

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Opportunities for Bipartisan Consensus

What Both Republicans and Democrats
Want in US Foreign Policy

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**PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL
POLICY ATTITUDES (PIPA)**

A joint program of the Center on Policy
Attitudes and the Center for International and
Security Studies at the University of Maryland



**Knowledge
NETWORKS**

A polling, social science, and
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The Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) is a joint program of the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland and the Center on Policy Attitudes. PIPA undertakes research on American attitudes in both the public and in the policymaking community toward a variety of international and foreign policy issues. It seeks to disseminate its findings to members of government, the press, and the public as well as academia.

Knowledge Networks is a polling, social science, and market research firm based in Menlo Park, California. Knowledge Networks uses a large-scale nationwide research panel which is randomly selected from the national population of households having telephones and is subsequently provided internet access for the completion of surveys (and thus is not limited to those who already have internet access).

The Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM), at the University of Maryland's School for Public Policy, pursues policy-oriented scholarship on major issues facing the United States in the global arena. Using its research, forums, and publications, CISSM links the University and the policy community to improve communication between scholars and practitioners.

The Center on Policy Attitudes (COPA) is an independent non-profit organization of social science researchers devoted to increasing understanding of public and elite attitudes shaping contemporary public policy. Using innovative research methods, COPA seeks not only to examine overt policy opinions or positions, but to reveal the underlying values, assumptions, and feelings that sustain opinions.

Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, Evan Lewis, and Stephen Weber designed the questionnaires and wrote the analysis.

Knowledge Network's Stefan Subias adapted the questionnaires and managed the fielding of the polls.

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INTRODUCTION

The recent election was marked by a highly polarized and partisan debate about US foreign policy, climaxing in a very tight electoral outcome. As the Presidential inauguration approaches, one may have the impression that there is little common ground between Republicans and Democrats on US foreign policy. Also, since many factors influenced the outcome of the election the question stands: What is the public's mandate in the specific area of US foreign policy?

To find out on what foreign policy positions Republicans and Democrats do agree PIPA undertook an analysis of several existing polls as well conducting a new poll of the American public. These included:

- A poll of 1,195 American adults by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (CCFR) conducted in July 2004, fielded by Knowledge Networks (margin of error +/- 3%). Full text can be found at http://www.c CFR.org/globalviews2004/sub/pdf/2004_US_Public_Topline_Report.pdf.
- A poll of 450 American foreign policy opinion leaders by CCFR in July 2004 fielded by IPSOS that included 100 Congressional members or their senior staff, 31 from the Senate and 69 from the House; 75 university administrators and academics who teach in the area of international relations; 59 journalists and editorial staff who handle international news; 41 administration officials such assistant secretaries and other senior staff in various agencies and offices dealing with foreign policy; 50 religious leaders; 38 senior business executives from Fortune 1,000 corporations; 32 labor presidents of the largest labor unions; 29 presidents of major private foreign policy organizations; and 25 presidents of major special interest groups relevant to foreign policy. The full questionnaire can be found at http://www.c CFR.org/globalviews2004/sub/pdf/2004_US_Leaders_Topline_Report.pdf.
- A poll of 968 American adults by PIPA October 12-18, fielded by Knowledge Networks (margin of error +/- 3.2). The full questionnaire can be found at http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/Pres_Election_04/Qnnaire10_21_04.pdf
- A poll of 959 American adults by PIPA conducted September 8-12, fielded by Knowledge Networks (margin of error +/- 3.2). The full questionnaire can be found at http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/Pres_Election_04/Questionnaire09_29_04.pdf
- A poll of 801 Americans adults by PIPA conducted December 21-26, 2004, fielded by Knowledge Networks (margin of error +/- 3.5 percentage points). The full questionnaire can be found online at www.pipa.org under this report's title.

What follows are consensus positions. In nearly all cases, they are supported by a clear majority of both Republicans and Democrats. In a small number of cases, one or the other party was divided, but in no case was the majority of one party clearly opposed. For many of these positions, leaders were polled as well, and there was also bipartisan consensus among them. In a very small number of cases the positions below were not endorsed by a majority of leaders in both parties but were included if there was a clear public consensus and the overall position among the leaders was supportive.

The consensus positions were as follows:

THE US ROLE IN THE WORLD

- Do not pursue a general policy that emphasizes disengagement nor US dominance, but rather multilateral cooperation
- Make preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and combating international terrorism the top priorities in US foreign policy

MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS

- Strengthen the UN
- Take part in UN peacekeeping
- Comply with adverse WTO decisions
- Participate in the International Criminal Court
- Give the WHO the power to intervene

US MILITARY CAPACITY

- Do not make further increases in the number of US military bases
- Do not make further increases in defense spending
- Do not develop new types of nuclear weapons
- Continue research on missile defense but do not deploy until proven effective
- Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
- Participate in the Land Mines Treaty

THE USE OF US MILITARY FORCE: PRINCIPLES

- Only go to war with a government that is developing weapons of mass destruction or supporting terrorists if there is an imminent threat to the US, or the UN Security Council approves
- Use US military force to deal with a humanitarian crisis, especially to stop genocide
- Do not use US military force to replace dictators with democratic governments
- Do not use nuclear weapons except in response to a nuclear attack

THE WAR ON TERROR

- In the effort to fight terrorism, strengthen international law through multilateral institutions, use military force, promote economic development of poor countries and be even-handed in the Israel-Palestinian conflict

- Do not use torture to gain information

REGIONAL ISSUES

IRAQ

- Keep US troops in Iraq for now, but do not increase the number
- Withdraw US forces if new Iraqi government requests it
- Do not establish permanent bases in Iraq

DARFUR

- Do contribute troops to a UN intervention to stop genocide in Darfur

IRAN

- Deal with Iran by trying to build better relations rather than through implied military threats
- Have the European Union and the UN, not the US, take the lead in dealing with Iran.

NORTH KOREA

- In the effort to persuade North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons program, be willing to sign a non-aggression pact and provide North Korea with more aid
- Do not use military force against North Korea unless the US has approval from the UN, US allies and South Korea

ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

- Be even-handed when dealing with the Israel-Palestinian conflict
- Do not invest more political effort and resources to resolve the Israel-Palestinian conflict

AFGHANISTAN

- Contribute troops to peacekeeping in Afghanistan

TAIWAN

- Do not use US troops in the event China invades Taiwan

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

- Limit greenhouse gasses through legislation, including the McCain Lieberman Climate Stewardship Act, even if this would incur significant costs
- Require car manufacturers to meet higher fuel efficiency standards, even if this would increase the cost of buying or leasing a car, and give tax credits for more energy efficient cars and appliances
- Participate in the Kyoto Treaty

**Opportunities for Bipartisan Consensus:
What Both Republicans and Democrats Want in US Foreign Policy January 18, 2005**

- Try to get developing countries to limit greenhouse gas emissions, but do not expect them to actually reduce

TRADE

- Work toward lowering trade barriers while also pursuing more trade adjustment assistance to help American worker to adapt
- Include requirements for minimum labor and environmental standards in trade agreements
- Pursue a Free Trade Area of the Americas
- Do not provide subsidies for large farming businesses, but do provide them for small farmers.

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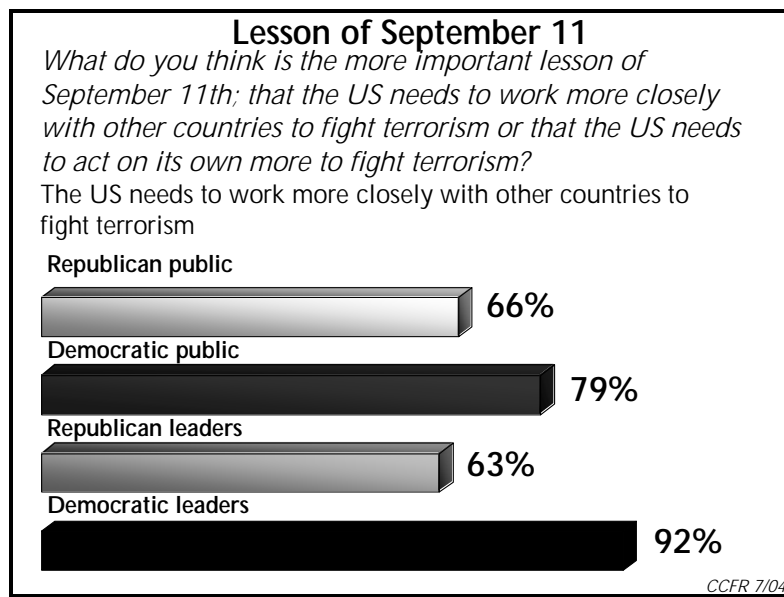
FINDINGS

THE US ROLE IN THE WORLD

Pursue a general policy that emphasizes multilateral cooperation over hegemony or isolationism

A strong consensus among the public and opinion leaders says that the US should pursue a general foreign policy that emphasizes multilateral cooperation. Asked by CCFR (July 2004) what is the primary lesson of September 11, among the public 66% of Republicans and 79% of Democrats said it was that the US needed “to work more closely with other countries to fight terrorism.” For the public sample overall, 77% took this position. Only 32% of Republicans and 18% of Democrats said that the primary lesson is that that the US needs to act on its own more to fight terrorism (overall 23%)

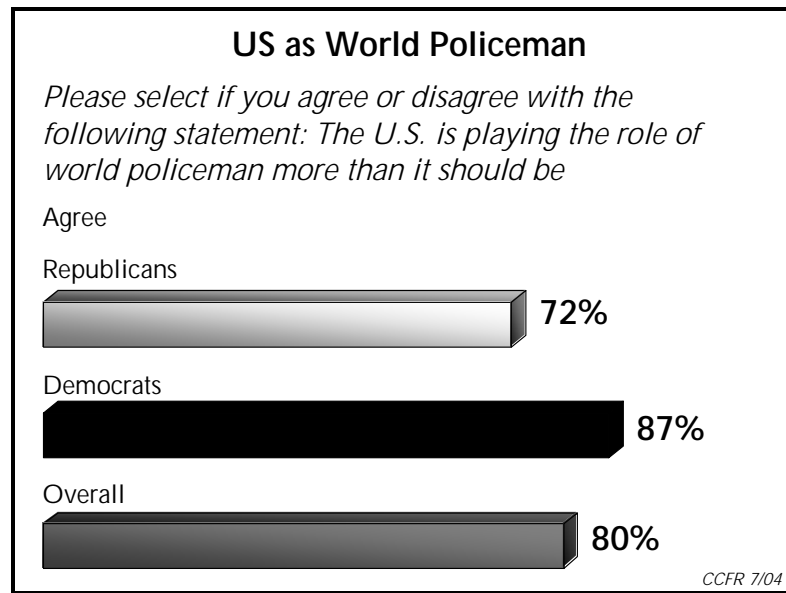
The leaders interviewed by CCFR were basically the same. Sixty-three percent of Republicans and 92% of Democrats said the key lesson of 9/11 is that the US needs to be more willing to cooperate with other countries (overall 84%).



Asked about what kind of role the US should play in the world, only small percentages of the public chose the hegemonic option of the US continuing “to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems” (Republicans 12%, Democrats 8%, overall 8%). Just as small a minority chose the isolationist option: “the US should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems” ((Republicans 10%, Democrats 10%, overall 10%). A very strong majority in all categories of the public chose the multilateral option, saying “The US should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries” (Republicans 76%, Democrats 79%, overall 78%).

In several questions majorities rejected the idea of the US playing the role of world policeman. Asked, “Do you think that the United States has the responsibility to play the role of ‘world policeman,’ that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur?” among the public, 73% of

Republicans and 80% of Democrats said no (overall 76%). Among leaders, 68% of Republicans and 79% of Democrats were opposed (overall 78%).



Clear majorities in both parties also criticized current US foreign policy, saying “The U.S. is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be.” Seventy-two percent of Republicans and 87% of Democrats felt this way. Overall 80% took this position, up from 65% when CCFR asked this question in 2002.

