

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL
THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

**What Kind of Foreign Policy
Does the American Public Want?**

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: 10/06/06- 10/15/06
Sample Size: 1058

Margin of Error: +/- 3.1 % [full sample]
+/- 3.6 % [3/4 sample]

Q1: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?

Approve.....	37%
Republicans.....	80
Democrats	8
Independents	29
 Disapprove	61
Republicans.....	19
Democrats	91
Independents	69
 (No Answer).....	2

Q2: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?

Approve.....	24%
Republicans.....	44
Democrats	11
Independents	20
 Disapprove	72
Republicans.....	52
Democrats	85
Independents	76
 (No Answer).....	4

Q3. Thinking ahead to this November’s elections, if the Congressional election were held today, would you vote for the:*

Democratic candidate in your district.....	57%
Republicans.....	10
Democrats	97
Independents	53
 Republican candidate in your district	38
Republicans.....	89
Democrats	2
Independents	29
 (No Answer).....	5

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q4. When thinking about who you would vote for in the upcoming Congressional race, are you looking more for a candidate who will:

Support the current approach to US foreign policy	26%
Republicans.....	54
Democrats	5
Independents	19
 Pursue a new approach to US foreign policy.....	71
Republicans.....	43
Democrats	91
Independents	77
 (No Answer).....	4

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q5. Which statement comes closest to your point of view?

	10/06	7/94
The US should not make sacrifices in an effort to help the world as a whole	22%	14%
Republicans.....	20	
Democrats	22	
Independents	25	
 Sometimes the US should be willing to make some sacrifices if this will help the world as a whole.....	75	84
Republicans.....	77	
Democrats	74	

* If respondent initially refused to answer the question, they were presented the following: “If you had to vote, which way would you lean?”

Independents	71	
(No Answer).....	4	2

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q6. In the effort to fight terrorism, do you think that in the future, compared with what it has been doing, the Bush administration:

	10/06	9/03
Should put more emphasis on military methods.....	28%	35%
Republicans.....	44	52
Democrats	19	23
Independents	22	31
Should put more emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods.....	67	58
Republicans.....	52	41
Democrats	77	74
Independents	74	66
Has the balance about right*	2	4
Republicans.....	4	7
Democrats	2	2
Independents	2	1
(No Answer).....	2	3

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q7: Do you think that the way the Bush administration has been conducting US foreign policy has, on balance, increased or decreased each of the following:

	Increased	Decreased
a. the likelihood of terrorist attacks against the US	60%	37%
Republicans.....	27	69
Democrats	80	19
Independents	70	26
b. goodwill toward the US	18%	78%
Republicans.....	31	64
Democrats	8	89
Independents	19	76

* If respondent initially did not answer the question, they were re-presented the same question with this third option.

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q8. On the whole, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the position of the United States in the world today?

	PIPA	Gallup	Gallup	Gallup
	10/06	2/05	4/03	5/00
Satisfied	30%	48%	67%	65%
Republicans.....	55			
Democrats	11			
Independents	25			
Dissatisfied	68	51	30	33
Republicans.....	44			
Democrats	87			
Independents	73			
(No Answer).....	2			

Q9. When retired military officers publicly offer their evaluations of current government military policies, do you think:

This is an appropriate and valuable contribution to the public discussion	66%
Republicans.....	50
Democrats	78
Independents	67
It is inappropriate for retired military officers to use the prestige of their military service to offer critiques of government policy	31
Republicans.....	48
Democrats	18
Independents	27
(No Answer).....	4

[3/4 SAMPLE A,C,D]

Q10. When you are thinking about whether the US should use military force in a certain situation, how much weight do you give to the opinions of retired military officers?

None.....	12%
Just a little	19
Some	50
A lot	19
(No Answer).....	1

None/Just a little	
Republicans.....	39%
Democrats	21
Independents	35

A lot/Some	
Republicans.....	60%
Democrats	78
Independents	62

[3/4 SAMPLE A,C,D]

Q11. Would you favor or oppose your member of Congress voting to pay America’s dues for UN peacekeeping?

