

**Americans and the World Around Them:
A Nationwide Poll**

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I. Methodology and Sample Characteristics

Zogby International conducted interviews of 1,011 likely voters chosen at random nationwide. All calls were made from Zogby International headquarters in Utica, N.Y., from 8/12/04 through 8/14/04. The margin of error is +/- 3.1 percentage points. Slight weights were added to region, party, age, race, religion, and gender to more accurately reflect the voting population. Margins of error are higher in sub-groups.

Sample Characteristics	Frequency	Valid Percent*
Sample size	1,011	100
East	233	23
South	263	26
Central/Great Lakes	313	31
West	202	20
Very likely to vote	998	99
Somewhat likely to vote	13	1
Democrat	394	39
Republican	354	35
Independent/Minor party	256	25
Libertarian	6	1
18-29	120	12
30-49	400	40
50-64	280	28
65+	200	20
18-24	76	8
25-34	104	10
35-54	442	44
55-69	242	24
70+	137	14
Did not answer age	11	--
Less than high school	27	3
High school graduate	133	13
Some college	331	33
College graduate+	520	51
White	782	78
Hispanic	80	8
African American	100	10
Asian	10	1

Sample Characteristics (continued)

Other race	30	3
Did not answer race	8	--
Northern European	611	61
Southern European	70	7
Eastern Europe	64	6
Asia/Pacific	10	1
Central/Southern Africa	24	2
North Africa	14	1
Middle East	4	0
Mexico/Cent. Amer./So. Amer.	53	5
Other ethnicity	126	13
Not sure of ethnicity	24	2
Did not answer ethnicity	12	--
Live in large city	283	28
Small city	228	23
Suburbs	235	23
Rural	260	26
Progressive/very liberal	93	9
Liberal	176	17
Moderate	290	29
Conservative	330	33
Very conservative	82	8
Libertarian	15	2
Not sure of ideology	24	2
Did not answer ideology	1	--
Roman Catholic	281	28
Protestant	462	46
Jewish	30	3
Muslim	15	2
Other (religion)	216	22
Born-again	252	54
Not born-again	211	46
Did not answer religion	6	--
Parent of child under 17	335	33
Not parent of child under 17	675	67
Union	239	24
Non-union	770	76

Sample Characteristics (continued)

Armed Forces	169	17
Not Armed Forces	841	83
Valid passport	422	42
No valid passport	585	58
Not sure of passport	3	0
Did not answer passport	1	--
Own stock personally	417	29
Own 401(k)	393	27
Own other pension plan	273	19
No stocks	346	24
Not sure of stocks	26	2
Investor class	315	31
Not investor class	694	69
Less than \$15,000	51	6
\$15,000-\$24,999	84	9
\$25,000-\$34,999	118	13
\$35,000-\$49,999	156	17
\$50,000-\$74,999	206	23
\$75,000 or more	299	33
Did not answer income	96	--
Male	485	48
Female	526	52

***Numbers have been rounded to the nearest percent and might not equal 100.**

II. Narrative Analysis

6 – 8, 10 – 12. I am going to read you a list of descriptions that may be used by some people to describe the role of the United States in the world. As I read each, please tell me if, on a scale of 1 to 5, in your view this should be the proper role for the U.S., with 1 being this should not be the proper role for the U.S. and 5 being this should be the proper role for the U.S.:

Table 1. Describing the Role of the U.S. in the World (ranked by % more proper)

	More proper (4 + 5)	Neutral (3)	Less proper (1 + 2)	Not sure
A good friend and ally of people who desire freedom and individual human rights	88	6	5	1
A genuine superpower, but one that actively seeks out allies in dealing with global issues	77	12	9	2
A force to promote the values of freedom and democracy everywhere in the world	63	18	17	2
A reluctant sheriff with responsibility to police the world and regional trouble spots	32	33	33	3
An imperialist power that acts on its own, regardless of what the rest of the world thinks	15	11	72	3
A selfish power that is willing to sell out those who want our freedoms when those desires conflict with our own needs as a nation	6	9	81	5

Nearly nine in ten (88%) respondents believe that the proper role for the United States is as a good friend and ally of people around the world who desire freedom and individual human rights. Just under four in five (77%) say that the US is a genuine superpower, but should actively seek out allies when dealing with global issues, and just over three in five (63%) think it is proper that the US is a force to promote values of freedom and democracy around the world.

On the other hand, respondents are evenly divided on the role of the US as a reluctant sheriff with policing responsibilities in the world's trouble spots – 32% say it is a proper role, 33% say it is not the proper role of the US, and 33% are somewhere in between.

More than seven in ten (72%) believe it is improper for the US to act on its own as an imperialist power regardless of what the rest of the world has to say and about four in five (81%) say it is not proper for the US to act as a selfish power willing to sell out those who want our freedoms when those desires conflict with our national interests.

121. Do you agree or disagree that the US is a nation with self-interests that too often conflict with its espoused ideals of freedom and democracy?

Agree	54%
Disagree	40
Not sure	7

More than half agree that the US is a nation with self-interests that often conflict with its ideals of freedom and democracy. Two in five (40%) disagree with that statement, while 7% are not sure.

A majority or plurality in nearly every sub-group agrees. However, striking contrasts exist among parties and direction of the country. Democrats (76%) are nearly three times as likely as Republicans (29%) to agree, while Republicans (67%) are twice as likely as Independents (34%) and three times as likely as Democrats (19%) to disagree.

Among those who think the country is headed in the wrong direction, a whopping 81% agree that the US is a country with self-interests that often conflict with its espoused ideals of democracy and freedom, compared to 23% of those who think the country is headed in the right direction who agree.