However, when the Bush administration is mentioned specifically, Republicans no longer say that in its relations with other countries it should be *more* cooperative. Asked by PIPA/KN in August 2003 whether “In its relations with other countries do you think the Bush administration should or should not be more cooperative” 54% of Republicans and 80% of Democrats agreed that the Bush administration should be more cooperative (overall 66%). However, in the December 2004 poll by PIPA/KN, while 52% overall continued to hold this position, the percentage of Democrats holding this position grew to 74% and the percentage of Republicans dropped sharply to 30%. It may be that in the aftermath of the presidential election there is a more partisan reaction when the president when is named specifically.

Curiously, though a modest majority of Republicans say that the Bush administration should not be more cooperative, when asked what it *will* do in its second term, a resounding 74% say that the Bush administration *will* be more cooperative. However, among the Democrats—three quarters of whom say that the Bush administration should be more cooperative—68% predict that it will *not* be more cooperative.

Make preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and combating international terrorism the top priorities in US foreign policy

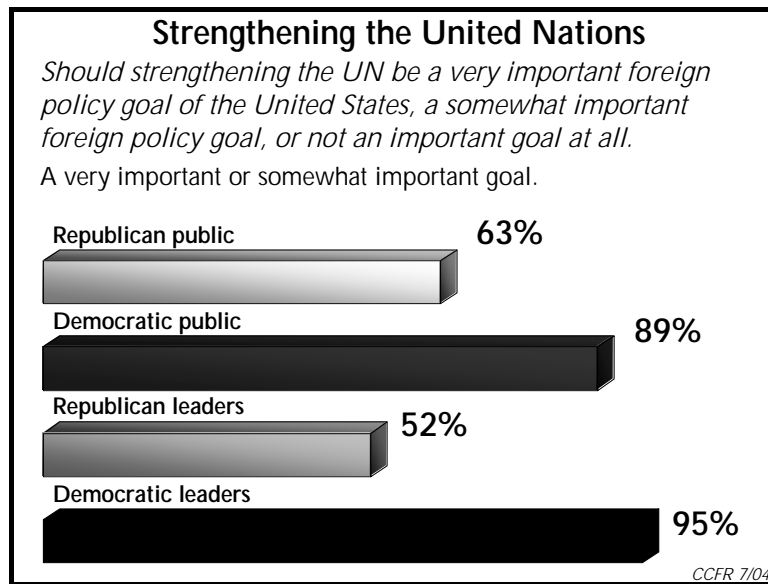
CCFR asked the public and foreign policy leaders to evaluate a list of fourteen goals for US foreign policy in terms of their relative importance. Two goals received overwhelming endorsement as “very important” by both the public and the leaders from both parties. One was preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, which among the public was endorsed by 76% of Republicans and 73% of Democrats, and among the leaders by 89% of Republicans and 87% of Democrats. Another was combating

international terrorism, which among the public was endorsed by 85% of Republicans and 68% of Democrats, and among the leaders by 93% of Republicans and 81% of Democrats.

MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS

Strengthen the UN

Majorities favor strengthening the United Nations. Among the public, 63% of Republicans and 88% of Democrats said that “strengthening the UN” should be a very or somewhat important goal for the US (overall 81%). Leaders were somewhat more divided along partisan lines, but still 52% of Republicans favored the idea, as did 95% of Democrats (overall 82%; CCFR, July 2004).



A dramatic demonstration of the level of public support for strengthening the UN was the broad support for the UN having its own peacekeeping force. Majorities of the public favored the idea of “having a standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained and commanded by the United Nations” (Republicans 67%, Democrats 81% overall 74%). The leaders, though, divided on the issue, with 79% of Democratic leaders favoring the idea, but only 38% of Republican leaders favoring it and 60% opposed (overall 67% favored, CCFR, July 2004).

The public also showed a broad readiness to subordinate its preferences to a multilateral decision-making process. Asked whether, “when dealing with international problems, the US should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that the United States will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice,” 75% of Democrats said that it should as did a plurality (50%) of Republicans. But here again, the leaders were more polarized. Ninety percent of Democratic leaders agreed, but only 43% of Republican leaders agreed, while 55% disagreed (overall 78%).

**Opportunities for Bipartisan Consensus:
 What Both Republicans and Democrats Want in US Foreign Policy** **January 18, 2005**

When PIPA/KN asked in December whether the Bush administration *would* be more willing to make decisions within the UN in its second term, 73% of Republicans and 77% of Democrats agreed that it would probably only be about as willing as it was in the first term.

On Iraq a majority of Democrats, and a majority overall, would like to see the UN take the leading role. Republicans have been less consistent in their support, though they have never clearly preferred having the US take the lead instead. Asked who should “have the stronger role in helping the Iraqis to write a new constitution and build a new democratic government in Iraq,” majorities overall have consistently said that it should be the UN (71% in July, CCFR, 69% in December, PIPA/KN) as did Democrats (80% and 89% respectively). However while 54% of Republicans felt this way in July, in December this dropped to 49%, with 51% favoring the US holding the stronger role.

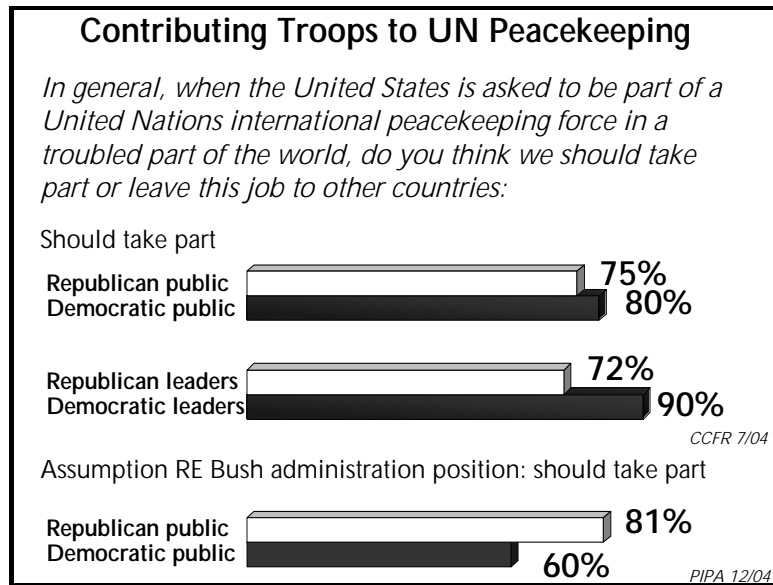
Among leaders there was less consensus. Ninety percent of Democratic leaders favored the UN taking the stronger role in Iraq. However, Republican leaders were more divided, with only 41% favoring the UN taking the stronger role and 47% favoring the US (July 2004, CCFR).

The public’s views of what the Bush administration prefers were quite unequivocal. Asked in December, 72% of Republicans and 73% Democrats assumed that the Bush administration will want the US, not the UN, to take the lead in Iraq (69% overall, PIPA/KN).

Take part in UN peacekeeping

Very strong majorities favor the US, as a general rule, contributing troops to UN peacekeeping operations as opposed to “leaving this job to other countries.” In the CCFR poll, 75% of Republicans felt that way, as did 80% of Democrats (overall 78%). Among leaders, 72% of Republicans took this position as did 90% of Democrats.

Very strong majorities also assume that President Bush favors the US taking part in UN peacekeeping. Eighty-one percent of Republicans, 60% of Democrats and 65% overall hold this assumption (PIPA/KN Sept 2004).



Comply with adverse WTO decisions

Consistent with their strong support for a general multilateral approach, strong majorities favored the US complying with adverse decisions of the WTO. Asked, “If another country files a complaint with the World Trade Organization and it rules against the US, as a general rule, should the US comply with that decision or not?” 60% of Republicans and 75% of Democrats said that it should (overall 69%). Among leaders, 72% of Republicans and 91% of Democrats felt that way (overall 85%, CCFR, July 2004).

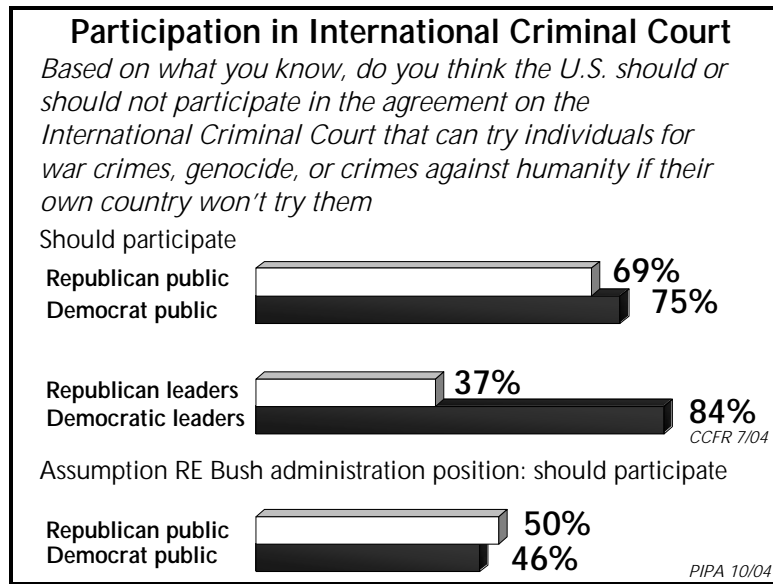
Participate in the International Criminal Court

Given that the US is not participating in the International Criminal Court, it is rather striking that large majorities of the public favor the US doing so. This includes 69% of Republicans and 75% of Democrats (76% overall, CCFR, July 2004).

To find out if this position is due to a lack of knowledge about the complexities of the issue, in 2002 CCFR gave some respondents more information about the issue, including the fact that some are concerned that US troops might be dragged in front of the court on trumped-up charges. Nonetheless, 70% still favored US participation (61% of Republicans, 76% of Democrats).

This consensus did not, however, extend to the leaders. While 84% of Democratic leaders and 70% of leaders overall favored participation, only 37% of Republican leaders were in favor while 58% were opposed (CCFR, July 2004).

Interestingly, there does not to be a clear understanding among the public that President Bush is opposed to US participation in the ICC. Asked in early September what they assumed Bush’s position was, 68% of Republicans and 51% of Democrats assumed that he favored US participation (PIPA/KN, Sept 2004). In October--shortly after the Presidential debate when Bush explicitly stated his opposition to the ICC--the perception that he supported it dropped, but still 50% of Republicans assumed he favored it, as did 46% of Democrats.



Give the WHO the power to intervene

CCFR asked the public about the possibility of giving the World Health Organization new powers. Asked, “Do you favor or oppose giving the World Health Organization the authority to intervene in a country to respond to a crisis that threatens world health, even if that country disagrees?” 75% of Republicans and 83% of Democrats said that they favored giving it this power (overall: 78%).

US MILITARY CAPACITY

Do not make further increases in the number of US military bases

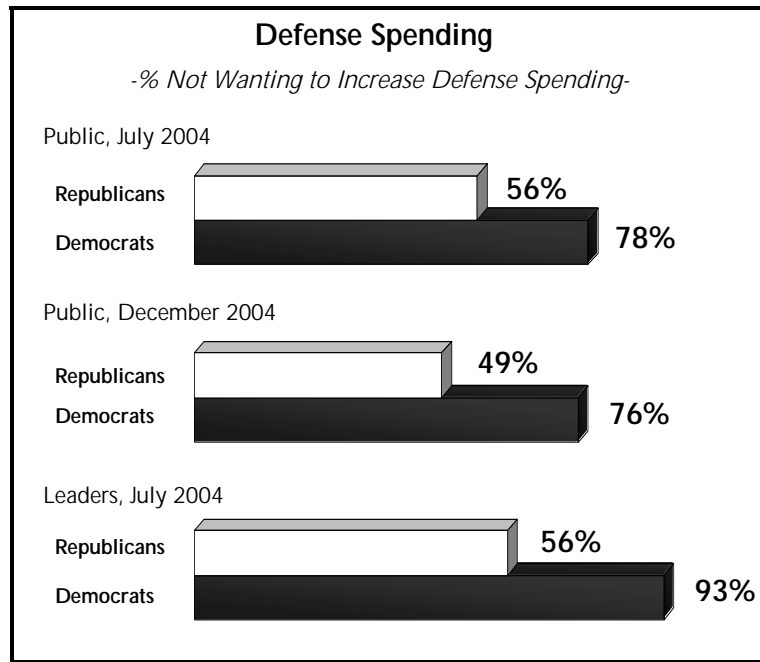
Following the expansion in the number of US bases in the post-9/11 period, there is not majority support for further increases. Asked by CCFR how many military bases the US should have around the world, only a very small number favored more bases (Republicans 13%, Democrats 10%, overall 11%). The most popular position was to continue to have the same number as now; a view endorsed by 59% of Republicans and 50% of Democrats (overall 54%). A significant number favored fewer bases (Republicans 25%, Democrats 37%, overall 31%).