Favor	51%
Republicans.....	44
Democrats	60
Independents	43
Oppose	42
Republicans.....	49
Democrats	32
Independents	49
(No Answer).....	7

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q12. In its dealings with foreign countries and its handling of international problems, do you think the Bush Administration:

	PIPA	Pew
	10/06	7/04
Tries hard enough to reach diplomatic solutions	32%	33%
Republicans.....	68	
Democrats	7	
Independents	21	
Is too quick to get American military forces involved	65	59
Republicans.....	29	
Democrats	91	
Independents	74	
(No Answer).....	3	8

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q13. Which of the following would you prefer to have the most influence on US foreign policy—the views of:

The majority of Republicans.....	14%
Republicans.....	38
Democrats	2
Independents	6
 The majority of Democrats	11
Republicans.....	2
Democrats	20
Independents	5
 The majority of the American public as a whole.....	71
Republicans.....	59
Democrats	76
Independents	80
 (No Answer).....	4

[3/4 SAMPLE A,C,D]

Q14. What do you think is the more important lesson of September 11th ?

	PIPA 10/06	CCGA 7/04	PIPA 9/03	CCGA 6/02
The US needs to work more closely with other countries to fight terrorism	72%	73%	81%	61%
Republicans.....	70		75	
Democrats	79		89	
Independents	63		83	
 The US needs to act on its own more to fight terrorism	24	23	16	34
Republicans.....	27		24	
Democrats	17		11	
Independents	31		14	
 (No Answer).....	4		3	5

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q15: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement. These days, when the US government justifies its foreign policies to the American people, it plays on people's fears too much.

Agree.....	65%
Republicans.....	36
Democrats.....	87
Independents.....	70
Disagree.....	31
Republicans.....	61
Democrats.....	10
Independents.....	25
(No Answer).....	4

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q16. Do you think that when average Americans think about terrorism they are more fearful or less fearful than you?

More fearful than you.....	74%
Republicans.....	74
Democrats.....	78
Independents.....	69
Less fearful than you.....	19
Republicans.....	22
Democrats.....	15
Independents.....	23
(No Answer).....	6

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q17. How important is it for people in other countries to feel goodwill toward the US?

Not at all.....	3%
Not very.....	9
Somewhat.....	40
Very.....	47
(No Answer).....	1
Not at all/Not very	
Republicans.....	16%

Democrats	8
Independents	13

Very/Somewhat

Republicans.....	84%
Democrats	91
Independents	85

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q18. As you may know, many people in the Middle East have negative attitudes toward the United States. Do you think these negative attitudes are based mostly on their

Dislike of American values.....	34%
Republicans.....	59
Democrats	20
Independents	27

Dislike of American policies in the Middle East	62
Republicans.....	38
Democrats	78
Independents	67

(No Answer).....4

[3/4 SAMPLE A,C,D]

Q19. Which view is closer to yours?

Congress was elected by the American people. Therefore it is clear that the partisan conflict in Congress is a good mirror of the attitudes in the American public.....	24%
Republicans.....	28
Democrats	27
Independents	15

The American public is fairly reasonable and if they had more influence, members of Congress would be more cooperative and less partisan.	69
Republicans.....	65
Democrats	68
Independents	77

(No Answer).....7

Q20. When it comes to developing foreign policy in Congress do you think the way to find the best foreign policy is for the Democrats and Republicans:

To cooperate and try to find common ground that incorporates elements from both sides.....	90%
Republicans.....	90
Democrats	93
Independents	82
To fight for what they think is best and see which side prevails	7
Republicans.....	7
Democrats	6
Independents	10
(No Answer).....	3

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q21: The US government has different types of resources to deal with international problems. For the following types of US government resources please select how well developed you think they are on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not well developed at all and 10 meaning very well developed.

