



PUBLIC AGENDA
CONFIDENCE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INDEX

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**AMERICANS WARY OF CREATING
DEMOCRACIES ABROAD**

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PUBLIC AGENDA CONFIDENCE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INDEX

Volume 2, Winter 2006

Americans Wary of Creating Democracies Abroad

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PUBLIC AGENDA CONFIDENCE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INDEX

Americans Wary of Creating Democracies Abroad

The second edition of the Public Agenda Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index finds new concerns pushing their way into public consciousness even as worries identified in the first edition persist. In the first edition of the Foreign Policy Index, we examined the public's attitudes about the U.S. role in the world; with the second edition, we begin to probe trends and changing perceptions. Public concern seems to have moderated in some cases, as with America's image in the Muslim world. By contrast, public concern over oil prices and their impact on national security has gone from "zero to 60" in just a few months.

The Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index is a joint venture with *Foreign Affairs*, America's most influential publication on international affairs and foreign policy, conducted by Public Agenda with major support from the Ford Foundation. To create the Foreign Policy Index, Public Agenda will regularly interview a nationwide random sample of adult Americans to track the changing state of mind of average Americans toward our foreign policy—what worries people most, where they support or resist present foreign policy, what their priorities are and what foreign policy initiatives make sense to them.

Each edition of the index asks the public what worries them most about the international challenges facing the nation, to grade (on an "A" to "F" scale) the U.S. government on its efforts to address them and what they believe the most effective strategies and priorities might be. Based on our experience with the

first edition, we added additional questions to explore energy, outsourcing of jobs and global warming in greater depth. Another new battery of questions examines the public's level of trust in the U.S. government and finds substantial minorities doubt they're being told the truth about various foreign policy matters by the nation's leadership. Another asks the public whether they think it's realistic to believe the government and business can solve some of the challenges in international affairs.

Events in the news always provide a context to survey results on foreign relations. This edition of the index was in the field after last fall's dramatic increase in oil prices but before President Bush raised the issue of energy independence in the State of the Union. The survey also followed December's successful Iraqi elections but predates the surge in sectarian violence in Iraq and the victory of the hard-line group Hamas in Palestinian parliamentary voting.

This second edition of the study was based on interviews with a national random sample of 1,000 adults over the age of 18 between January 10 and January 22, 2006. It covered more than 25 different issues in more than 110 different survey questions. The margin of error for the overall sample is plus or minus four percentage points. Full survey results for this second report, as well as the first edition, can be found at publicagenda.org, confidenceinforeignpolicy.org or foreignaffairs.org.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Democracy, Disaster and Priorities: Americans are wary of the mission of creating democracies worldwide..... 4

- If the public had its way, the first priority of U.S. foreign policy would be helping other nations recover from natural disasters like the Asian tsunami (71 percent say it's a "very important" goal).
- Most of the public ranks promoting democracy in other countries as the least important of the foreign policy goals we asked about (20 percent say it's "very important") and seems to doubt the United States can achieve it.

Energy: The public's concern about energy and its impact on national security have increased dramatically 6

- The portion of those who "worry a lot" about oil independence has increased from 42 percent to 55 percent—putting it at the top of our "worry scale" of 18 foreign policy issues.
- And half the public feels the government can do a lot (50 percent) about decreasing our dependence on other countries for our supply of energy, more than any other item asked.

Iraq: The war remains a widespread concern and one in five volunteer it as the nation's most pressing problem 7

- When asked to name the most important problem facing the United States in its dealings with the rest of the world, more than one in five (the largest plurality) mentioned Iraq.
- The overall level of concern about casualties in Iraq has not changed, remaining high at 82 percent. However, the proportion of the public willing to give the United States a failing grade on meeting its objectives in Iraq grew markedly from 10 percent to 23 percent.

A Question of Trust: Substantial minorities are skeptical about what government tells them about international relations..... 8

- Half of the public (50 percent) doesn't think the government has been truthful about why we invaded Iraq.
- But the government gets better grades when the public is asked about why we waged war in Afghanistan (61 percent say it was mostly truthful) and how well we're doing in the war on terrorism (55 percent say it was mostly truthful).