Do not make further increases in defense spending

Following several years of expanding defense budgets, there is also not majority support for further increases. In the July 2004 CCFR poll 56% of Republicans, 78% of Democrats and 71% overall did not favor increases. In December 2004, Republicans were divided with 49% not favoring increases as was the case for 76% of Democrats, and 66% overall (PIPA/KN).

Leaders showed even lower support for increases. Only 62% of Republican leaders, 93% of Democratic leaders and 85% of leaders overall did not favor increases (CCFR, July 2004).

When the public was asked in December what they thought the Bush administration *would* propose, large majorities in all groups thought the Bush administration would propose to increase defense spending (Republicans 70%, Democrats 79%, overall 72%, PIPA/KN).



Do not develop new types of nuclear weapons

Asked in December 2004, “Do you think it is or is not necessary for the US to develop new types of nuclear weapons, beyond those that it already has?” majorities of Republicans (56%) and Democrats (75%) agreed that such development was not necessary (overall 66%). There was little difference from when PIPA/KN asked this question in March 2004, when 54% of Republicans and 69% of Democrats felt this way (overall 65%).

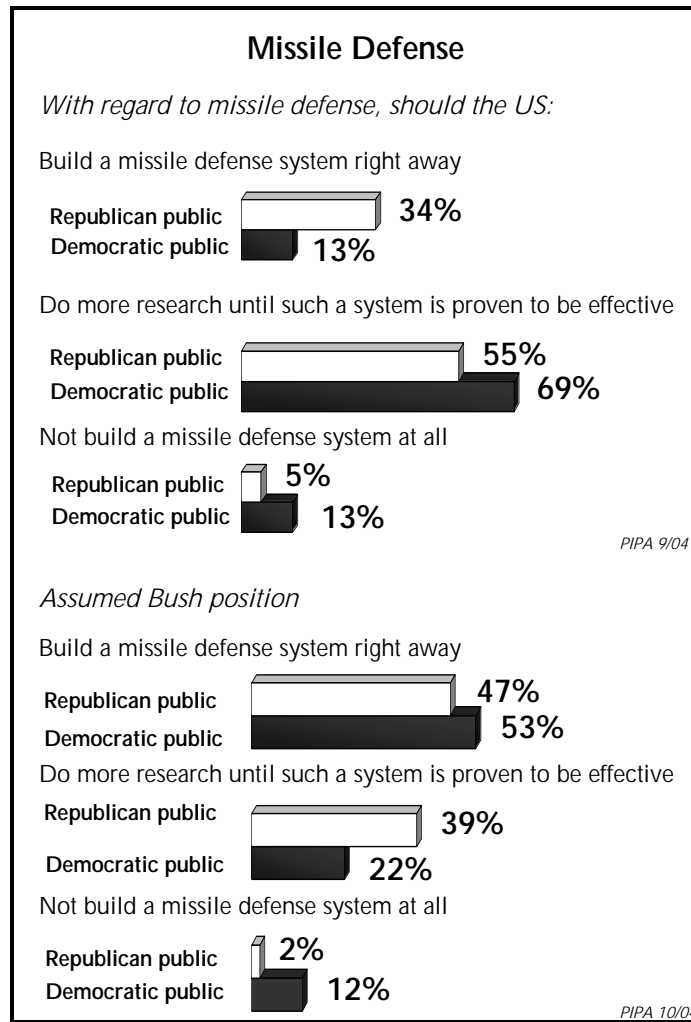
However, Republicans and Democrats differ when asked what they think the Bush administration *will* do in its second term on this issue. Republicans are divided, with 48% assuming the administration will propose developing new types of nuclear weapons, and 47% assuming that it will not. Among Democrats, a large 68% majority assumed the administration will propose such development (overall: will, 56%).

Continue research on missile defense but do not deploy until proven effective

Overall there is little support for proceeding with deployment of missile defense, but there is majority support for continuing research. In September 2004, PIPA/KN offered respondents three options and one garnered a majority among all categories. Fifty-five percent of Republicans, 69% of Democrats and 62% overall endorsed the view that the US “continue research on missile defense, but do not deploy until it is proven to be effective.” Only 34% of Republicans wanted to proceed to build a missile defense system now, with just 13% of Democrats agreeing (overall 20%). An even smaller 5% of Republicans and 13% of Democrats did not want to build a missile defense system at all (overall 13%).

Leaders were not asked this question in 2004, but were asked by CCFR in 2002. Here too a majority supported research but not deployment, with 59% of Republicans and 58% of Democrats agreeing with this position (overall 58%). Thirty-six percent of Republican leaders supported building right away, as did 4% of Democrats (overall 15%), while 37% of Democrats said it should not be built (Republicans 2%, overall 24%).

When PIPA/KN asked in October 2004 what they assumed President Bush’s position to be on this question, a plurality of Republicans (47%) and a majority of Democrats (53%) assumed President Bush wants to build a missile defense system right away (overall 50%). Thirty-nine percent of Republicans said Bush wants to research missile defense first, as did 22% of Democrats (overall 30%). Few said Bush does not want to build it at all: 2% of Republicans and 12% of Democrats thought this (overall 7%).

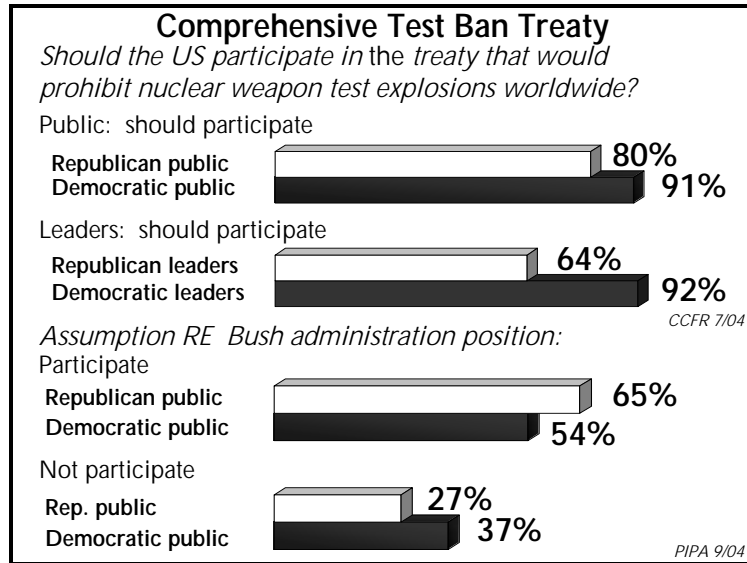


Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

Though the US has failed to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, or CTBT, there remains a long-standing consensus to do so. CCFR asked again in July 2004 whether “the US should or should not participate in the treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide.” Overall 87% were in favor, with Republicans at 80% and Democrats at 91%. PIPA/KN asked the same question in September 2004 and found slightly lower support, with Republicans at 68% and Democrats at 86% (overall 76%).

Leaders held the same view. Sixty-four percent of Republicans and 92% of Democrats favored participation in CTBT (overall 85%, CCFR, July 2004).

Interestingly, the majority of the public--especially Republicans--assumed, incorrectly that President Bush favors US participation in CTBT. Asked by PIPA/KN in September 2004, 57% overall assumed that he favored US participation, including 65% of Republicans and 54% of Democrats.

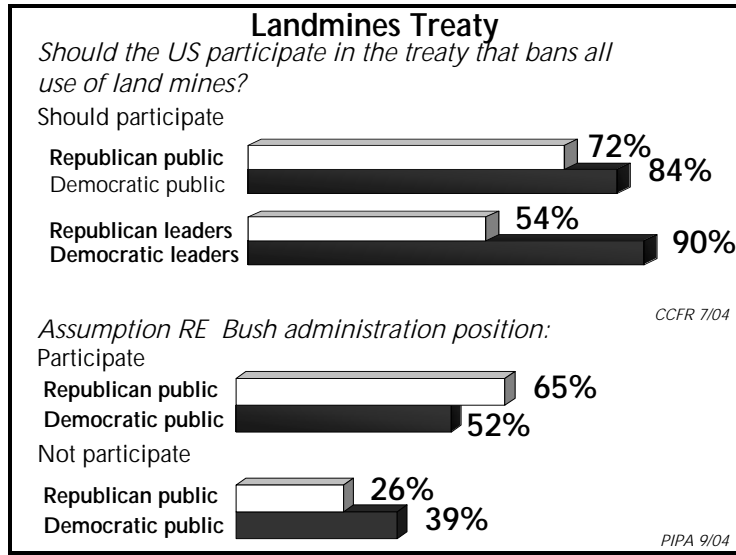


Participate in the Land Mines Treaty

A long-standing consensus also remains in favor of the US ratifying the Convention on Land Mines. CCFR asked again in July 2004 whether the US should or should not participate “in the treaty that bans all use of land mines.” Very large majorities of Republicans (72%) and Democrats (84%) agreed the US should (overall 80%). PIPA/KN asked the same question in September 2004 and found support from 66%, 75% and 71% respectively.

The CCFR poll also found bipartisan majority approval among opinion leaders for participating in the land mines treaty, though the majority among Republican leaders was modest—54%--and very high among Democratic leaders (90%). Overall, 80% of leaders were in favor.

In September 2004 PIPA/KN asked for perceptions of President Bush’s position on the land mines treaty and here again found widespread misperceptions. Overall, 56% incorrectly assumed that Bush supports US participation including, 65% of Republicans and 52% of Democrats.



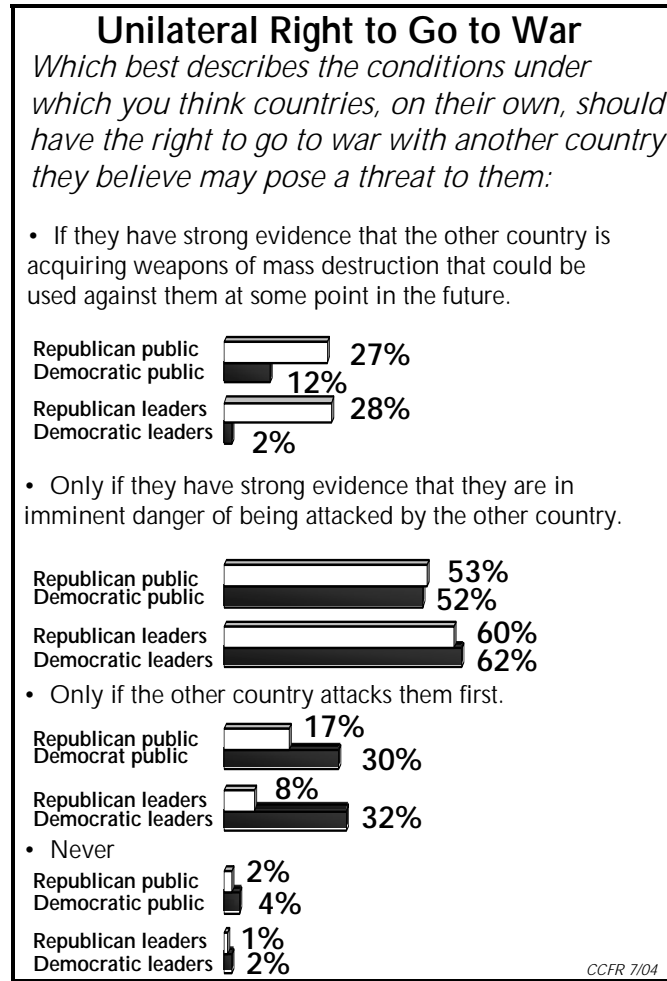
THE USE OF US MILITARY FORCE: PRINCIPLES

