7	79	12	1	1	100
1986	8	77	13	1	1	100
1990	3	35	57	4	1	100
1994	6	57	34	3	*	100
1998	7	64	25	3	1	100
2002	8	69	20	3	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+1	+5	-5	--	-1	

Question 625

Question 625: Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: It makes sense for Europe and the U.S. to specialize in their role in the world. Because the U.S. has the strongest military, the U.S. should take the lead responsibility and supply most of the forces when it comes to military conflict. Europe should instead emphasize things like assisting poor countries develop their economies and trying to help reconstruct societies after war.

625. U.S. and European specialization

	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	23	74	3	100

Question 645

Question 645: In general, when the United States is asked to be part of a United Nations international peacekeeping force in a troubled part of the world, do you think we should take part, or should we leave this job to other countries?

645. Peace Keeping

	Should take part (%)	Should leave this job to other countries (%)	Depends on circumstances (VOL) (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	79	12	8	1	100

Question 655

Question 655: In general, in responding to international crises, do you think the United States should or should not take action alone, if it does not have the support of its allies?

655. Taking action during international crises

	Should act alone (%)	Should not act alone (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	44	48	8	100
2002	40	53	7	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-4	+5	-1	

Question 660 (1-3)

Question 660 (1-3): Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the UN (United Nations), here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, tell me if you would favor or oppose this step

660. Strengthening U.N.

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
600/1. Having joint training exercises of UN member countries so that their militaries will be better prepared to work together in a combat situation	85	14	1	100
600/2. Having UN members each commit 1,000 troops to a rapid deployment force that the UN Security Council can call up on short notice when a crisis occurs	61	37	2	100
600/3. Giving the UN the power to fund its activities by imposing a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil	43	55	2	100

Question 670

Question 670: Do you favor or oppose the U.S. (United States) paying its UN (United Nations) dues in full?

670. U.N. dues

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	87	11	2	100

Question 675 (1-5)

Question 675 (1-5): Do you favor or oppose the use of economic sanctions against each of the following countries?

675/1. Cuba

	Yes, favor sanctions (%)	No, oppose sanctions (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	37	62	1	100
2002	25	74	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-12	+12	--	

675/2. Iraq

	Yes, favor sanctions (%)	No, oppose sanctions (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	76	23	1	100
2002	72	26	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-4	+3	+1	

675/3. Iran

	Yes, favor sanctions (%)	No, oppose sanctions (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	54	44	2	100
2002	49	48	3	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-5	+4	+1	

675/4. North Korea

	Yes, favor sanctions (%)	No, oppose sanctions (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	65	33	2	100
2002	60	38	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-5	+5	--	

675/5. China

	Yes, favor sanctions (%)	No, oppose sanctions (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	36	62	2	100
2002	28	70	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-8	+8	--	

Question 705

Question 705: Should the U.S. actively work to help establish a Palestinian state or not?

705. Palestinian State

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	83	14	3	100

Question 715

Question 715: In the Middle East conflict, do you think the United States should take Israel's side, take the Palestinians' side, or not take either side?

715. Takes sides in Middle East

	Take Israel's side (%)	Take the Palestinians' side (%)	Not take either side (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	25	1	72	2	100

Question 740

Question 740: Please tell me which of the following statements is closer to your own view?

740. Attitudes toward Muslims

	Because Muslim religious, social and political traditions are incompatible with Western ways, violent conflict between the two civilizations is inevitable (%)	Because most Muslims are like people everywhere, we can find common ground and violent conflict between the civilizations is not inevitable (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	12	86	2	100

Question 745 (1-14)

Question 745 (1-14): In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures.

745/1. U.S. air strikes against terrorist training camps and other facilities

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	77	20	3	100
2002	87	11	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+10	-9	-1	

745/2. Attacks by U.S. ground troops against terrorist training camps and other facilities

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	58	39	3	100
2002	81	17	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+23	-22	-1	

745/3. Assassination of individual terrorist leaders

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	34	63	3	100
2002	48	48	4	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+14	-15	+1	

745/4. Trial of suspected terrorists in an International Criminal Court

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	89	10	1	100
2002	74	24	2	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-15	+14	+1	

745/5. Diplomatic efforts to apprehend suspects and dismantle terrorist training camps

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	97	2	1	100
2002	98	2	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+1	--	-1	

745/6. Diplomatic efforts to improve U.S. relations with potential adversary countries

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
1998	96	3	1	100
2002	97	3	--	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	+1	--	-1	

745/7. Helping poor countries develop their economies

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	92	8	--	100

745/8. Working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members enforce them

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	91	8	1	100

745/9. Making a major effort to be even-handed in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	88	11	1	100

745/10. Setting up an international system to cut off funding for terrorism

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	97	3	--	100

745/11. Toppling unfriendly regimes that support terrorist groups threatening the U.S.