Relations with the Muslim World: America's image abroad is still troubling to the public, but not as urgent as it was six months ago..... 9

- The intensity of Americans' concern with the Muslim world seems to have declined since the last survey, with fewer saying they worry "a lot" about this issue. Still, nearly two-thirds (64 percent) give a "C" or worse on our relations with the Muslim world.
- Fifty percent of Americans believe more Muslims around the world already harbor anti-American sentiments than don't.

Global Warming: Most say they're concerned about climate change and many feel the United States is falling short on working with other nations to solve it 10

- Only three other issue areas received more "F" grades from the public than global warming.
- The public also doesn't feel the government can do much about the issue (30 percent say the government can do "a lot" about it), yet more than half (57 percent) believe international cooperation can prevent global warming.

Illegal Immigration and Jobs: Both are major worries, with the key difference that the public believes the government can do something about immigration but doubts anyone can stop outsourcing 11

- There is consistent dissatisfaction over illegal immigration (30 percent of the public gives the government an "F" on protecting our borders), and this point shows the least polarization by political party affiliation of any of our survey topics.
- The public gives its lowest grades to the government on protection of their jobs (35 percent give an "F"), even though the issue is not one of their top worries or concerns.

Democracy, Disaster and Priorities: Americans are wary of the mission of creating democracies worldwide

The American public has always been reluctant to be the world's policeman, but the latest Public Agenda Confidence in Foreign Policy Index suggests that on some level, the country might prefer to be the world's firefighter, charging to the rescue when natural disaster or disease strikes. Even so, this is one of the few foreign policy goals most Americans seem comfortable with just now. Only one American in five sees creating democracies as a very important goal. About half say traditional goals such as improving the treatment of women or helping people in poor countries get an education are very important. The results suggest that Americans are reevaluating the country's effectiveness in many areas—viewing some kinds of help, such as promoting democracy, as both beyond the reach of the United States and less effective in improving security. They may also be yearning for roles that are less controversial, have limited responsibility and where, at least in the public's judgment, the country can be successful.

If the public had its way, the first priority of U.S. foreign policy would be helping other nations recover from natural disasters like the Asian tsunami, as well as cooperating on problems like the environment and controlling diseases. A wide cross section of all Americans, seven in 10, considers dealing effectively with these natural disasters to be “very important”

foreign policy goals. Battling Mother Nature outstrips other humanitarian goals such as improving the treatment of women internationally (57 percent consider that “very important”) and helping people in poor countries get an education (51 percent). At the same time, the public appears to be satisfied with their most salient concerns. When asked to grade the United States' performance on international affairs, the public hands out its best grades for helping other countries when natural disasters strike. Nearly half give the United States an “A” in that area, far more than in any other category.

While majorities of the public see some importance in all of the policies presented, the strategies that stress cooperation with other countries are ranked higher than more unilateral approaches. Most (87 percent) regard “taking into account the views and interests of other countries” to be important for our foreign policy versus 69 percent who judge “minding our own business and getting less involved with global issues” as important.

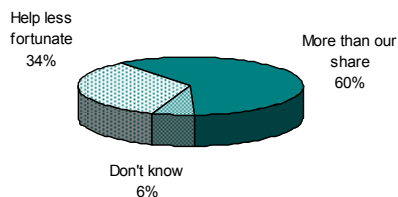
Not every means of helping other countries resonates with the public. Six in 10 say that “with all the problems we have, we're already doing more than our share” for poorer nations. Only 22 percent think it is very important to encourage U.S. business to invest in poor countries, and even less than that (20 percent) say it is very important to actively create democracies.

The Public's Priorities

How important to our foreign policy should each of the following be?	Very important %	Somewhat important %	Not very important %	Not at all important %
Helping other countries when they are struck by natural disasters (like the tsunami in Indonesia)	71	24	2	2
Cooperating with other countries on problems like the environment or control of diseases	70	25	2	3
Improving the treatment of women in other countries	57	35	4	3
Helping poor countries move out of poverty	40	48	6	4
Taking into account the views and interests of other countries	40	47	6	4
Helping people in poor countries to get an education	51	37	8	4
Initiating military force only when we have the support of our allies	50	31	8	7
Doing what we think is best for our own interests even if other nations oppose us	44	34	11	7
Minding our own business and getting less involved with global issues	31	38	13	14
Encouraging US business to invest in poor countries	22	49	15	9
Actively creating democracies in other countries	20	46	18	12

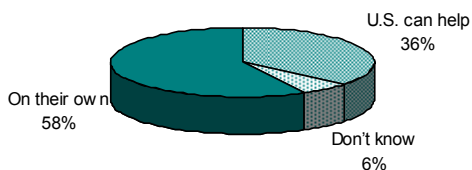
Promoting democracy has become a major goal of U.S. policy in Iraq and throughout the Middle East, where the Bush administration argues that in the end, democratic reform is the best way of undermining Islamic extremists. This edition of the Foreign Policy Index was conducted after the successful Iraqi elections but before the hard-line group Hamas won a majority in the Palestinian parliament.