If a government is developing weapons of mass destruction or supporting terrorists, only go to war if there is an imminent threat to the US, or the UN Security Council approves

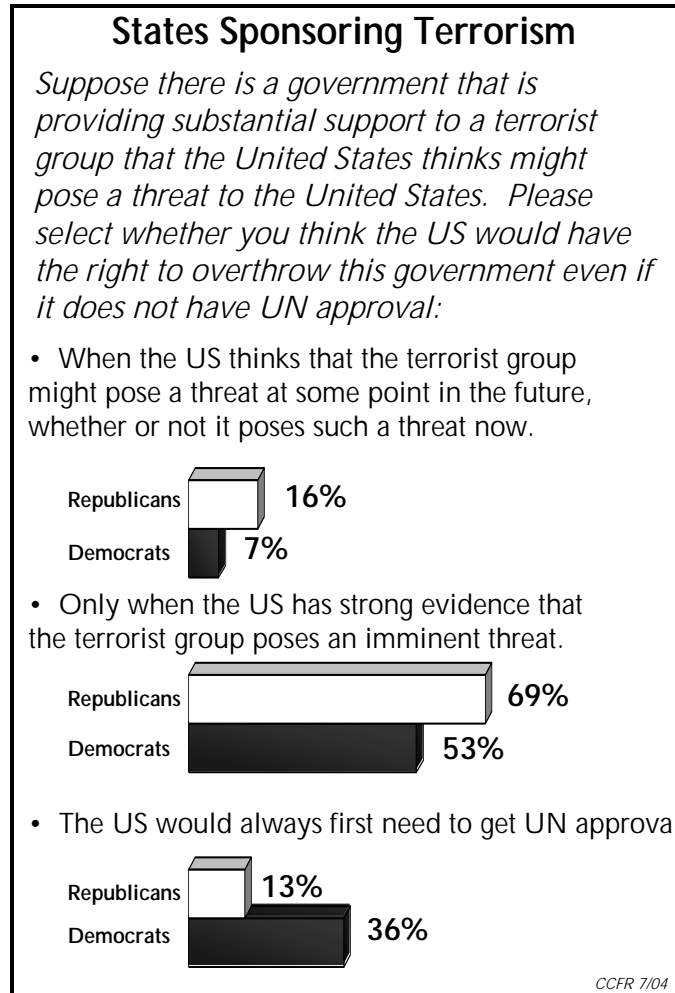
A major debate during the run-up to the Iraq war centered on the conditions under which a country has the right to go to war with another state which they believe poses a threat to them. Traditionally, states have been seen as having this right only if they are attacked first or if such an attack is imminent. The Bush administration in its first term made the case that if a country is developing weapons of mass destruction a state has such a right, even if the threat of attack is not imminent. This debate is highly relevant to the current conflict with Iran over the possibility that it may develop nuclear weapons.

There appears to be a rather strong bipartisan consensus rejecting the notion that states, on their own, should have the right to go to war with another country that is developing weapons of mass destruction. Asked in July by CCFR, “Which best describes the conditions under which you think countries, on their own, should have the right to go to war with another country they believe may pose a threat to them” and given four options, only 27% of Republicans and 12% of Democrats (overall 17%) chose the one that said: “If they have strong evidence that the other country is acquiring weapons of mass destruction that could be used against them at some point in the future.” A majority of Republicans (53%) and Democrats (52%; overall 53%), instead chose the traditional position that nations can go to war “only if they have strong evidence that they are in imminent danger of being attacked by the other country.” Others chose even more restrictive principles. Seventeen percent of Republicans and 30% of Democrats and 24% overall chose “Only if the other country attacks them first,” and 2% of Republicans, 4% of Democrats and 4% overall chose the pacifist position “Never.”

Leaders responded very similarly. Only 28% of Republicans, 2% of Democrats and 10% overall endorsed the view that military action could be taken if another country is developing WMD that could be used against them at some point in the future. A substantial 60% of Republicans and 62% of Democrats endorsed the traditional principle that imminent threat was the key criterion (overall 61%). Smaller numbers endorsed the other more restrictive positions.

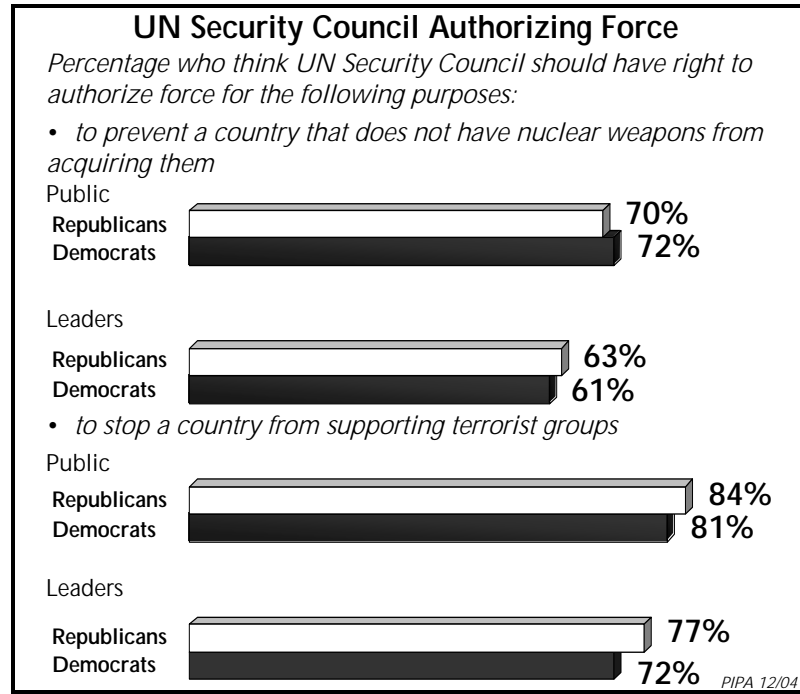


Another key argument made in the run-up to the Iraq war was that the US had the right, without UN approval, to overthrow a government that was supporting terrorist groups. Respondents were asked, “Suppose there is a government that is providing substantial support to a terrorist group that the United States thinks might pose a threat to the United States. Please select when you think the US would have the right to overthrow this government even if it does not have UN approval.” Here again a majority of Republicans (69%), Democrats (53%) and overall (58%) endorsed the traditional view that the US could do this “only when the US has strong evidence that the terrorist group poses an imminent threat.” Just 16% of Republicans, 7% of Democrats and 11% overall chose the more permissive principle: “When the US thinks that the terrorist group may pose a threat at some point in the future, whether or not it poses such a threat now.”



Strong majorities did agree, however, that the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force even without there necessarily being an imminent threat. 70% of Republicans, 72% of Democrats and 70% overall agreed that the UN Security Council should have the right “to prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them.” Among leaders, 63% of Republicans, 61% of Democrats, and 62% overall agreed as well.

Similarly there was a consensus that the US Security Council has the right to authorize the use of force “to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups,” including Republicans 84%, Democrats 81% and 81% overall. Among leaders, 77% of Republicans, 72% of Democrats and 73% overall also held this view.



Do use US military force to deal with a humanitarian crisis, especially to stop genocide

There seems to be a strong consensus in favor of using US troops to address a humanitarian crisis, especially to stop genocide. The July CCFR poll posed a number of possible uses of US troops. Asked about the purpose of “deal[ing] with humanitarian crises,” 70% of Republicans, 73% of Democrats and 72% overall favored using US troops for this purpose.

Support for using troops “to stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people” received even higher support. It was endorsed by 77% of Republicans, 72% of Democrats and 75% overall. Among leaders, the use of troops to stop genocide was endorsed by 81% of Republicans, 90% of Democrats and 86% overall.

Public support for intervening to stop genocide was also reflected in the support for contributing US troops to a military intervention for Darfur, discussed below.

Do not use US military force to replace dictators with democratic governments

When the US failed to find the anticipated weapons of mass destruction in Iraq or evidence that Iraq had provided support to al Qaeda, some argued that overthrowing Saddam Hussein’s government was justifiable, on the basis that it removed a dictatorship so as to install a democracy. However, it does not appear that most Americans concur that in principle US troops should be used for such a purpose. Asked by CCFR about using US troops “to install democratic governments in states where dictators rule,” 61% of Republicans, 67% of Democrats and 63% overall opposed this idea.

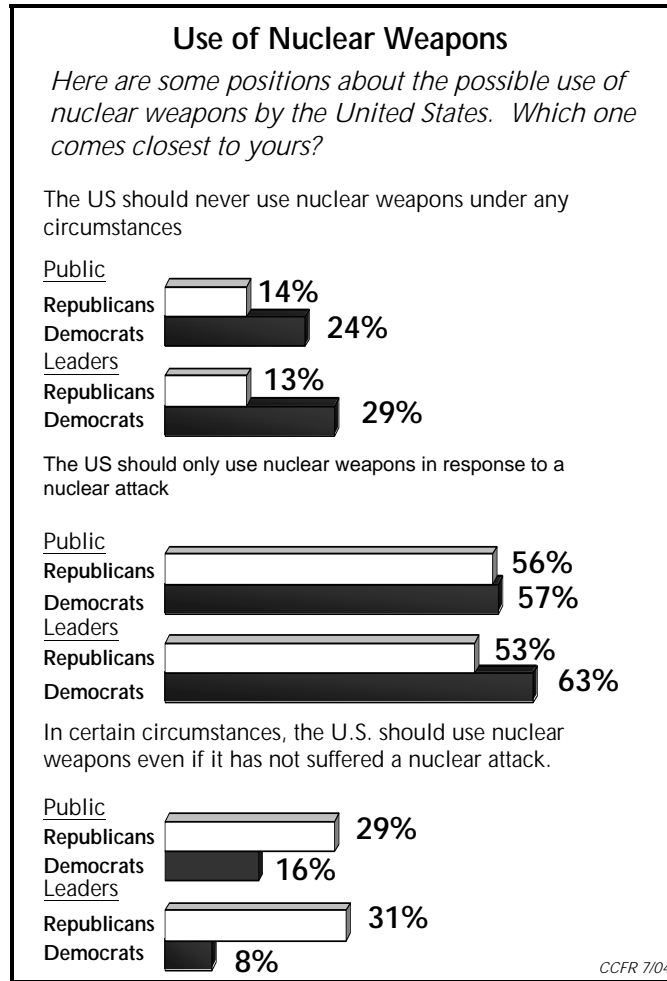
Do not use nuclear weapons except in response to a nuclear attack

While the emphasis of US nuclear doctrine has been on having nuclear weapons to deter the first use of nuclear weapons by others, US policy has never eschewed the option of using nuclear weapons first. However, the option was always placed in the context of doing so as a last resort in response to an overwhelming conventional attack, and this possible use was quite controversial. More recently, some have argued that in the context of the war on terrorism it may be appropriate to use nuclear weapons first.

However, among the public and the leaders there appears to be a fairly strong consensus that the US should never use nuclear weapons first. In the CCFR poll, among the public only 29% of Republicans, 16% of Democrats, and 19% overall endorsed the view that “in certain circumstances, the US should use nuclear weapons even if it has not suffered a nuclear attack.” The most common view, held by 56% of Republicans, 57% of Democrats and 57% overall was that “the US should only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack.” The position that the US should never use nuclear weapons was endorsed by 14% of Republicans, 24% of Democrats and 22% overall.

Leaders were almost exactly the same. Only 31% of Republican and 8% of Democratic leaders endorsed the first use of nuclear weapons. Fifty-three percent of Republicans and 63% of Democrats opted instead for second-use only, while just 13% of Republicans and 29% of Democrats insisted on never using nuclear weapons.

When the public was asked what they thought the Bush administration’s position was on this issue in the December PIPA/KN poll, the most common view (held by 53% of Republicans, 48% of Democrats, and 50% overall) was that the US should only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack. Though the Bush administration has spoken of the possibility of using nuclear weapons first, only 38% of Republicans, 42% of Democrats and 40% overall assumed that was the administration’s position.



THE WAR ON TERROR

In the effort to fight terrorism, strengthen international law through multilateral institutions, use military force, promote economic development of poor countries and be even-handed in the Israel-Palestinian conflict.