There are non major differences regionally, but among races, just half (50%) of whites and less than half of Hispanics (48%) agree compared to more than four in five (83%) African Americans who agree.

As education increases, so to does the incidence of agreement. Those living in cities are more likely to agree than those living in the suburbs or in rural areas and Catholics (51%) are more likely to agree than are Protestants (43%). Nearly two in three (64%) Jewish respondents agree.

13 – 19. I am now going to read you the same list of descriptions of the United States again. As I read each, please tell me if, in your view, the description is very accurate, somewhat accurate, or not at all accurate in describing how the U.S. presently acts, on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being not at all accurate, and 5 being very accurate in describing the U.S.

Table 2. Describing how the U.S. Currently Acts (ranked by % more accurate)

	More accurate (4 + 5)		Somewhat accurate (3)		Less accurate (1 + 2)		Not sure	
	7/04	9/03	7/04	9/03	7/04	9/03	7/04	9/03
A good friend and ally of people who desire freedom and individual human rights	62	65	19	28	17	7	2	--
A force to promote the values of freedom and democracy everywhere in the world	52	58	27	29	19	12	2	--
A genuine superpower, but one that actively seeks out allies in dealing with global issues	46	51	26	34	25	15	3	--
An imperialist power that acts on its own, regardless of what the rest of the world thinks	38	32	15	27	34	40	3	--
A reluctant sheriff with responsibility to police the world and regional trouble spots	37	31	34	44	27	23	3	--
A nation with self-interests that too often conflict with its espoused ideals of freedom and democracy	37	32	25	36	35	29	4	--
A selfish power that is willing to sell out those who want our freedoms when those desires conflict with our own needs as a nation	27	16	19	27	50	56	4	--

A majority (62%) of respondents believe that the US is a good friend and ally of people who desire freedom and individual human rights, more than 20 percentage points less than those who believe this is the proper role for this country. Just over half (52%) agree that America is a force to promote values of freedom and democracy worldwide, again, about 20 percentage points less than those who believe this is our proper role. Just under half (46%) think the US is a superpower that does actively seek out allies (compared to 63% who believe this is the US's proper role).

In every instance, views on the US are more negative and pessimistic than ten months ago. Fewer respondents view the US as an ally and friend of people who desire freedom and democracy (65% in September '03 vs. 62% currently), fewer view the US as a force to promote values and freedom (58% last year vs. 52% this year), and fewer

respondents (less than half) sees the US as a superpower who seeks out allies when dealing with global issues, compared to 51% who felt that way last September.

Those who see the US as an imperialist power, a reluctant sheriff, a nation with self-interests that conflict with values of freedom and democracy, and as a selfish nation are all up from last September.

20. In order for the U.S. to promote democracy around the world, please tell me which of the following positions the U.S. should take when working within another country.

Position A: *The U.S. should try to mold the new democracies of other countries into our image and likeness.* **Position B:** *The U.S. should foster democracy within the context of each country's culture, mores and traditions*

Position B	94%
Position A	5
Neither/Not sure	2

Respondents overwhelmingly favor the US foster democracy in other countries within the context of each country's culture, mores, and traditions.

More than nine in ten in every sub-group agrees that the US should foster democracy in other countries within the context of that country's culture and traditions.

21. Do you feel the United States is doing a good job of promoting American values, policies, and actions overseas?

Yes	46%
No	49
Not sure	6

Respondents are more or less divided on whether the US is doing a good job of promoting American values, policies, and actions overseas – 46% believe this country does do a good job, while 49% believe the US does not do a good job. Six percent are not sure.

Half of those living in the South believe that the US is doing a good job on this front, compared to 36% of those living in the East who agree. More than four in five (81%) of those who believe the country is heading in the right direction agree, while the exact opposite is true of those who believe the country is heading in the wrong direction (82% disagree).

Three in four (76%) Republicans agree that the US is doing a good job promoting American values, policies, and actions overseas, while 74% of Democrats disagree. Independents are more evenly divided, with just over half (53%) disagreeing that the US is doing a good job promoting ourselves and more than two in five (43%) agreeing.

Whites are evenly divided with 45% agreeing and 50% disagree. Not so Hispanics where 57% believe the US is doing a good job (27% disagree) or African Americans where 62% say the US is doing a poor job promoting ourselves (38% believe the US is doing a good job).

Generally, those with more education are less likely to say the US is doing a good job on this score. Catholics are evenly divided (47% agree US is doing a good job; 48% disagree), while 57% of Protestants say the US is doing a good job promoting itself and 38% disagreeing. Jewish respondents are more than twice as likely to say the US is doing a poor job (72%) than a good job (28%).

Men are more likely to say the US is doing a poor job promoting itself (50% vs. 43% good job), while women are evenly divided, with 48% each saying the US is doing a good job and a poor job.

22. What do you feel is more important, to be liked, to be feared, or to be respected overseas?

Respected	92%
Feared	4
Liked	2
Not sure	2

The overwhelming majority believe it is more important for the US to be respected (92%) overseas. Less than one in twenty (4%) think it is more important for America to be feared and 2% think it is more important to be liked.

The overwhelming majority (nearly nine in ten or more) in almost all sub-groups think it is more important to be respected than feared or liked. Republicans are eight times as likely as Democrats (8% vs. 1%) to say it is more important to be feared.

23. Do you agree or disagree that high school programs in the U.S. are adequately preparing our young people to understand current international affairs?

Agree	11%
Disagree	77
Not sure	13

More than three in four (77%) respondents do not think that high school programs in the US adequately prepare our young people to understand current international affairs. About one in ten think our high school students are prepared, while 13% are not sure.

The majority in each sub-group agrees that the US is doing an adequate job preparing young people to understand international affairs.