Which comes closer to your view: Our country is so well off that we should really be doing more to help countries that are less fortunate, or with all the problems we have, we're already doing more than our share to help less fortunate countries?



Even so, most of the public ranks promoting democracy in other countries as the least important of the foreign policy goals we asked about and seems to doubt the United States can achieve it. Significantly, Americans are divided on whether it will make the United States more secure even if we pull it off. Only 36 percent believe the United States can actively help other countries become democracies, while 58 percent say that “democracy [is] something that countries only come to on their own when they’re ready for it.” Six months ago, 50 percent thought the United States was doing well at promoting democracy; this time the number is trending downward to 46 percent. The public is just as skeptical when asked specifically about Iraq. While six in 10 say the United States can at least do “something” to create a democratic Iraq, only 22 percent say it can do “a lot.” In a more general sense, about half (53 percent) say that when more countries become democratic there will be less conflict in the world.

Do you think that the United States can effectively help other countries become democratic, or is democracy something that countries only come to on their own when they're ready for it?



However, there are significant concerns about what we are currently doing—73 percent worry that our actions in the Middle East are aiding the recruitment of terrorists. As to what else might be done, the public is evenly split on whether reducing poverty will also reduce terrorism (49 percent say no, 47 percent say yes). When asked what strategies might make the United States more secure, only one in five says helping Muslim countries develop economically and building roads, dams and bridges in developing countries would enhance security “a great deal.”

By contrast, the strategies the public endorses for improving national security tend to be near-term and more traditional approaches. Six in 10 say improving intelligence operations and becoming less dependent on foreign energy supplies would enhance U.S. security “a great deal.” Half believe tighter controls on immigration would help, while 45 percent say showing more respect for the views of other nations would do a great deal for security.

Energy: The public’s concern about energy and its impact on national security have increased dramatically

In the six months since we last fielded the Foreign Policy Index, gasoline prices spiked sharply across the nation. Not surprisingly, Americans have grown much more worried that problems abroad may affect the price of oil. The portion of those who “worry a lot” about this occurring has increased from 42 percent to 55 percent—putting oil dependence at the top of our “worry scale” of 18 policy issues. The public is highly critical of the job the United States is doing to become less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy. Nearly half give a “D” or “F” (46 percent), while only 9 percent give the United States an “A” for its efforts to become less dependent on foreign sources of energy. Notably, more than half (55 percent) are worried “a lot” about problems abroad potentially jeopardizing our supply of oil and raise prices for American consumers.

What grade would you give the United States when it comes to... becoming less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy?

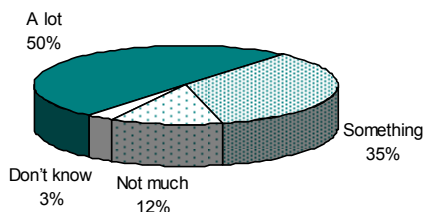
A	9%
B	11%
C	30%
D	23%
F	23%

In his recent State of the Union address, President Bush declared that the United States is “addicted to oil” and that our economic competitiveness requires finding ways to become less dependent on oil, particularly on foreign sources of oil. According to our survey, the American public agrees wholeheartedly

with the president's assessment. But although the president spoke of energy dependence and oil in economic terms, the public views these issues as grave matters of national security.

Virtually all Americans surveyed (90 percent) see the United States becoming less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy as important for strengthening our nation's security. In fact, when asked about a variety of proposals for bolstering national security, reducing energy dependence ranked second only to improving the effectiveness of our intelligence operations.

Do you think that our government can do a lot about decreasing our dependence on other countries for our supply of energy?