In the CCFR poll, the public and leaders were given a list of eleven possible measures to combat international terrorism. Methods that received strong consensus among the public and leaders included both some that involve the use of military force and others that involve methods involving international law, multilateral institutions, economic development and diplomacy.

The highest level of support was for methods that would strengthen international law through multilateral institutions. The approach of “working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members enforce them” was supported by 87% of the public overall, including 81%

**Opportunities for Bipartisan Consensus:
What Both Republicans and Democrats Want in US Foreign Policy** **January 18, 2005**

of Republicans and 92% of Democrats. An even larger majority of leaders (94%) supported this approach, including 85% of Republicans and 98% of Democrats.

There was also significant support for trying “suspected terrorists in the International Criminal Court,” with 81% of Republicans and 85% Democrats agreeing (overall 82%). Among leaders, 59% of Republicans and 87% of Democrats supported the ICC (overall 80%).

Measures involving the use of force also scored high. Overall 83% supported “US air strikes against terrorist training camps and other facilities,” including 90% of Republicans and 80% of Democrats. Among leaders overall, 83% supported such air strikes, including 100% of Republicans and 80% of Democrats.

Overall, 76% supported the use of “attacks by U.S. ground troops against terrorist training camps and other facilities”: 83% of Republicans and 70% of Democrats. Among leaders, support was 74% overall: 93% of Republicans and 71% of Democrats.

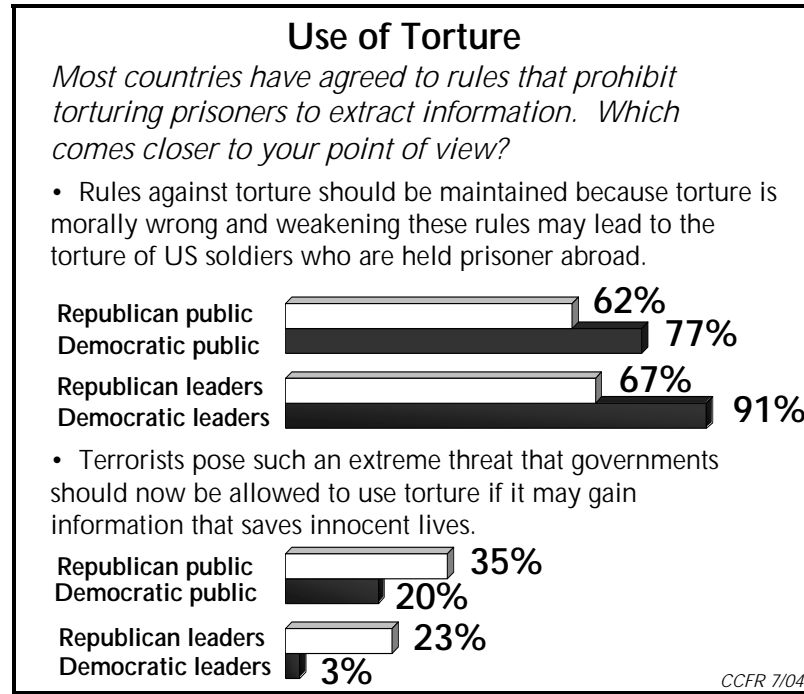
Other non-military approaches are also quite popular. Addressing terrorism by helping poor countries develop their economies garnered majority support with 66% of both Republicans and Democrats supporting such aid (overall 64%). Among leaders this approach was one of the two most popular at 94% overall, including 86% of Republicans and 98% of Democrats agreeing.

There was also strong public support for “making a major effort to be even-handed in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,” with 64% of Republicans and 69% of Democrats agreeing (overall 64%). Here again, support was even higher among leaders, with 78% of Republicans and 91% of Democrats supporting this approach to the conflict (overall 89%).

Do not use torture to gain information

The public and leaders were quite unequivocal in their rejection of the possible use of torture to gain information in the war on terrorism. A majority of Republicans (61%) opposed the use of torture, as did 75% of Democrats (overall 66%; CCFR, July). Such opposition was even stronger among leaders, with 74% of Republicans and 95% of Democrats opposing the use of torture (overall 88%).

To find out whether the public might be persuaded by arguments, CCFR presented respondents the argument that “terrorists pose such an extreme threat that governments should now be allowed to use torture if it may gain information that saves innocent lives,” as well as the argument that “rules against torture should be maintained because torture is morally wrong and weakening these rules may lead to the torture of US soldiers who are held prisoner abroad.” In this case, an even larger majority took the position against torture (70% overall), including 62% of Republicans and 77% of Democrats. Among leaders, 85% overall took the position against all use of torture: 67% of Republicans and 91% of Democrats agreeing.



REGIONAL ISSUES

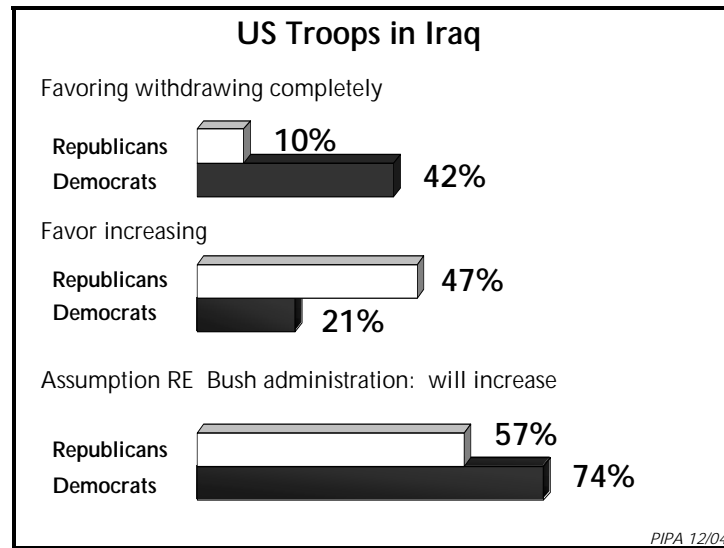
IRAQ

Keep US troops in Iraq for now, but do not increase the number.

Though Democrats and Republicans differ sharply about whether going to war with Iraq was the right decision, there is substantial consensus that the US should keep its troops in Iraq for now. When the December PIPA/KN poll asked what should occur over the next six months, only 10% of Republicans and 42% of Democrats wanted to withdraw troops completely (overall 27%). However, these numbers are up from the responses given in the October 2004 PIPA/KN poll when 7% of Republicans and 28% of Democrats wanted to withdraw (overall 19%).

There is not a consensus to increase the number of troops. While 47% of Republicans favor increasing, 42% favor maintaining or decreasing the number of troops. Among Democrats only 21% favor increases, as do 32% overall.

Contrary to their wishes, most of the public, including 57% of Republicans and 74% of Democrats, believes that the Bush administration will increase troop levels over the next six months (overall 62%).



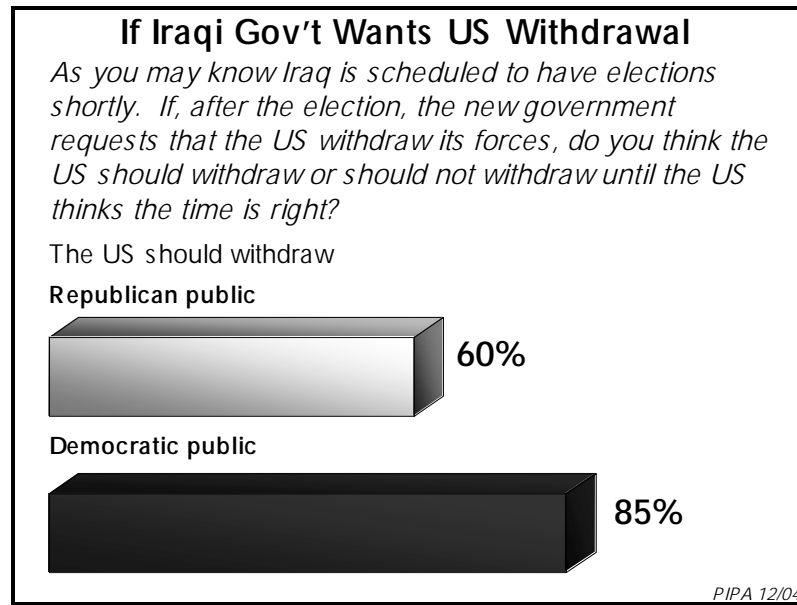
Behind this support for continuing US troops' presence is the belief that democracy must be established in Iraq. CCFR asked "Before the US withdraws from Iraq, do you think it is or is not necessary to have a democratically-elected government?" Republicans (71%) and Democrats (57%) said that it is necessary for Iraq to have a democratically elected government before the US withdraws from Iraq (overall 62%; July 2004).

This is not the consensus position among leaders, though. While 64% of Republican leaders said that establishing democracy is necessary, only 39% of Democratic leaders agreed (overall 46%). Fifty-six percent of Democratic leaders said it is not necessary.

Withdraw US forces if new Iraqi government requests it

An Iraqi election has been scheduled for January 30th, 2005. In the December 2004 PIPA/KN poll respondents were asked "if after the election, the new government requests that the US withdraw its forces," whether the US "should withdraw" or "should not withdraw until the US thinks the time is right." Sixty percent of Republicans and 85% of Democrats said that, in this event, the US should withdraw the troops (overall 73%). Only 38% of Republicans and 14% of Democrats said the US should not withdraw until the US thinks the time is right (25%).

This is consistent with the response to a CCFR question in July that asked what the US should do if the majority of Iraqis want the US to withdraw. Sixty-two percent of Republicans and 79% of Democrats (overall 72%) said the US should withdraw. This consensus position is also evident among leaders, with 61% of Republicans and 70% of Democrats agreeing (overall 68%).



Earlier PIPA/KN polling has also indicated a strong readiness for the US to accept electoral outcomes that the US may view as unfavorable. In a poll conducted December 2003, strong majorities of both Republicans (74%) and Democrats (79%) said the US should accept the outcome of Iraqi elections even if it is unfriendly to the US (overall 78%), and 63% of Republicans and 76% of Democrats said the US should accept the outcome even if Iraqis elect an Islamic leader who wants to institute Islamic law (overall 71%).

Do not establish permanent bases in Iraq

The public is opposed to the establishment of permanent bases in Iraq. The October 2004 PIPA/KN poll found that 58% of Republicans and 77% of Democrats opposed to the US having permanent bases in Iraq (overall 67%).

DARFUR

Do contribute troops to a UN intervention to stop genocide in Darfur

Very large majorities of both Republicans and Democrats agree that “the members of the UN should step in with military force and stop the genocide in Darfur, Sudan.” In the December poll, 83% of Republicans and 71% of Democrats thought the members of the UN should intervene (overall: 74%, PIPA/KN, December 2004).

A large majority also believes that the US should contribute troops to such an operation. The current poll asked: “If other members of the UN are willing to contribute troops to a military operation to stop the genocide in Darfur, do you think the US should or should not be willing to contribute some troops as well?” Strong majorities of Republicans (62%) and Democrats (64%) agreed the US should (overall: 60%). Thirty-four percent of Republicans and 26% of Democrats were opposed.

It should be noted that this question did describe what is occurring in Darfur as genocide (as has the US government). However, when PIPA/KN did not refer to the operation as genocide, support for contributing US troops was nearly as high. In a July 2004 PIPA/KN poll, 54% of Republicans and 64%

**Opportunities for Bipartisan Consensus:
What Both Republicans and Democrats Want in US Foreign Policy** **January 18, 2005**

of Democrats said the US should be willing to contribute one quarter of the troops “for a UN military force to enforce the ceasefire agreement in Darfur” if other countries were willing to contribute the other three quarters” (overall: 57%).

In the same poll, respondents were posed the question of whether genocide was occurring in Darfur. Respondents were presented two arguments on the question. Sixty-four percent of Republicans and 56% of Democrats chose the position that genocide was in fact taking place (overall: 56%); only 22% of Republicans and 24% of Democrats preferred the position that it was “not really genocide” but “a civil war between the government and people in a resistant region that happen to be of a different ethnic group” (overall: 24%).

Asked what should occur if the UN were to determine that genocide is occurring in Darfur, 74% of Republicans and 69% of Democrats thought that “then the UN, including the US, should decide to act to stop the genocide even if it requires military force” (overall: 69%).