231. Which of the following best describes your opinion about learning a foreign language?

It is important to learn a foreign language and should be required in high school	57%
It is important to learn a foreign language but no one should be required to take it	32
It is important to learn a foreign language and should be required in college	6
It is not important to learn a foreign language	4
Other/Not sure	1

More than half (57%) think it is important to learn a foreign language and should be required in high school. One in three (32%) think it is important, but should not be required. Just 6% think it is important, but should only be required in college, and 4% do not believe it is important to learn a foreign language at all.

A majority or plurality in most sub-groups say it is important to learn a foreign language and it should be required in high school. Those living in the West (68%) are much more likely than any of the other regions to say learning a foreign language should be required in high school. Three in five (60%) Easterners agree compared to 51% of those living in the Central/Great Lakes region.

Generally, as education increases, so to does the percentage saying it is important and should be required in high school. Women (63%) are much more likely than men (51%) to say it is important and should be required teaching in high schools.

24 – 29. Now I am going to read you a list of current foreign policy issues. Please tell me which presidential candidate you believe would be a more pro-active leader in each of the following situations.

Table 3. Presidential Candidates as Leaders on Foreign Policy Issues

	Bush	Kerry	Someone else	No one	Not sure
Settling the Israel-Palestine dispute	39	36	12	5	7
Resolving post-war issues in Iraq	43	46	8	1	2
More effectively containing proliferation of nuclear weapons	45	39	7	2	7
Handling the war on terrorism overseas	46	44	5	1	4
Handling the war on terrorism domestically	48	43	4	1	5
Dealing with Cuba	37	41	9	2	12

More respondents believe George W. Bush would be a more pro-active leader handling the war on terrorism on the home front (48%) and overseas (46%) than would John Kerry (43% and 44% respectively). Forty-five percent believe the president would more effectively contain the proliferation of nuclear weapons than would Senator Kerry (45% Bush vs. 39% Kerry), while respondents believe by a narrow margin that Kerry would be more effective resolving post-war issues in Iraq (46%) than would President Bush (43%). Respondents also narrowly favor Kerry over Bush in dealing with Cuba – 41% vs. 37% respectively.

30. Some people say that the war on terrorism can only be won by using military force. Other people say that the U.S. needs to review our diplomacy and alliance statuses. Please tell me which of these two policies best describes your view on how to handle the war on terrorism.

Diplomacy	33%
Military force	17
Both	48
Neither/Not sure	2

About half of respondents (48%) believe that the US needs to use a combination of military force and diplomacy, while nearly twice as many believe that diplomacy (33%) should be used over military force (17%).

Just over half (average 51%) of those in the West, Central/Great Lakes, and South say the US should use both military force and diplomacy compared to 39% in the East who say this. A plurality (44%) of Easterners believe diplomacy is best. Just under half (49%) of Democrats think they US should rely more on diplomacy, while more than half (54%) of Republicans believe the US should try both military and diplomacy. One in three Republicans (35%) believe the war on terrorism can only be won using military force compared with 6% of Democrats and 9% of Independents.

Half of Hispanics thinks the US should review its diplomatic and alliance statuses, while 49% of whites and 57% of African Americans think both methods should be employed to win the war on terrorism.

*31. Please tell me which of the following three strategies, in your view, is the most effective way to handle nuclear proliferation? **Strategy A** would assert military strength, go it alone if necessary, and employ military force to make Iran and North Korea comply. **Strategy B** would employ a multi-lateral approach, with more reliance on allies like NATO and the UN. **Strategy C** would continue the current status of alliances in combination with the current level of military force.*

Strategy B	61%
Strategy C	24
Strategy A	11
None/Not sure	5

Nearly three times as many respondents believe the most effective strategy for dealing with nuclear proliferation is to employ a multi-lateral approach with allies like NATO and the UN (61%) over using the current strategy of alliances *and* military strength (24%). One in nine (11%) respondents believe that asserting US military strength is the most effective strategy to combat nuclear weapons proliferation. Five percent are not sure.

A majority in most sub-groups, including 70% of Independents and African Americans, 84% of Hispanics, 61% of those connected with the Armed forces, all regions and religious sub-groups believe the US should employ a strategy that employs a multilateral approach when dealing with nuclear proliferation.

Those who believe the US is on the right track are evenly divided between a multilateral approach (38%) and maintaining the status quo (38%). Republicans are also evenly divided, with 38% saying a multilateral approach is the most effective strategy and 39% saying we should continue down the path we are currently on when dealing with nuclear proliferation.

*32. I am going to read to you two policies. Please tell me which policy comes closer to your own view – A or B? **Policy A** favors diplomacy over strategic power in international disputes, and actively seeks out the assistance of international bodies like the United Nations and NATO to work together with the U.S. in crisis areas. **Policy B** favors the U.S. acting alone if necessary, and playing the role of both moral force and superpower in such disputes, all with the intention of protecting U.S. interests.*

Policy A	70%
Policy B	25
Neither/Not sure	5

Respondents strongly favor the US acting in concert with NATO and the UN using diplomacy to deal with international disputes (70%) over acting alone with the intention of protecting US interests (25%).

A majority in nearly every sub-group agrees with Policy A, favoring diplomacy over strategic power in international disputes and actively seeking out the help of bodies like the UN and NATO. Exceptions again are those who think the country is headed in the right direction and Republicans, where respondents are generally divided between diplomacy (right direction 44%; Republicans 45%) and the US acting alone if necessary (right direction 49%; Republicans 47%).

33. Some argue that the United Nations has been reduced in its influence and is less relevant today in global matters. Others say that the UN is needed now more than ever to represent a global perspective in issues that arise. Which of those statements comes closer to your own views?