Interestingly for those in Washington, while so many gave such poor grades to the United States for its current energy dependency, an overwhelming majority think the U.S. government has the power to decrease our reliance on other countries for our supply of energy—a full 50 percent believe the United States could do “a lot” to reduce our energy dependence. The gap between the poor grades given and the belief in the capacity of the United States to address the problem suggests that public

dissatisfaction is now acute. The public seems to believe quite strongly that the U.S. government is failing to do all that it can to address the problem of energy dependence.

While it is not particularly surprising that a solid majority of the public (65 percent) says that it is unrealistic to expect the U.S. government to continue providing a stable supply of oil at affordable prices, it is perhaps more surprising that a large minority (35 percent) of the public thinks it is realistic to expect that.

Over the last 30 years, public concern about energy has been closely linked with gas prices. While it is hard to predict how the public will react, if gas prices were to fall, public concerns about energy might recede. On the other hand, if gas prices were to remain high, public pressure on leaders to focus on energy issues would probably continue to build.

Iraq: The war remains a widespread concern and one in five volunteer it as the nation's most pressing problem

While nearly six in 10 Americans (59 percent) say our nation's foreign policy is on the “wrong track,” the situation in Iraq remains the public's most salient international concern. When asked in an open-ended question to name the most important problem facing the United States in its dealings with the rest of the world, Iraq was named by 22 percent of respondents, leading the second concern—terrorism—by nine percentage points.

What do you think is the most important problem facing the United States in its dealings with the rest of the world?

Middle East (NET)	36
Iraq	22
Terrorism	13
Administration/politics (NET)	16
Domestic problems (NET)	10
Trade deficit	3
World peace	3
Nuclear weapons threat	1
Other	13

Americans' level of concern over whether the war is leading to too many casualties remains high, with a steady 56 percent of Americans worrying "a lot" about this. This concern has not changed since the last edition of the survey was fielded. However, the percentage of the public willing to give a failing grade to the United States on meeting its objectives in Iraq grew markedly from 10 percent to 23 percent. In addition, the public's concern that the war is distracting the country from other potential threats has remained widespread over the past six months.

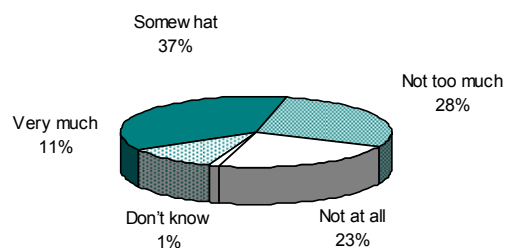
But in spite of skepticism and concern over the government's performance and the ability to meet our objectives in Iraq, 61 percent of respondents believe that the government can do at least something about helping to create a democratic Iraq. A relatively peaceful and successful ratification of the Iraqi constitution on December 15, 2005, a few weeks before this poll was in the field, may have contributed to this optimism.

A Question of Trust: Substantial minorities are skeptical about what government tells them about international relations

The bitter debate over the Iraq war has taken its toll on public opinion in one regard: Substantial minorities of the public, up to half in some cases, don't believe the government has told them the truth on foreign policy.

We added a battery of questions to this survey about trusting what the government tells the public in foreign policy matters. In a general sense, the public is evenly divided on the government's honesty. Forty-eight percent say they trust the government "very much" or at least "somewhat" to tell the public the truth about relations with other countries. But 51 percent say they trust the government "not too much" or "not at all."

How much do you trust our government to tell the public the truth about our relations with other countries?



When the public is asked about specific areas of foreign policy and the war on terrorism, however, the government often gets better grades. Six in 10, for example, believe the government has been

How Truthful is the Government?

For each of the following issues, please tell me how truthful you think the government has been in what it has told the public.

	Completely %	Somewhat %	Not very %	Not at all %
Why we waged war against Afghanistan	19	42	17	17
Why we invaded Iraq	13	34	22	28
Who is responsible for the torture and mistreatment of prisoners in Iraq	10	43	23	19
How much progress we are making in homeland security	10	50	23	14
How well we are doing in the war on terrorism	13	42	25	17

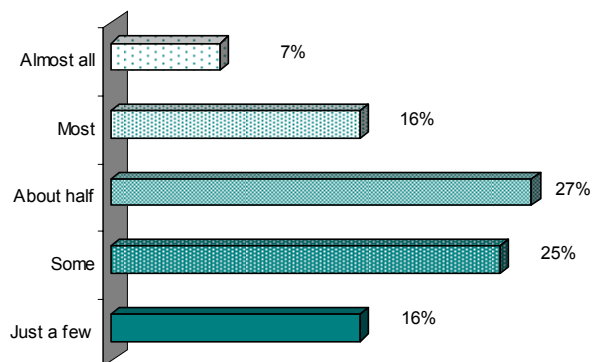
“somewhat” or “completely” truthful about why the U.S. waged war in Afghanistan and how much progress has been made on improving homeland security. More than half (55 percent) say the government has been truthful about how well we are doing in the war on terrorism and on who is responsible for the mistreatment of prisoners in Iraq (53 percent). But 50 percent say the government has been at least somewhat untruthful about why the U.S. invaded Iraq.