However the December poll found low levels of confidence that the international community will step in. When asked whether they think “the international community, including the US,” will actually “step in with military force and stop the genocide in Darfur,” the public is divided but leans toward pessimism, with 42% thinking this will take place and 47% thinking it will not. Republicans divide 45% to 47%, and Democrats 41% to 50%.

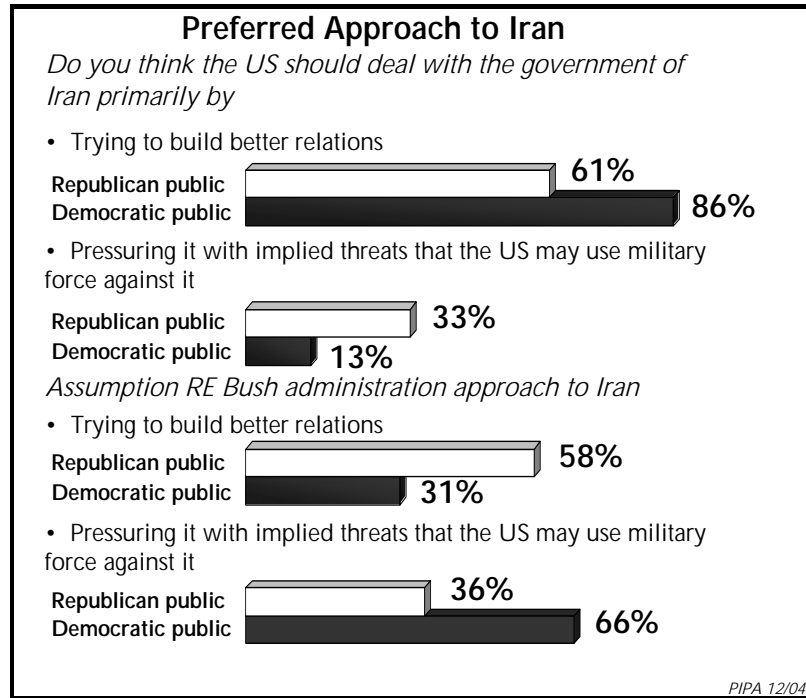
PIPA/KN’s July poll also found strong support for the use of economic and diplomatic measures. Seventy-two percent of Republicans and 75% of Democrats thought “the UN should put pressure on the Sudanese government to stop the militias, by deciding that all UN members should freeze the assets of Sudanese officials and ban them from traveling to other countries” (overall: 68%).

IRAN

Deal with Iran by trying to build better relations rather than through implied military threats

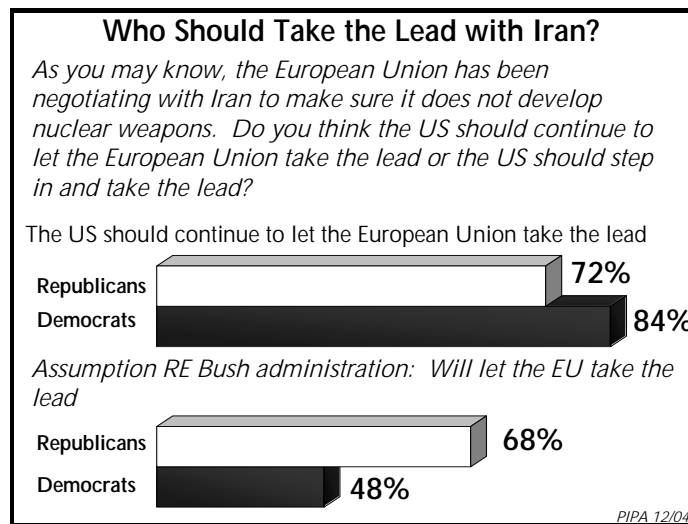
Another Middle Eastern hotspot that dominates the news is Iran, where there is strong support for the US to deal with Iran by trying to build better relations rather than through military threats. Sixty-one percent of Republicans support trying to build better relations, as does an overwhelming 86% of Democrats and 75% overall. Only 33% of Republicans and 13% of Democrats support pressuring Iran with implied threats of force (overall 21%, PIPA/KN, Dec 2004).

Republicans and Democrats differ in their estimation of what the Bush administration will do in its second term. Consistent with their preferences, a majority of Republicans (58%) believe that Bush will try to build better relations, while 66% of Democrats, contrary to their preferences, assume that Bush instead will use implied threats of force. Overall the public is divided, with 47% assuming he will build better relations and 48% that he will use threats.



Have the European Union and the UN, not the US, take the lead in dealing with Iran

Over the last year several countries from the European Union, through the auspices of the UN, have taken the lead role in negotiating with the Iranians in regard to their nuclear program--which has the potential to become a nuclear weapons program. Strong majorities of both Republicans (72%) and Democrats (84%) support the US letting the EU take the lead in Iran (overall 77%). Only small minorities of Republicans (24%) and Democrats (13%) would prefer the US to step in and take the lead (overall 20%).



**Opportunities for Bipartisan Consensus:
What Both Republicans and Democrats Want in US Foreign Policy** **January 18, 2005**

There is not a clear consensus about what the Bush administration will do on this question. While overall 57% think the Bush administration will let the EU take the lead, including 68% of Republicans, Democrats are divided, with 48% saying the administration will let the EU take the lead and 48% saying it will step in and take the lead (Republicans 25%, overall 37%).

Earlier polling has also found strong support for having the UN, not the US, take the lead with Iran. In a July 2003 PIPA/KN poll, the public was asked whether the US or the UN should take the lead to “make sure that Iran does not make nuclear weapons and does not support Palestinian groups that use terrorism.” A majority of Republicans (55%) and a large majority of Democrats (69%) supported the UN taking the lead (overall 62%).

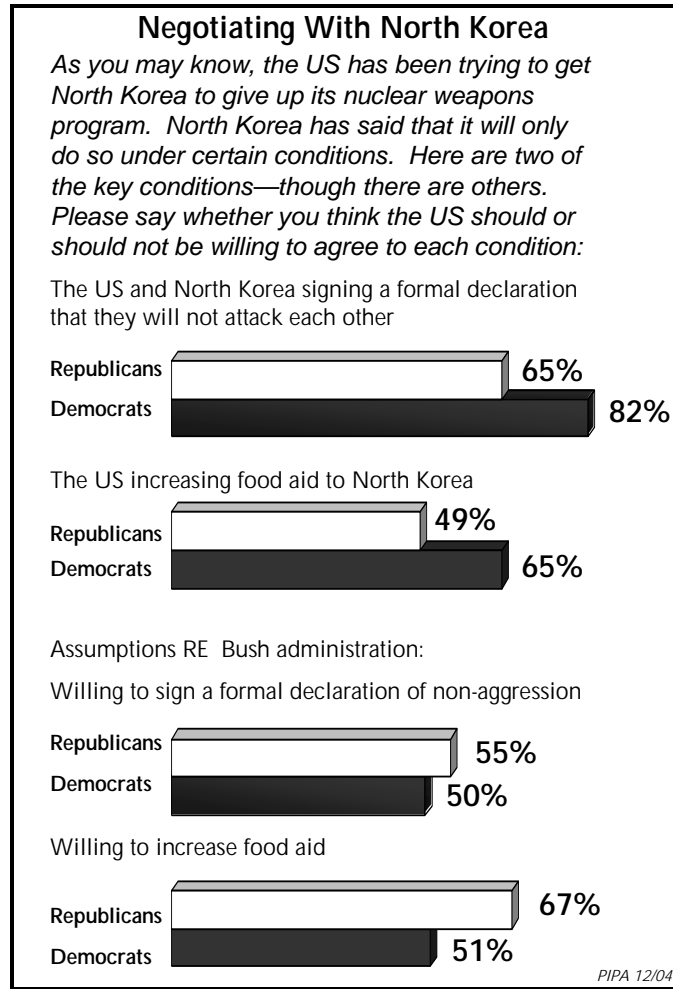
NORTH KOREA

In the effort to persuade North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons program, be willing to sign a non-aggression pact and provide North Korea with more aid

Strong majorities of Republicans and Democrats agree that the US should be willing to sign a formal declaration with North Korea that each country will not attack the other, as part of the effort to negotiate an end to North Korea’s nuclear weapons program. Respondents were told (PIPA/KN, December 2004) that while this is a key condition raised by North Korea, it has also raised others—making clear that meeting the condition could not assure success in negotiations. Even so, 65% of Republicans and 82% of Democrats said the US should be willing to sign such a formal declaration (overall: 72%).

Another condition that has been raised by North Korea is that the US increase its food aid. (Again, respondents knew that meeting this condition could not assure success.) Overall, 56% agreed to this condition, as did 65% of Democrats; however, Republicans were evenly divided (49%-49%).

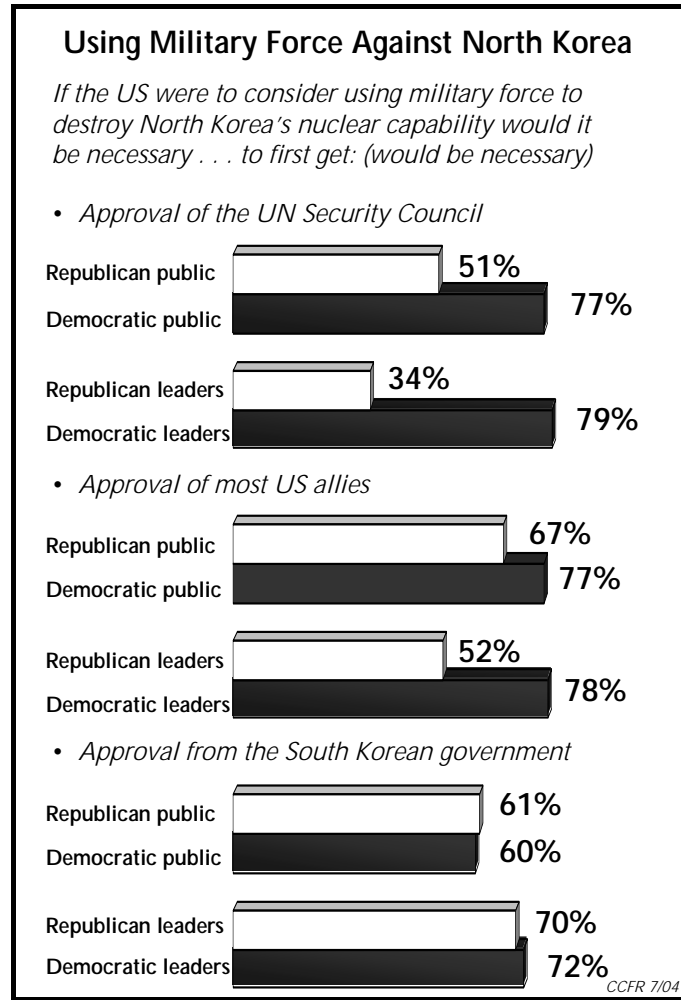
The current poll also asked whether respondents thought the Bush administration would be willing to agree to these conditions. Fifty-five percent of Republicans thought the administration would be willing to sign a non-aggression pact, and a 50% plurality of Democrats thought so as well (overall: 50% would be willing, 44% would not be willing). And though Republicans were themselves divided over whether the US should be willing to increase food aid to North Korea, 67% of them thought the administration would be willing to do so. However, only a bare majority of Democrats (51%) agreed with them. (Overall: 59% would be willing, 35% would not be willing to increase food aid.)



Do not use military force against North Korea unless the US has approval from the UN, US allies and South Korea

In CCFR’s July 2004 poll, a series of questions probed for Americans’ views about the possibility of using military force against North Korea. Overall, majorities thought that “if the US were to consider using military force to destroy North Korea’s nuclear capability,” it would be necessary to first get UN approval (68%), the approval of most US allies (74%), and the approval of the South Korean government (58%). There were Republican majorities on all three of these points (UN 51%, allies 67%, South Korea 61%) and likewise among Democrats (UN 77%, allies 77%, South Korea 60%).

These views were shared for the most part by CCFR’s elite sample. Among Republican opinion leaders, 52% said allies’ approval was necessary and 70% said this for the South Korean government, but only 34% said this for the UN. Among Democratic opinion leaders, 78% said allies’ approval was necessary and 72% said this for the South Korean government; 79% also said this for the UN.