Table 4. UN Relevance (%)

	7/04	9/03
UN needed more than ever	58	59
UN is less relevant	38	34
Neither/Not sure	4	6

Nearly three in five (58%) say the UN is needed more than ever, while about two in five (38%) believe the international body is less relevant. Four percent say neither or not sure. These numbers are virtually unchanged from September of last year, with a slight increase in those saying the UN is less relevant (38%, up from 34% 10 months ago).

A majority or plurality in nearly all sub-groups agree that the UN is needed now more than ever.

34. Some argue that NATO has been reduced in its influence and is less important today in U.S. foreign policy. Others say that NATO is needed now more than ever to represent a global perspective in issues that arise. Which of those statements comes closer to your own views?

NATO need more than ever	63%
NATO is less important	31
Neither/Not sure	6

By two to one, respondents believe that NATO is needed now more than ever (63%) over those who believe NATO is less important (31%).

A majority across the board agree.

35. How important is a trans-Atlantic alliance to U.S. foreign policy in general?

Very important	49%	Important	85%
Somewhat important	36		
Somewhat unimportant	3	Unimportant	5
Not important	2		
Not sure	11		

The vast majority of respondents say the trans-Atlantic alliance is important to US foreign policy, including about half (49%) who say it is very important.

The vast majority in every sub-group agrees that a trans-Atlantic alliance is important to foreign policy in general, including 80% of those who think the US is headed in the right direction and 79% of Republicans.

36 – 38. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements, or you are not familiar enough to make a judgment.

Table 5. The U.S.’s Role in Global Affairs (ranked by % agree)

	Agree*		Disagree*		Not familiar		Not sure	
	7/04	9/03	7/04	9/03	7/04	9/03	7/04	9/03
The U. S should take a leading role in the world concerning the protection of the environment	91	--	8	--	N/A	--	1	--
The U.S. should sign on as a participant in the International Criminal Court	55	53	21	22	20	23	4	2
The U.S. should sign the Kyoto Global Warming Treaty	42	44	21	22	35	31	2	4

(*Agree and disagree each combines strongly and somewhat.)

By more than eleven to one (91% vs. 8%) respondents believe that the US should take a leading role in the world protecting the environment; by more than two to one (55% vs. 21%) respondents believe the US should sign on as a participant in the International Criminal Court; and by two to one (42% vs. 21%) respondents think that the US should sign the Kyoto Global Warming Treaty.

One in five (20%) say they are not familiar with the International Criminal Court and just over one in three (35%) say they are not familiar with the Kyoto Treaty.

Responses closely mirror responses from September 2003, with slightly more saying they believe the US should sign on as a participant in the International Criminal Court. Slightly fewer believe that the US should sign the Kyoto Global Warming Treaty, while slightly more say they are not familiar with the Treaty.

I am now going to read you a series of statements. As I read each, please tell me if you are more in agreement with Statement A or Statement B:

39. Statement A says that the US should ratify the Kyoto Global Warming Treaty it has already signed to reduce the emission of industrial pollutants in the atmosphere. While the treaty reduces U.S. and European emissions at a faster rate than those for countries like China and India, it is only fair that these nations have the opportunity to catch up in industrial development.

Statement B says that the U.S. should not sign the treaty because it unfairly punishes the U.S. and Europe, and makes them reduce emissions at a faster rate than developing nations and puts the U.S. economy at a severe disadvantage. It is also questionable how serious the problem of global warming really is.

Table 6. Support for Kyoto Treaty (%)

	7/04	9/03
Statement B	45	48
Statement A	44	41
Neither/Not sure	12	11

Respondents are evenly divided on whether or not to sign the Kyoto Global Warming Treaty, with 45% saying the US should not sign because it unfairly punishes the US and Europe, while 44% say America should ratify the treaty it has already signed because it is only fair that developing countries like China and India be given the opportunity to catch up in industrial development.

Fewer respondents currently (45%) say the US should not sign the Kyoto Treaty compared to 48% who felt that way in September last year, while those who support signing the treaty is up slightly from 41% to 44% currently.

A majority in the East (55%) and West (59%) say the US should sign the Kyoto Treaty, while 50% of those in the South and 53% in the Central/Great Lakes believe the US should not sign the Treaty. Not surprisingly, Democrats (61%) support signing the treaty, while Republicans (64%) do not supporting signing it. Independents are evenly divided – 43% for signing the Treaty and 44% against signing it.

Hispanics are twice as likely to support signing the treaty than not signing it – 68% vs. 32% it – while whites and African Americans are evenly divided (whites: 41% sign treaty; 46% do not sign treaty and African Americans: 44% sign treaty; 45% do not sign treaty). Men (48%) are more likely to support signing the treaty than are women (40%), while women are more likely to say they are undecided (16% vs. 7% men).

40. *Statement A* says the U.S. should ratify the creation of the International Criminal Court that enforces a set of standards against war criminals. By signing on, the U.S. brings its moral voice to this court and takes a strong stand against serious violations of human rights, as in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Rwanda.

Statement B argues that U.S. participation in the International Court ties the hands of the U.S. on matters that it should be free to decide upon unilaterally. In addition, the Court could be used against U.S. interests or allies, and thus could be a detriment against U.S. peace efforts.

Table 7. Support for International Criminal Court (%)

	7/04	9/03
Statement A	51	48
Statement B	34	38
Neither/Not sure	15	15

Just over half (51%) agree that the US should ratify the creation of the International Criminal Court which enforces a set of standards against war criminals, while one in three (34%) say the court would tie the hands of the US on matters it should be free to decide unilaterally if it wanted or needed to.

More respondents currently favor signing on to the International Criminal Court (51%) than did so in September last year (48%).