[PRESENT ALL FOUR ON SAME SCREEN – PROVIDE STANDARD NUMBERED BOX]

	Mean	Median
a. Military resources such as well-trained troops, advanced weapons and strategically placed bases.....	7.32	8
b. Diplomatic resources such as well-trained diplomats, embassies throughout the world, and advanced communication systems	5.90	6
c. Intelligence resources such as well-trained agents, diverse language skills, and advanced technological systems.....	6.09	6
d. Resources for helping poor countries, such as expertise in improving educational systems, developing economies, and promoting trade	5.73	6

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q22. Do you think Congress is:

Doing too much to oversee U.S. foreign policy.....	21%
Republicans.....	22
Democrats	18
Independents	23
Not doing enough to oversee U.S. foreign policy.....	53
Republicans.....	39
Democrats	66
Independents	51
Doing the right amount	17
Republicans.....	29
Democrats	7
Independents	18
(No Answer).....	9

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q24. STATEMENT: As you know there is much discussion about how much priority the US government should give to various approaches to improving US and global security. Here is a list of some approaches that the US government is trying, at least to some extent. For each one please indicate if you would like your member of Congress to get the US government to increase or decrease the priority it places on each approach. Please answer on a scale of +5 to -5, with +5 meaning that you think it should be given a much higher priority than it has now, -5 meaning that it should be given a much lower priority or not done at all, and 0 meaning that it should be given the same priority it has now.

[RANDOMLY PRESENT – EACH RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE 3/4 OF Q20a-q]

	-5 to -1	0	+1 to +5	Mean
a. Increasing airport security	10%	24%	64%	1.83
b. Fighting the global spread of HIV/AIDS	11	20	68	2.06
c. Increasing port security	4	11	83	2.98
d. Pressuring both Israel and the Palestinians to resolve their conflict	22	25	50	0.88
e. Building goodwill toward the US by providing food and medical assistance to people in poor countries	14	27	57	1.38
f. Programs to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons by securing nuclear materials in countries of the former Soviet Union	10	17	68	2.06

g. Programs to stabilize countries at risk of conflict by helping them develop economically	18	21	58	1.14
h. Programs to promote dialogue and intercultural understanding between the US and the Muslim world	18	19	59	1.34
i. Working to reduce US dependence on oil	5	9	84	3.46
j. Working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and make sure UN members cooperate in enforcing them	13	14	71	2.16
k. Helping dissident groups to try to overthrow the government of Iran	39	28	28	-0.54
l. Building new nuclear weapons	43	29	25	-0.93
m. Building new types of naval destroyers	25	32	40	0.26
n. Building a national missile defense system	23	25	49	0.81
o. Coordinating with the intelligence and law enforcement agencies of other countries to track and capture members of terrorist groups	4	10	83	3.03
p. Programs to increase other countries' understanding of US policies and the American people	17	22	58	1.26
q. Rough interrogation techniques to inflict pain on detainees who might have useful information about terrorist groups	34	24	37	-.01

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q31. Now please think about how much the US should spend on defense as compared to its potential enemies. For discussion's sake, let's include as potential enemies Russia, China, North Korea, Iran, Libya and Syria. Here are some possible levels that have been suggested for US spending. Please tell me which one makes the most sense to you. Do you think the US should spend:

	10/06	2/05
A bit more than its most powerful potential enemy.....	33%	41%
Republicans.....	27	31
Democrats	38	46
Independents	32	49
 About as much as all of its potential enemies combined	31	30
Republicans.....	32	33
Democrats	31	31
Independents	31	23
 About twice as much as all its potential enemies combined.....	16	15

Republicans.....	22	19
Democrats	13	12
Independents	13	13
About three times as much as all its potential enemies combined.....		
Republicans.....	10	7
Republicans.....	12	9
Democrats	8	6
Independents	12	5
(No Answer).....	10	7

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q32. I would like you to imagine that you heard three Congressional candidates make the following statements. Just based on this information, I am going to ask you which candidate you would be most likely to support.