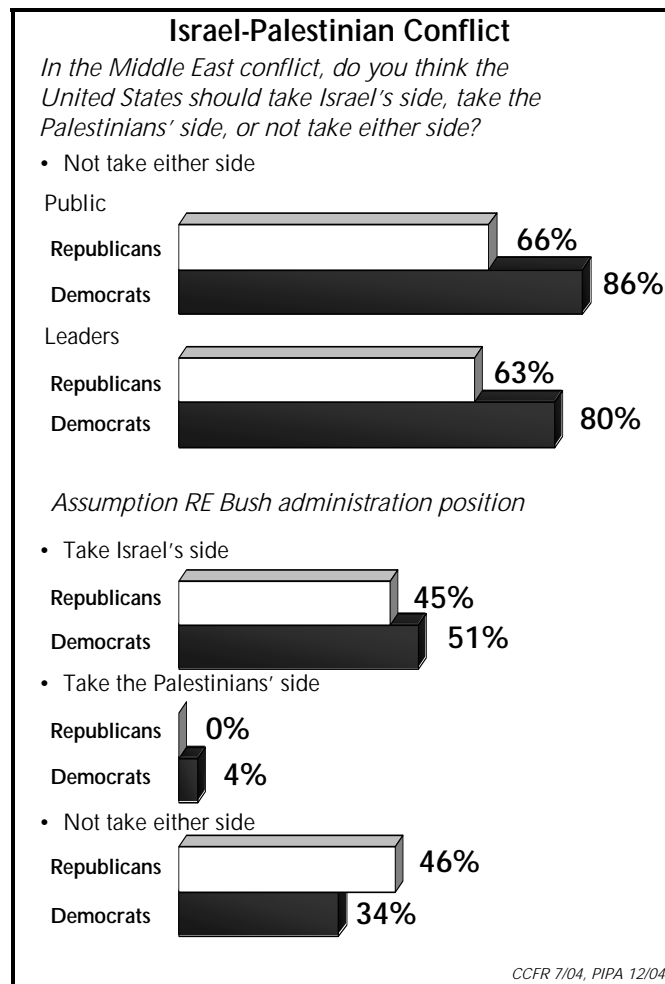


ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

Be even-handed when dealing with the Israel-Palestinian conflict

Reflecting a long-standing majority attitude, CCFR in July 2004 found a consensus for not taking sides in the Israel-Palestinian conflict. Offered the options of taking Israel's side, the Palestinians' side, or not taking either side, 65% of Republicans and 82% of Democrats wanted to take neither side (overall: 74%). Views in CCFR's elite sample mirrored those of the public, with 63% of Republicans and 80% of Democrats preferring to not take either side (overall 77%).

In the current poll, PIPA/KN asked: "What do you think the Bush administration will probably do in its second term regarding the Middle East conflict?" and offered the same three options. In the public as a whole, no clear picture emerged: 44% thought the administration would take Israel's side while 43% thought it would not take either side (take the Palestinians' side: 2%). Neither Republicans nor Democrats had a strong majority perception of the administration on this subject. Forty-five percent of Republicans and 51% of Democrats thought the administration would take Israel's side, while 46% of Republicans and 34% of Democrats thought it would not take either side.



Do not invest more political effort and resources to resolve the Israel-Palestinian conflict

The passing from the scene of Yasser Arafat and the upcoming Palestinian elections has stirred policy discussion of whether the US should make a strong new effort to promote a settlement. There is broad bipartisan consensus in the public that the US should not do this. PIPA/KN/KN asked, “Do you think the US should or should not invest more political effort and resources than it did in the past four years toward resolving the Israel-Palestinian conflict?” Sixty-three percent of Republicans and Democrats alike said the US should not invest a higher level of effort (overall: 64%). Only 33% of Republicans and 34% of Democrats said the US should do so.

This public reluctance to see the US put itself further into the foreground in the Israel-Palestinian conflict also surfaced in PIPA/KN’s May 2003 study on the subject, “Americans on the Middle East Road Map.” That poll included a scenario in which the US proposed the outlines of a final settlement:

It has been suggested that if it appears after a time that the road map process is failing, the United States should strongly take the initiative and formulate a detailed final plan that would specify future borders for a Palestinian state, the status of Jerusalem, and other central issues. The US

would then seek international consensus as part of an effort to convince all parties to accept these solutions. Do you think this would be a good idea or not a good idea?

A 46% plurality said this would not be a good idea, while 37% said it would be. Republicans rejected it by 52% to 42%, while Democrats were divided (43% not a good idea; 41% good idea).

The public has very low expectations of success where the Israel-Palestinian conflict is concerned. The May 2003 poll offered seven ways the US could apply pressure on the parties—four for Israel and three for the Palestinians—and every one received majority support. But even after learning about these ways the US could apply pressure, only a narrow plurality thought they would succeed in getting Israel to stop building settlements, and only 42% thought they would work “to get the Palestinian leaders to build a strong police force effective enough to stop terrorist activities” (would not: 46%).

Americans see the conflict as quite intractable and not likely to be solved by the US deciding to take the lead. In May 2003 the public approved President Bush’s performance by a very large majority. However, when asked whether they agreed or disagreed that “The only way that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can possibly be solved is if President Bush takes a strong leadership role,” 59% disagreed (58% of both Republicans and Democrats) and only 32% agreed.

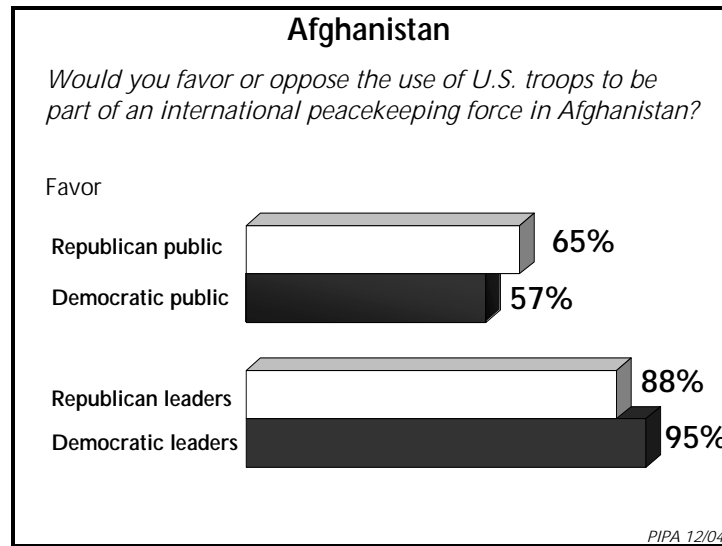
PIPA/KN also asked whether respondents thought the Bush administration probably would or would not “invest more political effort and resources than it did in the past four years toward resolving the Israel-Palestinian conflict.” Only Republicans had a clear majority outlook, with 59% saying the administration would invest a higher level of effort (would not: 34%). Democrats were divided, with 49% saying the administration would make an extra investment and 45% saying it would not (overall: 51% will invest more; 41% will not invest more, PIPA/KN, Dec 2004).

AFGHANISTAN

Do contribute troops to peacekeeping in Afghanistan

Despite the strain of deploying troops to deal with the situation in Iraq, there is consensus in favor of the US contributing some of its troops to peacekeeping efforts in Afghanistan. CCFR asked in July 2004 whether Americans favored or opposed a range of possible uses for US troops. Sixty-five percent of Republicans and 57% of Democrats said they would favor US troops being “part of an international peacekeeping force in Afghanistan” (overall: 60%).

Willingness to support such a move was almost unanimous in CCFR’s elite sample. Eighty-eight percent of Republican and 95% of Democratic leaders favored it.



TAIWAN

Do not use US troops in the event China invades Taiwan

There is consensus in the public across parties that, if China were to invade Taiwan, US troops should not be engaged in the conflict. In the CCFR July 2004 poll, 55% of Republicans and 65% of Democrats said they would oppose the use of US troops in such an event (overall: 61%).

This consensus did not prevail in the CCFR elite sample, however. Only 24% of Republican and 40% of Democratic elite respondents opposed the use of US troops if China were to invade Taiwan. Sixty-nine percent and 47% respectively favored US military action in such a case.

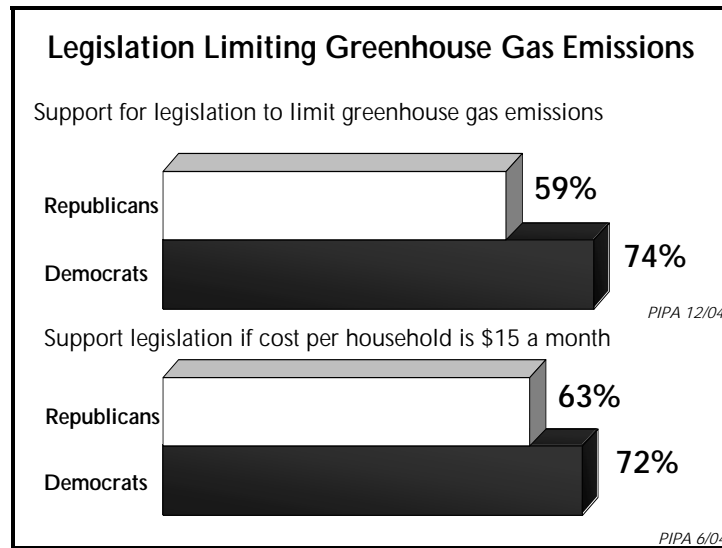
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Limit greenhouse gases through legislation, including the McCain-Lieberman Climate Stewardship Act, even if this would incur significant costs

When asked whether they favor legislation that limits US emissions of greenhouse gases, which contribute to climate change (also called global warming), a majority of Republicans (59%) say they favor such legislation, as do 74% of Democrats (overall 64%). Only 35% of Republicans and 19% of Democrats oppose such legislation (overall 29%, PIPA/KN Dec 2004).

There is also substantial support for domestic legislation intended to address the issue. In June 2004 PIPA/KN presented respondents with a description of a major piece of legislation, called the McCain Lieberman Climate Stewardship Act, which requires greenhouse gas limitations on large companies. Among Republicans 77% supported the legislation, as did 85% of Democrats (81%).

People were shaken only slightly when presented possible costs for such legislation. When asked to assume that this would cost them an additional \$10 a month, 71% of Republicans still favored the legislation, as did 81% of Democrats (overall 75%). At \$15 a month Republican support was still 63% and Democrats' 72% (overall 67%).



Require car manufacturers to meet higher fuel efficiency standards, even if this would increase the cost of buying or leasing a car, and give tax credits for more energy-efficient cars and appliances

There is also broad political support for legislation that would reduce emissions without addressing the problem of climate change directly. Most people support efforts to improve efficiencies, with strong majorities supporting legislation that requires “car manufacturers to meet higher fuel efficiency standards even if this would increase the cost of buying or leasing a car.” Among Republicans 74% supported such restrictions in December, up from 58% in a similarly asked question in a June 2004 PIPA/KN poll. Strong majorities of Democrats also supported such restrictions (83%; overall 77%), up from 67% in June.

There is also significant support for requiring greater production of hybrid electric cars. Sixty-one percent of Republicans said half of all cars made should be hybrids by 2010, with 79% of Democrats agreeing (overall 71%; PIPA/KN June 2004).

Strong majorities support the use of tax incentives. Seventy-nine percent of both Republicans and Democrats supported tax incentives to purchase hybrid electric cars (overall 78%). Similar results were also obtained regarding tax credits for green appliances, with 77% of Republicans and 81% of Democrats favoring such incentives (overall 80%).

Participate in the Kyoto Treaty

The public also shows support for the Kyoto Treaty on Climate Change. In July 2004, CCFR asked whether the US should participate in the Kyoto treaty and 55% of Republicans and 79% of Democrats said it should (overall 71%). More recently, in a PIPA/KN September 2004 study, support was similar, with 51% of Republicans and 77% of Democrats supporting participation (overall 65%).