A majority or plurality in nearly every sub-group supports signing on to the International Criminal Court. Exceptions include those who believe the country is headed in the right direction (37% favor; 54% oppose) and Republicans (35% favor; 54% oppose).

41. *NAFTA – the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement – has been in effect now for ten years. Do you believe NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing for the U.S.?*

Table 8. NAFTA: Good or Bad for US? (%)

	7/04	9/03
Bad	48	33
Good	32	37
Not sure	20	30

Just under half (48%) believe NAFTA has been a bad thing for the US, while one in three (32%) believe it has been a good thing. One in five (20%) are not sure.

There is a fifteen percentage point increase in those saying the NAFTA is bad for the US – 48% up from 33% in September '03. About one in three (32%) say NAFTA has been good, down slightly from last fall, while one in five (20%) are not sure, down from 30% last year.

A majority or plurality in nearly every sub-groups agrees that NAFTA has been bad for the US, including across all regions. Independents (57%) are more likely than either Democrats (48%) or Republicans (42%) to say that NAFTA has been bad and Hispanics (69%) and African Americans (64%) are more likely than whites (44%) to agree.

A majority of men (53%) say NAFTA has been bad for the US compared with 44% of women who say that.

42. Do you believe NAFTA has created more jobs or that it has led to a net loss of jobs for the U.S.?

Table 9. NAFTA: Job Creation or Job Loss? (%)

	7/04	9/03
Less jobs	63	55
More jobs	18	19
Not sure	19	26

Voters are much more likely to believe NAFTA has resulted in the U.S. losing jobs. Almost two in three (63%) feel it has led to a net loss of jobs, while less than one in five (18%) thinks NAFTA has created more jobs domestically. One in five (19%) is not sure.

There has been an increase of eight percentage points in those who believe that NAFTA has led to a net loss of jobs, while those saying the trade agreement has created jobs remained steady. Just under one in twenty (19%) are not sure compared to more than one in four (26%) who were not sure last September.

A majority or plurality in nearly every sub-group agree that there has been a loss of jobs.

43. Some argue that outsourcing jobs to developing countries like India enhances the middle class in those countries, which in turn allows them to purchase more U.S. goods and improves our own economy here in the U.S. Others say that the outsourcing of jobs overseas poses a real threat to job creation and security in the U.S. and has already had a severe negative impact on our economy. Which of those statements comes closer to your own views?

Outsourcing hurts our economy	71%
Outsourcing helps both countries	23
Not sure	6

People are three times more likely to feel that outsourcing hurts our economy (71%) than it helps the U.S. and other countries (23%). A majority in nearly all sub-groups agree.

44. *Do you think that the U.S. should slow the overseas outsourcing of jobs through taxes and legislation, or do you believe that the government should not interfere, as it does not currently pose a threat to American prosperity?*

Tax or legislate outsourcing	62%
Do not interfere	31
Not sure	8

Twice as many respondents agree that the U.S. government should tax or legislate the outsourcing jobs overseas (62%) than those who agree the government should not interfere with this outsourcing (31%).

Again, a plurality or majority in each sub-group believe the US should slow the overseas outsourcing of jobs through taxes and legislation. Again, Republicans and those who believe the country is headed in the right direction buck the trend and are evenly divided amongst themselves on whether or not the government should interfere or tax and legislate outsourcing.

45. *Do you personally feel that outsourcing to other countries has placed your family's livelihood at risk, or has the potential to put your livelihood at risk in the future?*

Yes	47%
No	50
Not sure	4

Close to half of likely voters (47%) feel that the outsourcing of jobs to other countries has either placed their families' livelihoods at risk or has the potential to do so in the future. In contrast, half (50%) do not feel this way.

About half of those in the Central/Great Lakes and West say that outsourcing to other countries has placed their family's livelihood at risk. Also agreeing are more than half of those who think the country is headed in the wrong direction, half of Democrats and Independents, and 57% of Hispanics and 65% of African Americans.

Men are slightly more likely than women to say they are affected by outsourcing – 49% men vs. 44% women.

46. *Has the U.S. economy recovered enough to stimulate the global economy by raising interest rates and strengthening the value of U.S. dollar, or should the U.S. continue to stimulate domestic economic growth by keeping interest rates low, cutting taxes, and trying to create more jobs?*

Stimulate domestic economy/keep interest rates low	75%
Stimulate global economy/raise interest rates	16
Not sure	9

Overwhelmingly, Americans are much more interested in stimulating the domestic economy by keeping interest rates low, than in stimulating the global economy by raising interest rates. Three in four (75%) say the U.S. should keep interest rates low, cut taxes, and try to create more jobs. One in six (16%) say the U.S. should raise interest rates.

A majority across the board believes that the US should stimulate the domestic economy and keep interest rates low.

47. *In your view, should the U.S. administration do more to keep oil prices low to benefit consumers, or should oil prices be allowed to fluctuate based on the world market and global events?*

Keep prices low	53%
Let prices fluctuate	41
Not sure	6

A majority (53%) says to keep oil prices low to benefit consumers, while two in five (41%) says oil prices should be allowed to fluctuate.

A majority (60%) in the West think that the US should let oil prices fluctuate with the market and global events, while a majority in the other regions want the government to do more to keep oil prices low. Republicans are evenly divided with 47% each wanting prices kept low and saying that prices should fluctuate. A majority of Democrats and Independents think the government should do more to keep prices down.

Men are evenly divided, while women are more likely to want the government to do something to keep oil prices down – 59% vs. 35% who say let prices fluctuate.