Relations with the Muslim World: America's image abroad is still troubling to the public, but not as urgent as it was six months ago

As in the first edition of the Foreign Policy Index, Americans remain seriously concerned about our relations with Muslim countries. The intensity of the concern seems to have declined, with fewer saying they worry “a lot” about this issue. Still, nearly two-thirds (64 percent) give the United States a “C” or worse on these relations. Attitudes toward this issue vary depending upon political party. Nearly three-quarters (73 percent) of Democrats give the United States a grade of “C” or worse, while 58 percent of Republicans do.

Fifty percent of Americans believe that more Muslims around the world already harbor anti-American sentiments than don't. And the public is very uneasy about growing hatred of the United States in Muslim countries (76 percent worry, with 34 percent worrying “a lot”). A plurality (45 percent) believe the Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers.

What's your impression—how many Muslims around the world are anti-American?



But despite this anxiety toward the Muslim world, Americans are optimistic that our relationships can improve. There appears to be a strong perception that our leaders can facilitate this change—76 percent of

those interviewed say that the government can do a lot or something about establishing good relations with moderate Muslims. There also appears to be hope for improved communication. A full 56 percent feel it would reduce hatred toward the United States.

Do you think that our government can do a lot about establishing good relations with moderate Muslims?

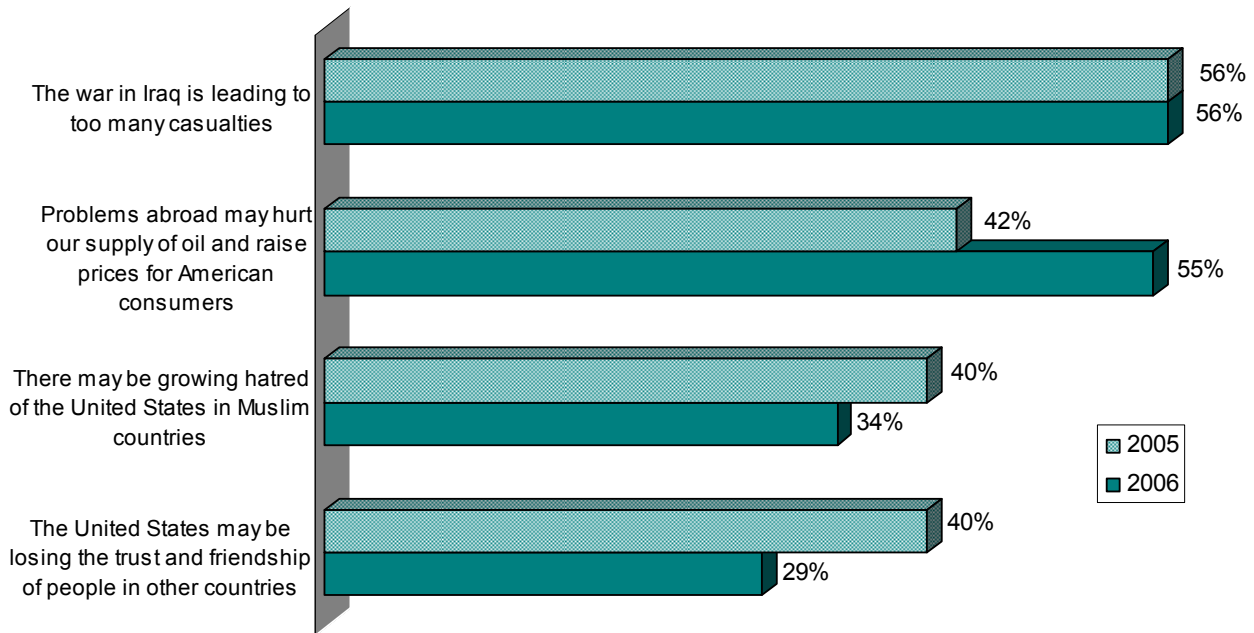
A lot	35%
Something	41%
Not much	20%
Don't know	4%

Global Warming: Most say they're concerned about climate change and many feel the United States is falling short on working with other nations to solve it

A substantial majority (70 percent) of the public say they're worried about global warming. Democrats are nearly three times as likely (43 percent) to say they "worry a lot" about global warming as are Republicans (16 percent).