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	61	36	3	100

745/12. Restricting immigration into the U.S.

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	40	58	2	100

745/13. Using racial profiling in airport security checks

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	47	50	3	100

745/14. Sharing intelligence information with other countries

	Favor (%)	Oppose (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	92	6	2	100

Question 770

Question 770: Which of the following three positions comes closest to your point of view?

770. Free Trade

	I favor free trade and I believe that it is necessary for the government to have programs to help workers lose their jobs. (%)	I favor free trade and I believe that it is not necessary for the government to have programs to help workers who lose their jobs. (%)	I do not favor free trade (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	70	21	8	1	100

Question 775

Question 775: Overall, do you think that countries that are part of international trade agreements should or should not be required to maintain minimum standards for working conditions?

775. Minimum standards for working conditions

	Should be required (%)	Should not be required (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	89	11	--	100

Question 780

Question 780: Overall, do you think that countries that are part of international trade agreements should or should not be required to maintain minimum standards for protection of the environment?

780. Protection for environment

	Should be required (%)	Should not be required (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	87	11	2	100

Question 799

Question 799: Do you think that the European Union (EU) and Japan should be able to require labeling of genetically modified food, even if this might keep consumers from purchasing food imported from the US, or don't you think the European Union and Japan should be able to do this?

799. Food labeling

	Should be able to (%)	Should not (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>				
2002	79	19	2	100

Question 800

Question 800: Should legal immigration into the United States be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased?

800. Immigration

	Kept at present level (%)	Increased (%)	Decreased (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	60	21	18	1	100

Question 810

Question 810: Do you believe that globalization, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for the United States?

810. Globalization

	Mostly good (%)	Mostly bad (%)	Neutral/ Equally good and bad (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1998	87	12	--	1	100
2002	85	12	2	1	100
Change in % points 1998-2002	-2	--	+2	--	

Question 825

Question 825: With regard to missile defense, do you think the US should . . . ?

825. Missile defense

	Build a missile defense system right away (%)	Do more research until such a system is proven to be effective (%)	Not build a missile defense system at all (%)	Not sure/ Decline (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
2002	15	58	24	3	100

Technical Appendix

Design of the Sample: Opinion Leaders

The opinion leader sample of the Chicago Council's study on foreign relations was designed to replicate opinion leader samples used in previous years. Wherever possible, the directories used for names, and the number of names used for each type of opinion leader modeled the 1990, 1994, and 1998 sample design. The outline below describes each elite sub-sample.

House of Representatives & Senate

65 interviews with Representatives and Senators. All Representatives' names were selected from the Congressional Yellow Book, published by Leadership Directories, Inc., 2002. (If the House or Senate member was not available, the interview was conducted with the legislative assistant responsible for foreign affairs).

Administration

34 interviews with assistant secretaries and other senior level staff. The following directory was used to select names from various agencies and offices dealing with foreign affairs: The Federal Yellow Book, published by Leadership Directories, Inc., 2002.

Business

38 interviews were completed with vice presidents in charge of international affairs. The top industrial corporations in the Fortune 1000 list were included. Respondents' names were provided by idEXEC, a leading supplier of sample for business executives.

Media

59 interviews with television and radio news directors, network newscasters, newspaper editors and columnists. The following publication was used for sample: News Media Yellow Book, published by Leadership Directories, Inc., 2002.

Labor Leaders

32 interviews were conducted with presidents of the largest labor unions. The following directory was used to obtain the sample: The Capital Source, published by the National Journal Group Inc., 2002 and Dun and Bradstreet, 2002.

Educators

75 interviews were conducted with presidents and faculty who teach in the area of foreign affairs from a list of universities provided by Market Data Retrieval, 2002, a firm specializing in sample for educational institutions.

Religious Leaders

50 interviews were conducted with religious leaders representing all faiths, proportionate to the number of Americans who worship each faith. The following directory was used to obtain names: Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches, published by Abingdon Press Nashville, 2000.

Special Interest Groups

23 interviews were conducted with presidents from large special interest groups relevant to foreign policy. The following directory was used to obtain names: The Capital Source, published by the National Journal Group Inc., 2002.

Private Foreign Policy Organizations

21 interviews were conducted with presidents from major private foreign policy organizations. The following directories were used to obtain names: The Capital Source “The Who’s Who, What, Where in Washington: Think Tanks”, published by the National Journal Group Inc., 2002.