48. *The most recent Doha round of negotiations of the World Trade Organization (WTO) stalled because the U.S. and the EU – the European Union – were unable to reach an agreement with many developing nations on subsidies and tariffs. Please tell me which statement comes closest to your views on international trade. **Statement A:** The U.S. should continue trade agreements with any partners who are willing to work within terms laid out by the U.S., but we should not bend to pressure applied by a group of developing nations. **Statement B:** The U.S. needs to make a few concessions to all developing nations so that WTO negotiations can continue throughout the world.*

Statement B	47%
Statement A	43
Not sure	10

This is an issue where respondents’ views are much more closely divided. A slight plurality (47%) agrees with Statement B, saying that the U.S. needs to make a few concessions on international trade. Nearly as many, though, (43%) agrees with Statement A – that the U.S. should work within the terms our country has laid out on international trade, and not bend to pressure applied by a group of developing nations. On in ten is not sure.

A majority of those in the East and South say the US should make a few concessions to developing countries so that WTO negotiations can continue. Also agreeing are 63% of Democrats and those who think the US is headed in the wrong direction; 56% of Independents; 69% of Hispanics and 71% of African Americans; and 54% Catholics.

49. *Do you agree or disagree that free trade is good for America?*

Agree	79%
Disagree	15
Not sure	6

By a vast margin, respondents agree that free trade is good for America (79%). Approximately one in seven (15%) disagree.

A majority in every sub-group believes that free trade is good for America.

50. *Do you personally feel that free trade benefits you and your family?*

Yes	64%
No	24
Not sure	12

Close to two in three (64%) feel that free trade benefits them and their families, while one in four (24%) do not feel they benefit from free trade. One in eight (12%) is not sure. A majority or plurality across the board says that free trade has personally benefited them or their families.

51. Does the U.S. have no choice but to allot most of its budget to rebuilding Iraq and Afghanistan and to increasing Homeland Security, or should the U.S. limit our defense budget and ask for financial assistance from world allies to complete the rebuilding process?

Limit defense budget but ask for assistance elsewhere	72%
No choice but to continue high spending	22
Not sure	6

Americans overwhelmingly feel that our country should limit its defense budget and ask for financial assistance from world allies to complete the rebuilding process in Iraq (72%). Just over one in five (22%) thinks the country has no choice but to allot most of the budget to rebuilding Iraq and Afghanistan and to increasing Homeland Security.

A majority in every sub-group agrees that the US should limit its defense budget and ask for assistance elsewhere in its efforts to rebuild Iraq and Afghanistan.

52. Which of the following plans do you think should govern how the Department of Homeland Security's budget is divided? **Plan A:** Invest more money into training and equipment for local first-responders to a potential terrorist attack, because in the case of an emergency, these people will go the furthest towards minimizing damage nationwide. **Plan B:** Instead of investing in training and equipment for local first-responder teams scattered across the nation, this money should stay concentrated in major metropolitan areas, because these places are much more likely to be targets for terrorists.

Plan B	49%
Plan A	44
No change	2
Not sure	6

Respondents are more or less evenly divided on whether to spend more money on training and equipment for local first-responders nationwide (44%) or concentrating the money on training and equipment for first-responders in major metropolitan areas (49%) like New York, Washington DC, and Los Angeles because these are the places where terrorists are likely to attack. Six percent are not sure and one in fifty (2%) want no change in current funding strategies.

Those on the East (55%) and West (61%) coasts support investing in training and equipment for major metropolitan areas, while those in the South (53%) and the mid-West (46%) are more likely to support distributing such aid nationwide.

Hispanics are more likely to support concentrating money in major metropolitan areas, while African Americans are more likely to want the money spent nationwide.

53. Please tell me which of the following comes closest to your opinion of the national defense budget. **Statement A:** The deficit has already grown too large, the defense budget for Homeland Security and rebuilding in Iraq and Afghanistan both need to be cut back. **Statement B:** We cannot afford to cut down any part of our defense budget at this time. **Statement C:** We need to decrease our military spending overseas, but boost our Homeland Security budget.

Statement B	40%
Statement C	32
Statement A	23
None/Other	3
Not sure	2

Respondents are somewhat divided, with a plurality (40%) saying the country cannot afford to cut any part of our defense budget at this time, while about one in three (32%) believe we need to decrease our military spending overseas, but boost the Homeland Security budget. Just under one in four (23%) say the deficit is already too large and the defense budget, Homeland Security budget, and money for rebuilding Iraq and Afghanistan should be cut back. Three percent do not care for any of the options, while 2% are not sure where they stand.

By a narrow margin, most sub-groups agree with Statement B, saying the country cannot afford to cut back on any of its defense budget at this time. Those who think the country is headed in the right direction (63%) and Republicans (62%) are most likely to agree.

54 – 56. Which power poses the greatest threat to the U.S... ?

Table 10. Threats to the U.S.

	Militarily	Economically	Culturally
China	22	53	14
European Union	1	10	11
Japan	1	11	2
Russia	2	2	1
Iran	18	N/A	N/A
North Korea	37	N/A	N/A
None are a threat	13	16	63
Not sure	7	8	10

Americans do not perceive any one country as a threat on all three fronts – militarily, economically, or culturally.

However, China appears as the greatest threat economically with 53% citing the country as a threat to the US on that front. About one in ten believe the European Union

(10%) and Japan (11%) are economic threats, while 16% say there are no countries that threaten the US economically.

Militarily, more than one in three (37%) worry about North Korea as a military threat, while about one in five believe China (22%) or Iran (18%) are our greatest military threats. Thirteen percent do not perceive a military threat from any of the countries tested.

The overwhelming majority of respondents (63%) say there is no country that threatens us culturally. Fourteen percent believe China is a threat on this front, while 11% think the European Union could challenge us on this score. One in ten (10%) are not sure.

57. Which of the following best describes how often you watch, read or listen to information about international affairs?