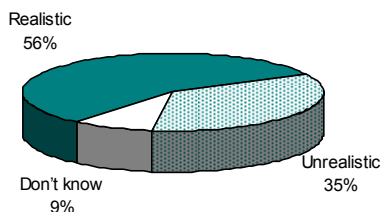
The public appears to be split on how well the United States is working with other nations to prevent global warming; nearly equal numbers gave the U.S. government an "A" or "B" (30 percent) as gave it a "D" or "F" (28 percent). Despite this split, there were only three other issue areas in which the United States

Do you worry a lot about the following?



received more “F” grades: having good relations with Muslim countries, limiting the amount of money we owe other countries, and meeting our objectives in Afghanistan.

Do you think it’s realistic or unrealistic that international cooperation can prevent global warming?



Global warming also falls near the bottom of the list of items the U.S. government can do something about, with 30 percent saying the United States could do “a lot.” However, more than half (57 percent) believe international cooperation can prevent global warming, and seven in 10 Americans (70 percent) think it is “very important” for the United States to work with other countries to find solutions to environmental problems.

Illegal Immigration and Jobs: Both are major worries, with the key difference that the public believes the government can do something about immigration but doubts anyone can stop outsourcing

While Americans say the most important foreign policy problem is the situation in Iraq, the public is most displeased with the government’s efforts in dealing with an issue that touches them closely—it

gives its lowest grades to protection of their jobs. Only 4 percent give the government an “A,” and more than a third (35 percent) give it an “F” when it comes to American jobs moving overseas. A full 87 percent say this is something they worry about too, with more than half (52 percent) worrying about it a lot.

The public also seems frustrated about where to place responsibility. Close to eight in 10 (78 percent) say the government could do something about protecting American jobs. But a majority (52 percent) do not think it’s realistic for the government to control corporate outsourcing. However, those surveyed don’t hold American companies responsible either. More than three-quarters (74 percent) think it’s unrealistic to expect that companies will keep jobs in the United States when labor is cheaper elsewhere.

As we found in the last foreign policy survey, there is marked dissatisfaction over illegal immigration. More than four out of five of those surveyed give the United States a “C” or worse for their efforts in protecting our borders from illegal immigration. And this dissatisfaction is nearly universal. Of all the foreign policy issues that the public was asked to grade, immigration shows the least polarization by political party affiliation. Levels of concern are similar to those six months ago, with 77 percent saying they are worried that it may be too easy for illegal immigrants to come into the country.

Frustration with illegal immigration may be particularly strong because the public feels the government has the power to control it. Nearly half (48 percent) say that the government can do “a lot” about slowing illegal immigration, with an additional 37 percent saying they can at least do “something” about it.

Discontent also remains tied to security on this issue. In a recent *Time* magazine poll, 70 percent of respondents said they were concerned that illegal immigrants “increase the likelihood of terrorism in the United States.” So not surprisingly, tightening immigration comes close to the top of the list of proposals for strengthening national security—91 percent say that it would improve security, with half of those surveyed saying it would help a “great deal.”

Complete Survey Results

The findings in the *Public Agenda Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index* are based on telephone interviews with a national random sample of 1,000 adults over the age of 18. The survey was conducted between January 10 and January 22, 2006. The margin of error for the overall sample is plus or minus four percentage points. The margin of error is higher when comparing percentages across subgroups.

Results of less than 0.5 are signified by an asterisk (*). Results of zero are signified by a dash (-). Responses may not always total 100% due to rounding. Combining answer categories may produce slight discrepancies between the numbers in these survey results and numbers in the report.