	10/06	6/96
As the sole remaining superpower, the U.S. should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems	9%	15%
Republicans.....	16	
Democrats	5	
Independents	6	
The U.S. should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries	72	66
Republicans.....	72	
Democrats	77	
Independents	67	
The U.S. should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems	16	18
Republicans.....	11	
Democrats	18	
Independents	21	
(No Answer).....	3	1

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

STATEMENT: For each of the following statements, please select whether you agree or disagree with the statement:

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q33. For the US to move away from its role as world policeman and reduce the burden of its large defense budget, the US should invest in efforts to strengthen the UN’s ability to deal with potential conflicts in the world.

	10/06	11/95
Agree.....	68%	73%
Republicans.....	53	
Democrats	84	
Independents	60	
Disagree	28	24
Republicans.....	44	
Democrats	14	
Independents	33	
(No Answer).....	4	3

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q34. Since the US is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not.

	10/06	3/04
Agree.....	25%	20%
Republicans.....	36	30
Democrats	18	11
Independents	24	22
Disagree	73	79
Republicans.....	62	69
Democrats	81	89
Independents	71	78
(No Answer).....	2	1

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q35. When dealing with international problems, the U.S. 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

Agree.....	61%
Republicans.....	41
Democrats	77
Independents	62
Disagree	35
Republicans.....	56
Democrats	21
Independents	31
(No Answer).....	4

[3/4 SAMPLE A,C,D]

Q37. How important is it for the struggle against terrorism to be seen by the world as an effort of many countries working together, not just a US effort?

	10/06	9/03	11/01
Very important.....	73%	67%	82%
Somewhat important.....	21	24	13
Not too important.....	2	5	2
Not at all important.....	2	1	3
(No Answer).....	3	3	*
Very/Somewhat important.....	94%		
Republicans.....	96		
Democrats	94		
Independents	89		
Not at all/Not too important.....	4%		
Republicans.....	3		
Democrats	4		
Independents	3		

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q38. When another country, such as Iran or North Korea, is engaging in activities the US opposes, as a general rule the US:

Should demand that the country first suspend the activities the US opposes before entering into talks	39%
Republicans.....	50
Democrats	33
Independents	34
 Should not impose preconditions on the other country before entering into talks	55
Republicans.....	47
Democrats	60
Independents	56
 (No Answer).....	6

[3/4 SAMPLE A,C,D]

Q40. Which is the more important principle for US foreign policy?

	10/06	3/04
The US should use its power to make the world be the way that best serves US interests and values	16%	16%
Republicans.....	22	
Democrats	13	
Independents	13	
 The US should coordinate its power together with other countries according to shared ideas of what is best for the world as a whole	79	83
Republicans.....	75	
Democrats	84	
Independents	77	
 (No Answer).....	5	1

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q41. In its foreign policy do you think the US should

Think in terms of being a good neighbor with other countries, because cooperative relationships are ultimately in the best interests of the United States.	79%
Republicans.....	76
Democrats	85
Independents	75
 Not worry about what others think, but just think in terms of what is best for the US, because the world is a rough place.	16
Republicans.....	21
Democrats	11
Independents	19
 (No Answer).....	5

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,D]

Q42. Please tell me which comes closer to your point of view

	10/06	1/04	10/99
As the world becomes more interconnected, and problems such as terrorism and the environment are of a more international nature, it will be increasingly necessary for the US to work through international institutions	69%	64%	56%
Republicans.....	55		
Democrats	81		
Independents	68		
 International institutions are slow and bureaucratic, and often used as places for other countries to criticize and block the US. It is better for the US to try and solve problems like terrorism and the environment on our own instead	23	30	39
Republicans.....	40		
Democrats	11		
Independents	21		
 (No Answer).....	8	6	5

STATEMENT: As you may know, every year Congress passes a budget, part of which includes spending for US foreign policy, defense, and security. We would like to know how you think this part of the budget should be distributed. For this exercise, this part of the budget is divided into 15 areas. Please imagine that you have \$900 of your tax money to divide among these 16 areas. This is about how much of the average taxpayer’s money goes to these 15 areas as a whole. For each area, you’ll see how much of your \$900 goes to each of these areas in the current year’s budget. Then you can indicate how many of your dollars you’d like to see go to that area next year. You’ll be able to monitor how much of the \$900 you have left as you make decisions by scrolling down to the bottom of the page.