Table 11. How Often Do You Follow International Affairs? (%)

	7/04	9/03
Daily	71	73
A few times a week	23	23
Once a month	1	1
Rarely	4	2
Never	0	0
Not sure	0	1

Just over seven in ten (71%) of respondents say they follow international affairs every day. This is down slightly from the 73% who said this last September. Overall, attention to international affairs is down slightly, with 4% saying they rarely follow international affairs, up from the 2% who said this last fall.

Those living in the East (76%) and the Central/Great Lakes (78%) are the most likely to say they following international affairs every day. Also following international affairs daily are whites (75%) and African Americans (68%). As age increases, so to does the incidence of following international affairs on a daily basis (52% of those under 30 compared to 84% of those 65 and older).

58. How informed would you say you are on international affairs?

Very informed	31%		
Somewhat informed	62	Informed	93%
Somewhat uninformed	7		
Very uninformed	1	Uninformed	8

More than nine in ten (93%) respondents say they are informed on international affairs, including 31% who say they are very informed. Just 8% say they are not

informed, including 1% who claim to be very uninformed. The vast majority across the board say they are informed.

59. When watching television for information about international affairs, which of the following stations do you turn to most often?

Table 12. What Channel Do You Watch for International News (%)

	7/04	9/03
CNN	26	28
Fox News	25	22
ABC News	9	8
CBS News	8	7
NBC News	8	13
Local news	5	4
MSNBC	4	5
C-Span	1	2
*Other	8	7
Do not watch TV/Not sure	5	4

***Other responses:** (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.)
 PBS (54); All/combination of above (17); BBC(7); Educational television; Free speech TV;
 World News

Viewer ship of international news remains largely unchanged from September 2003, with more people watching CNN (26%) and Fox (25%) than any of the networks. However, those watching NBC News for international news dropped 5 percentage points from last fall (13% down to 8% currently), with Fox increasing 3 percentage points (22% up to 25% currently). CNN slipped 2 percentage points (from 28% to 26%), virtually tying it with Fox for most often watched for international news.

60. When reading newspapers for information about international affairs, which of the following do you turn to most often?

Table 13. What Newspapers Do You Read for International News (%)

	7/04	9/03
The New York Times	18	19
The Wall Street Journal	10	9
The Washington Post	5	4
The Washington Times	2	1
The Christian Science Monitor	2	2
The Los Angeles Times	1	2
*Other domestic paper	41	45
**International newspaper	2	1
Do not read newspapers/Not sure	20	16

***Other domestic paper:** (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Local newspaper—not identified (65); Atlanta Journal-Constitution (22); USA Today (18); Chicago Tribune (13); Denver Post (10); Kansas City Star (9); St. Louis Post-Dispatch (9); (Denver) Rocky Mountain News (8); Detroit Free Press (8); (Raleigh, N.C.) News & Observer (7); Arkansas Democrat-Gazette (6); Boston Globe (6); Charlotte Observer (5); San Francisco Chronicle (5); Arizona Republic (4); Grand Rapids (Mich.) Press (4); New York Post (4); **Newsweek** (4); Omaha World-Herald (4); Akron (Ohio) Beacon-Journal (3); Cleveland Plain Dealer (3); Columbus (Oh.) Dispatch (3); **Daily News** (3); (Phoenix, Ariz.) East Valley Tribune (3); Fresno Bee (3); **Herald** (3); Houston Chronicle (3); Indianapolis Star (3); Investor’s Business Daily (3); Minneapolis Star-Tribune (3); New Orleans Times-Picayune (3); Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger (3); St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer-Press (3); Toledo (Oh.) Blade (3); Tucson Citizen (3); (Youngstown, Oh.) Vindicator (3); Amarillo (Tex.) Globe News (2); (Mountain Home, Ark.) Baxter Bulletin (2); Buffalo News (2); Cincinnati Enquirer (2); (Jackson, Miss.) Clarion-Ledger (2); Columbia (Mo.) Daily Tribune (2); Dallas Morning News (2); Dayton Daily News (2); Detroit News (2); Duluth News Tribune (2); Great Falls Tribune (2); Hartford (Conn.) Courant (2); Knoxville News-Sentinel (2); (Allentown, Pa.) Morning Call (2); Orlando Sentinel (2); (Syracuse, N.Y.) Post-Standard (2); (Binghamton, N.Y.) Press & Sun-Bulletin; (Troy, N.Y.) Record (2); Reno Gazette-Journal (2); St. Petersburg Times (2); Sacramento Bee (2); Saginaw (Mich.) News (2); Springfield (Mo.) News-Leader (2); Topeka (Kan.) Capital Journal (2); Waterloo-Cedar Falls (Iowa) Courier (2); Wilmington (Del.) Journal (2); Wooster (Ohio) Daily Record (2)