		2006 %
1	What do you think is the most important problem facing the United States in its dealings with the rest of the world? [open-ended]	
	Foreign Policies (NET)	8
	Diplomatic policies/foreign relations	1
	Foreign aid/we should take care of home first	3
	We should mind our own business/too much involvement in other countries	4
	Other policies	*
	Middle East (NET)	36
	Iraq	22
	Trouble in the Middle East	1
	Terrorism	13
	Other Middle East	-
	Administration/Politics (NET)	16
	Our current administration/president	5
	Our political system/politics	1
	The U.S.'s reputation/perception	9
	Other administration/politics	*
	Domestic Problems (NET)	10
	The economy	3
	Immigration/illegal aliens	1
	Jobs/unemployment/moving jobs out of the country	1
	Lack of morals/need for more religion	2
	Lack of unity/country doesn't get behind the president	1
	Other domestic problems	2
	Trade deficit	3
	World peace	3
	Nuclear weapons threat	1
	Other	13
	None	1
	Don't know	9
2a	How do you think the rest of the world sees the United States? Would you say they see the U.S. positively or negatively?	
	Positively	25
	Negatively	62
	Neutral or mixed	10
	Don't know	3



2b	Do you think that people in other countries see the United States... [2ba – 2bj]	Yes %	No %	Don't know %
	... as a free and democratic country, or not?	81	15	4
	... as a country of opportunity for everyone, or not?	80	17	2
	... as arrogant, or not?	74	22	4
	... as pampered and spoiled, or not?	73	23	4
	... as generous towards other countries, or not?	72	23	5
	... with envy, or not?	71	24	5
	... as a strong leader, or not?	69	27	4
	... as a country to be feared, or not?	63	32	5
	... as a bully, or not?	63	32	5
	... as corrupt and immoral, or not?	56	37	7
			2005 %	2006 %
7	Thinking about the things that government must do, in your opinion, should the US government give more attention or less attention than it does now to international issues?			
	A lot more		21	21
	Somewhat more		30	24
	Somewhat less		27	26
	A lot less		9	18
	[VOL.] Same		9	8
	Don't know		5	3
7b	Is the balance between the attention paid to domestic and international issues about right, or should we be paying more attention to one or the other?			
	More attention domestic		N/A	55
	More attention international		N/A	8
	About right		N/A	28
	Don't know		N/A	8
8	Thinking about recent U.S. relations with the rest of the world, do you feel that we're generally doing the right things and there is plenty to be proud of or are there too many things that are worrying and disappointing you?			
	<i>Base = one-half of total respondents (n = 500)</i>			
	Generally doing things the right way		40	39
	There are too many things that are worrying or disappointing you		49	52
	Somewhere in the middle		9	6
	Don't know		2	3
8a	Thinking about recent U.S. relations with the rest of the world, would you say things are heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?			
	<i>Base = one-half of total respondents (n = 500)</i>			
	Right direction		N/A	37
	Wrong track		N/A	59
	Don't know		N/A	4

	2005 %	2006 %
8b Thinking about recent U.S. relations with the rest of the world, do you feel that there is plenty to be proud of or are there too many things that are disappointing you? <i>Base = one-half of total respondents (n = 500)</i>		
Proud	N/A	42
Disappointed	N/A	51
Somewhere in the middle	N/A	6
Don't know	N/A	1
8c Thinking about things that the government must do to fight terrorism, in your opinion, should the government put more emphasis on military efforts or should it put more emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods?		
More emphasis on military efforts	29	28
More emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods	64	61
Don't know	7	10

What grade would you give the United States when it comes to achieving the following goals? Please give an A, B, C, D or F for Fail. If you don't know, just say so. [Randomize 9a – 9x]	A %	B %	C %	D %	F %	Don't know %
Helping other countries when natural disasters strike						
2005	54	29	11	2	2	1
2006	49	31	12	4	3	1
Making sure we have a strong, well-supplied military						
2005	30	37	19	5	5	2
2006	32	33	20	8	4	2
Giving the war on terror all of the attention it deserves						
2005	23	35	23	9	6	3
2006	26	32	20	9	9	4
Preventing the spread of contagious diseases from around the world						
2005	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006	23	32	23	7	8	7
Hunting down anti-American terrorists						
2005	19	35	25	10	7	4
2006	18	28	27	10	12	6
Helping to create democracy in the rest of the world						
2005	19	31	30	10	7	4
2006	16	30	28	12	7	6
Stopping countries or groups from getting nuclear weapons						
2005	13	27	29	15	8	7
2006	14	27	27	14	10	7
Helping improve the lives of people living in poor countries						
2005	15	27	28	16	9	4
2006	14	31	28	11	11	6