[Table shows respondents’ mean choices converted back into actual federal budget amounts]

FY2006 Congressional Budget Appropriations	2006 Appropriations (billions)	Mean preference (billions)	Change (\$)
Program			
Defense/military (does not include extra costs for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan)	\$555.30	\$357.21	-\$198.09
Extra costs for military operations in Iraq	\$66.69	\$49.13	-\$17.56
Intelligence costs	\$44.00	\$50.38	+\$6.38
Department of Homeland Security	\$33.30	\$44.90	+\$11.60
Extra costs for military operations in Afghanistan	\$10.41	\$14.47	+\$4.06
State Department including diplomacy policy development, cultural exchange	\$8.20	\$17.53	+\$9.33
Helping poor countries develop their economies	\$7.30	\$24.76	+\$17.46
Reconstruction in Iraq	\$7.00	\$8.74	+\$1.74
Military aid to foreign countries	\$5.30	\$11.72	+\$6.42
Preparedness for disasters and outbreaks of disease in the US	\$3.00	\$42.76	+\$39.76
Energy: conservation - developing renewable energy resources	\$2.80	\$41.57	+\$38.77
UN and UN Peacekeeping	\$2.50	\$14.03	+\$11.53
Initiatives to control the global spread of HIV/AIDS	\$2.00	\$21.01	+\$19.01
Humanitarian and disaster assistance	\$1.40	\$26.83	+\$25.43
Programs to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, such as helping other countries secure nuclear materials	\$0.90	\$16.40	+\$15.50
	\$750.10	\$741.44	

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	Respondents who increased (%)	Respondents who kept same (%)	Respondents who reduced (%)
Preparedness for disasters and outbreaks of disease in the US	73	18	9
Energy: conservation - developing renewable energy resources	72	17	11
Humanitarian and disaster assistance	62	29	9
Initiatives to control the global spread of HIV/AIDS	55	26	19
Helping poor countries develop their economies	50	20	30
Programs to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, such as helping other countries secure nuclear materials	64	22	14
Homeland Security	45	25	31
UN and UN Peacekeeping	48	27	25
State Department: including diplomacy, policy development, cultural exchanges	33	32	35
Military aid to foreign countries	28	22	51
Intelligence Costs	43	16	41
Extra cost for Afghanistan	31	24	45
Reconstruction in Iraq	27	18	55
Extra costs for Iraq military operation	21	22	57
Defense spending (does not include extra costs for operation in Iraq and Afghanistan)	8	16	76

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

[FULL SAMPLE]

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:

Republican	34%
Independent.....	23
Democrat.....	43

D2. What is your religious preference? Do you consider yourself:

Christian	68%
Jewish.....	2
Muslim	1
Buddhist	1
Hindu.....	1
Other religion	9
No religious preference.....	13
Agnostic	2
Atheist.....	2
(No answer).....	2

[IF "CHRISTIAN"]

D2b. Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or evangelical?

Yes	21%*
No.....	31
No opinion	15
(No answer).....	1

D3. Age

18-29	22%
30-44	28
45-59	28
60+	22

D4. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	14%
High School Graduate.....	32
Some College	27
College Graduate	26

* Percent of total.

D5. Race/Ethnicity

White, Non-Hispanic	70%
Black, Non-Hispanic.....	11
Other, Non-Hispanic.....	5
Hispanic	13
2+ Races, Non-Hispanic	1

D6. Gender

Male	48%
Female.....	52

D7. Region

Northeast.....	19%
Midwest.....	22
South	36
West	23

METHODOLOGY

In the United States, the poll of 1058 respondents was fielded October 6-October 15 with a margin of error of +/- 3.1-3.6% depending on the sample size for each question. The poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks, using its nationwide panel, which is randomly selected from the entire adult population and subsequently provided internet access. For more information about this methodology, go to www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.