In 2002 CCFR presented a longer version of the question about the Kyoto Treaty which included the argument that “Some people say this would hurt the US economy and is based on uncertain science,” as well as the argument that “Others say this is needed to protect the environment and could create new business opportunities.” In this case, support for participation was a bit higher than it was in response to

**Opportunities for Bipartisan Consensus:
What Both Republicans and Democrats Want in US Foreign Policy** **January 18, 2005**

the bare-bones question: 70% favored the US joining the treaty, including 52% of Republicans and 83% of Democrats.

CCFR found, though, that leaders are polarized along partisan lines. Only 28% of Republican leaders support participation in Kyoto, while 89% of Democratic leaders do support participation (overall 72%; July 2004).

When PIPA/KN asked for their perception of President Bush's position on Kyoto in September 2004, the public was divided. Though Bush has visibly opposed US participation in the Kyoto treaty, 46% of Republicans thought that he supported participation, while 47% correctly perceived that he opposed it. Democrats were only slightly more accurate, with 41% believing he supported participation and 47% saying he opposed it (overall: 40% perceived support, 46% perceived opposition).

Try to get developing countries to limit greenhouse gas emissions, but do not expect them to actually reduce

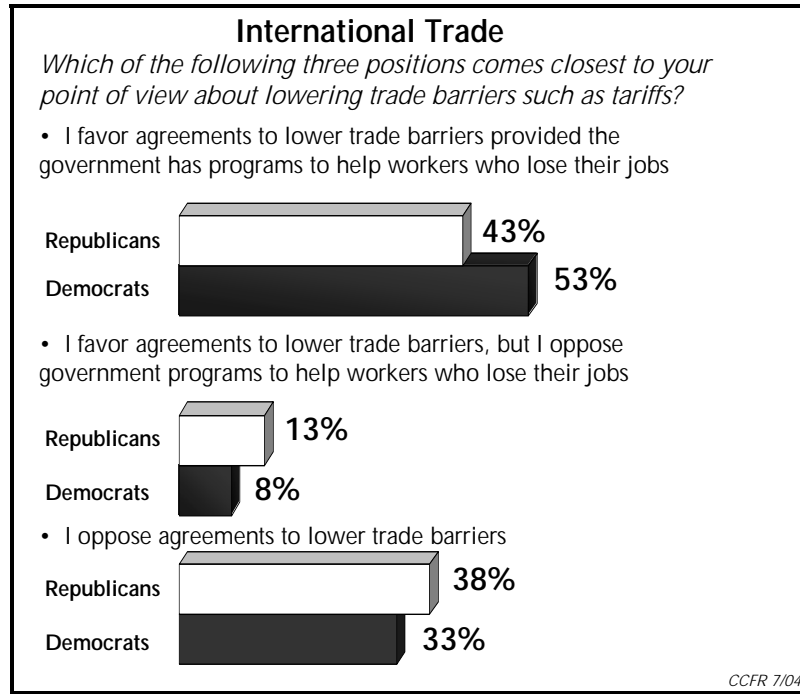
A major controversy surrounding the Kyoto Treaty is that it does not require that developing countries reduce their greenhouse gas emissions. Some have argued that developing countries should be required to reduce, just like developed countries. Others have argued that this is unfair since, on a per capita basis, developing countries produce so much less and this would block their economic development. When Americans were presented this dilemma in a June 2004 PIPA/KN poll, only a minority in each party favored requiring poor countries to actually reduce their emissions (Republicans 35%, Democrats 25%, overall 30%). At the same time, only minorities said that global warming is a problem created by the rich and therefore the poor countries should not have any responsibility to limit their emissions at all (Republicans 23%, Democrats 21%, overall 22%). The middle, consensus position endorsed by a plurality overall (42%), and 34% of Republicans and 48% of Democrats, was that developing countries should not be required to cut their emissions, but they should be required to limit them through greater efficiency.

TRADE

Work toward lowering trade barriers while also pursuing more trade adjustment assistance to help American worker to adapt.

A variety of polls conducted over the last year indicate a bipartisan consensus that the US should work toward lowering trade barriers while doing more to help workers adapt to change (i.e. provide more trade adjustment assistance)-- though this consensus is not quite as robust as it was in the past.

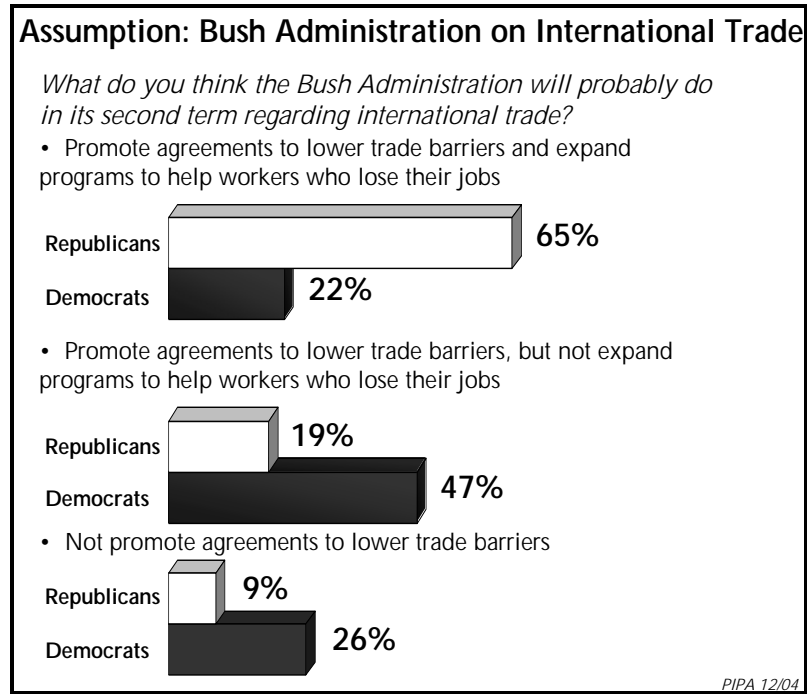
In the July CCFR poll, respondents were given three options to describe their "point of view about lowering trade barriers such as tariffs." Across Republicans, Democrats and independents only about a third of each group (33-38%) opposed agreements to lower trade barriers. Pluralities of all three groups said "I favor agreements to lower trade barriers provided the government has programs to help workers who lose their jobs." Small minorities of all three groups favored lowering trade barriers but opposed the programs.



Other polls indicate that an even larger percentage than this plurality favor the US government providing more trade adjustment assistance. In January 2004 PIPA/KN asked respondents their “impression of government efforts to help retrain workers who have lost jobs due to international trade.” More than three in five—63%--said these efforts were “not adequate,” including a 50% plurality of Republicans and 73% of Democrats. This consensus, though, is not as equally bipartisan as it was in 1999, when PIPA/KN found 57% of Republicans and 58% of Democrats held this view (it should be noted that a Democratic administration was being evaluated then).

The majority view that the government should have a share of the responsibility to retrain workers is a bipartisan one. Asked whether this responsibility should fall to corporations that benefit from international trade, to the government, or to both, 54% of Republicans and 71% of Democrats said “to both” (overall: 61%, PIPA/KN, Jan 2004).

The current poll asked respondents how they thought the Bush administration would handle the issues of international trade and worker adjustment assistance in its second term. There was little consensus. Two out of three Republicans (65%) said the administration would both promote trade agreements and expand programs to help workers who lose their jobs. However, only 22% of Democrats expected this (overall: 42%). A 47% plurality of Democrats thought Bush would promote agreements, but not expand programs for displaced workers (Republicans: 19%, overall: 32%). Only 9% of Republicans thought the administration would simply not promote trade agreements, while 26% of Democrats thought so (overall: 18%).

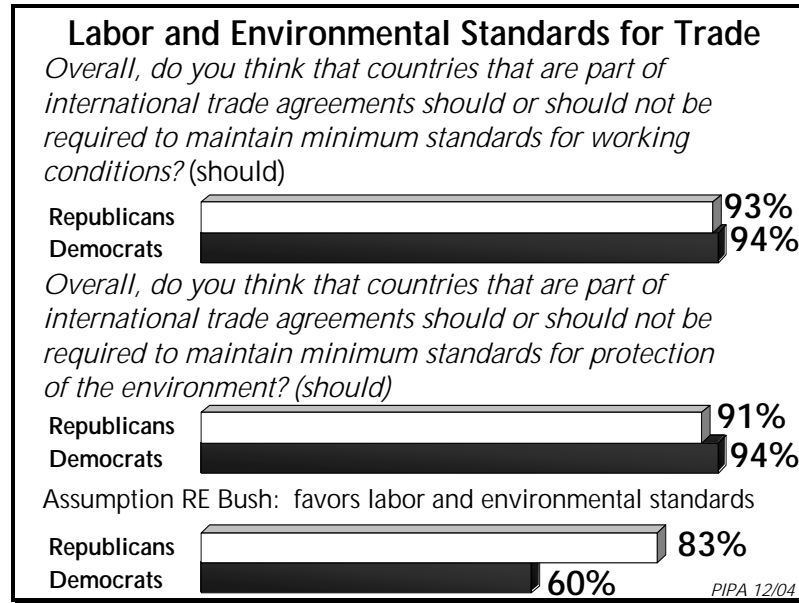


Include requirements for minimum labor and environmental standards in trade agreements

Support for the principle of integrating minimum labor and environmental standards into trade agreements remains near-unanimous, as it has been since 1999. In CCFR's poll (June 2004), labor standards in such agreements were backed by 93% of Republicans and 94% of Democrats; environmental standards were backed by 91% of Republicans and 94% of Democrats.

This consensus also prevailed among CCFR's elite sample, where 69% and 67% of Republicans supported labor standards and environmental standards, respectively, and 93-94% of Democrats supported both.

Across the spectrum, majorities believe that President Bush also is a supporter of integrating labor and environmental standards into trade agreements. Eighty-three percent of Republicans and 60% of Democrats assume that Bush holds this position (independents: 75%, PIPA/KN Sept 2004).



Do pursue a Free Trade Area of the Americas

There is clear and quite bipartisan majority support for negotiating a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). In CCFR’s poll (July 2004), respondents were told that governments of the hemisphere had been discussing the idea, “similar to what the US now has with Mexico and Canada in NAFTA.” The idea was favored by 57% of Republicans and 56% of Democrats.

In CCFR’s elite sample support was even higher. Eighty-three percent of Republicans and 63% of Democrats were supportive.

Do not provide subsidies for large farming businesses, but do provide them for small farmers.

A much-noted obstacle to further international trade negotiations has been the scale of subsidies for agriculture in the developed countries, most of which go to large farming businesses. In July 2004 (CCFR), strong majorities of Republicans and Democrats opposed “giving subsidies to large farming businesses” (73% and 71%, respectively). On the other hand, strong majorities (68% of Republicans and 74% of Democrats) did support “the US government giving subsidies to small farmers, who work farms less than 500 acres.”

CCFR’s elite sample was even more emphatic in its rejection of subsidies to large farming businesses. An overwhelming 81% of Republicans and 89% of Democrats opposed them (overall 85%).

Support for subsidies to small farmers was distinctly less here than among the public and was divided along partisan lines. While 55% of Democratic opinion leaders were in favor (31% opposed), 53% of Republican opinion leaders were opposed (40% favor). Overall 50% of leaders favored subsidies to small farmers while 39% were

METHODOLOGY

The poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks, a polling, social science, and market research firm in Menlo Park, California, with a randomly selected sample of its large-scale nationwide research panel. This panel is itself randomly selected from the national population of households having telephones and subsequently provided internet access for the completion of surveys (and thus is not limited to those who already have internet access). The distribution of the sample in the web-enabled panel closely tracks the distribution of United States Census counts for the US population on age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, geographical region, employment status, income, education, etc.

The panel is recruited using stratified random-digit-dial (RDD) telephone sampling. RDD provides a non-zero probability of selection for every US household having a telephone. Households that agree to participate in the panel are provided with free Web access and an Internet appliance, which uses a telephone line to connect to the Internet and uses the television as a monitor. In return, panel members participate in surveys three to four times a month. Survey responses are confidential, with identifying information never revealed without respondent approval. When a survey is fielded to a panel member, he or she receives an e-mail indicating that the survey is available for completion. Surveys are self-administered.

For more information about the methodology, please go to:

www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.