One each: Albany (Ga.) Herald; Albuquerque Journal; Alpena (Mich.) News; Ann Arbor (Mich.) News; (Palmdale, Calif.) Antelope Valley Press; (Sioux Falls, S.D.) Argus-Leader; (Tucson) Arizona Daily Star; Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle; Austin American-Statesman; Baltimore Sun; (Essexville, Mich.) Bay City Times; Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise; Blytheville (Ark.) Courier-News; Boston Herald; Charleston Gazette; Charleston Post; Chicago Sun-Times; **City Star**; (Hinesville, Ga.) Coastal Courier; (Vancouver) Columbian; Contra Costa (Calif.) Times; (Dublin, Ga.) Courier-Herald; (Louisville, Ky.) Courier-Journal; (Schenectady, N.Y.) Daily Gazette; **Daily Sentinel**; (West Point, Miss.) Daily Times Leader; Dodge City (Kan.) Daily Globe; Des Moines Register; **Duqoin**; (Lawrence, Mass.) Eagle-Tribune; (Monroe, N.C.) Enquirer-Journal; Exeter (N.H.) News-Letter; Fayetteville (N.C.) Observer; (Dover, N.H.) Foster’s Daily Democrat; Gettysburg (Pa.) Times; Grand Forks (N.D.) Herald; Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune; **Greensboro Daily News**; Hammond (In.) Times; Hannibal (Mo.) Courier-Post; Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot-News; Helena (Mont.) Independent Record; **Herald-Journal**; **Herald-Standard**; (Durham, N.C.) Herald-Sun; Hillsdale (Mich.) Daily News; Human Events; Huntsville (Ala.) Times; (Boise) Idaho Statesman; International Herald-Tribune; Jackson (Mich.) Citizen Patriot; (Jacksonville, Ill.) Journal-Courier; **Journal News**; Journal; Keene (NH) Sentinel; Las Vegas Review-Journal; (Columbus, Ga.) Ledger-Enquirer; Lowell (Mass.) Sun; Lubbock (Tex.) Avalanche-Journal; Macon (Ga.) Telegraph; (Owensboro, Ky.) Messenger-Inquirer; Miami Herald; Monroe (Mich.) Evening News; Monterey County (Calif.) Herald; **National Review**; **National Telegraph**; (Shamokin, Pa.) News-Item; **News Journal**; **News-Press-Gazette**; (Roseburg, Ore.) News-Review; Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal; (Portland) Oregonian; **P&C**; (Bloomington, Ill.) Pantagraph; Parkersburg (W.Va.) News; (Quincy, Mass.) Patriot Ledger; (Adams County, Ohio) People’s Defender; Pittsburgh Post-Gazette; Plainview (Tex.) Daily Herald; Poughkeepsie (N.Y.) Journal; (Santa Rosa, Calif.) Press Democrat; (Danville, Pa.) Press-Enterprise; **Presstown**; Providence (R.I.) Journal-Bulletin; Quincy (Ill.) Herald-Whig; Rapid City (S.D.) Journal; Reader’s Digest; Reading (Pa.) Eagle-Times; (Bergen County, N.J.) Record; (Loveland, Co.) Reporter-Herald; (Rock Springs, Wyo.) RocketMiner; Rockford (Ill.) Register Star; **Rolling Stone**; San Antonio Express-News; San Diego Union Tribune; San Jose Mercury News; Santa Anna (Tex.) Register; Santa Fe New Mexican; **Santa Fe News Gazette**; Savannah Morning News; Seattle Times; Sierra Vista (Ariz.) Herald; **South Bend (Ind.) Grange**; South Florida Sun-Sentinel; (Cape Girardeau) Southeast Missourian; (Ft. Smith, Ark.) Southwest Times Record; Spartanburg (S.C.) Herald-Journal; (Ocala, Fla.) Star-Banner; (Elmira, N.Y.) Star-Gazette; (Scottsbluff, Neb.) StarHerald; Tampa Tribune (Nashua, N.H.) Telegraph; (Dubuque, Iowa) Telegraph-Herald; (Nashville) Tennessean; **Time**; (Shreveport, La.) Times; (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.) Times-Leader; Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch; (Eureka, Calif.) Times-Standard; **Today**; Trenton (N.J.) Times; (Manchester, N.H.) Union-Leader; **Vanity Fair**; (Buchanan County, Va.) Virginia Mountaineer; Waterbury (Conn.) Republican-American; Watertown (N.Y.) Daily Times; Weirton (W.Va.) Daily Times; **West Palm Beach newspaper**; Wheeling (W.Va.) News-Register; **Williams Daily News**; Wilmington (N.C.) Star-News; Winona (Minn.) Daily News; Winston-Salem (N.C.) Journal;

****Other international newspaper:** (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.)
 London Times (3); Sun-Telegram (1); The Economist (1); The Guardian (1)

Again, there is virtually no change in which papers respondents read for international news with the New York Times again topping the list (18%), followed by the Wall Street Journal (10%). One in twenty (5%) read the Washington Post and 2% each read the Washington Times and the Christian Science Monitor to get their international news.

Just over two in five (41%) read some other domestic paper, down slightly from September 2003, while those reading an international paper doubled from 1% in September to 2% currently. However, those saying they do not read the newspaper or are unsure climbed 4 percentage points.

61. When reading magazines for information about international affairs, which of the following do you turn to most often?

Table 14. What Magazine Do You Read for International Affairs (%)

	7/04	9/03
Newsweek	20	24
Time	20	21
US News and World Report	13	14
Business Week	1	4
Forbes	2	2
Fortune	1	1
Other	13	9
Do not read magazines/Not sure	30	26

***Other responses:** All of them/anything (15); Economist (13); Do not read (11); National Review (9); New Yorker (7); The Week (5); Readers Digest (4); Local (4); Weekly Standard (4); Atlantic Monthly (3); The Nation (3); The New American (3)

Two each: AARP (2); Harpers (2); Citizens (2); Internet (2); Mother Jones (2); National Geographic (2); At the library (2);

One each: Alantic; American Legion and VFW; Freedom First; History books; Maxim; New Republic; New York Review of Books; NRA Publication; Only Christian Magazines; Prevention Magazine; Rolling Stones; Smart Money, military publications; The Washington Monthly; Trailer Live; U.S. Weekly; Utne Washington Monthly; Liberal opinion; World Magazine

Time and Newsweek tied (20% each) as the magazines respondents turn to most often to read about international affairs, followed by the US News and World Report (13%). Thirteen percent mentioned another magazine and less than one in three (30%) do not read magazines or are not sure.

In September last year, Newsweek was slightly ahead of Time as the magazine of choice for information about international affairs.