What grade would you give the United States when it comes to achieving the following goals? Please give an A, B, C, D or F for Fail. If you don't know, just say so. [Randomize 9a – 9x]	A %	B %	C %	D %	F %	Don't know %
Living up to our ideals of human rights and justice in the way we conduct our foreign policy						
2005	15	29	29	12	10	5
2006	14	31	27	11	10	7
Doing our best to bring peace between Israel and the Palestinians						
2005	16	29	30	11	7	7
2006	15	29	24	12	9	10
Having good working relations with other countries						
2005	11	34	32	14	6	4
2006	10	32	37	10	6	4
Making international trade agreements that benefit the United States						
2005	9	28	27	17	9	9
2006	11	27	25	14	12	12
Protecting people or nations that are threatened with genocide or ethnic cleansing						
2005	12	24	28	16	10	10
2006	13	24	25	15	11	11
Conducting effective U.S. intelligence operations						
2005	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006	11	26	28	11	10	13
Succeeding in meeting our objectives in Iraq						
2005	13	26	24	17	16	4
2006	11	22	23	15	23	6
Succeeding in meeting our objectives in Afghanistan						
2005	13	27	28	14	9	10
2006	11	21	28	14	15	11
Working with other countries to prevent global warming						
<i>2005: Working with other countries to protect the global environment</i>						
2005	10	27	27	16	13	8
2006	11	19	24	13	15	18
Having good relations and reputation with Muslim countries						
2005	7	21	32	19	13	7
2006	6	19	28	19	17	9

What grade would you give the United States when it comes to achieving the following goals? Please give an A, B, C, D or F for Fail. If you don't know, just say so. [Randomize 9a – 9x]		A %	B %	C %	D %	F %	Don't know %
Becoming less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy							
2005		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006		9	11	30	23	23	5
Stopping illegal drugs from coming into the country							
2005		7	16	24	24	26	3
2006		7	13	22	20	31	6
Limiting the amount of money we owe other countries							
2005		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006		6	14	25	16	17	21
Protecting our borders from illegal immigration							
2005		7	18	29	21	24	2
2006		6	13	27	20	30	4
Protecting American jobs from moving overseas							
2005		4	14	26	21	31	5
2006		4	11	24	22	35	4
Some people say they are worried about various things, while others are not. I am going to read you several statements. For each statement, please tell me if this is something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat or is this something you do NOT worry about. [Randomize 10a – 10t]							
				Worry a lot %	Worry somewhat %	Don't worry %	Don't know %
The war in Iraq is leading to too many casualties							
2005				56	26	18	*
2006				56	26	17	*
Problems abroad may hurt our supply of oil and raise prices for American consumers							
2005				42	39	19	-
2006				55	33	11	*
Protecting American jobs from moving overseas							
2005				N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006				52	35	12	1
The war in Iraq is requiring so much money and attention that it may be distracting the United States from other threats in the world							
2005				43	34	23	*
2006				44	36	19	*
Terrorist groups may use biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons to attack the United States							
2005				48	40	13	*
2006				43	43	14	*

Some people say they are worried about various things, while others are not. I am going to read you several statements. For each statement, please tell me if this is something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat or is this something you do NOT worry about. [Randomize 10a – 10t]		Worry a lot %	Worry somewhat %	Don't worry %	Don't know %
There may be another major terrorist attack against the United States in the near future					
2005		37	42	21	-
2006		41	42	16	*
It may be too easy for illegal immigrants to come into the country					
2005		42	31	27	1
2006		41	36	22	1
There may be growing hatred of the United States in Muslim countries					
2005		40	34	25	1
2006		34	42	22	1
The United States is so concerned with its national security that it sometimes ends up violating the rights of its own citizens					
2005		38	32	30	1
2006		34	35	31	1
That our actions in the Middle East are aiding the recruitment of terrorists					
2005		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006		33	40	25	2
Global warming					
2005		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006		32	37	29	2
The rise of Islamic extremism around the world					
2005		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006		31	45	22	*
The United States may be losing the trust and friendship of people in other countries					
2005		40	35	25	1
2006		29	43	27	1
The growing power of China may be a threat to the United States					
2005		29	37	33	1
2006		29	38	32	*
The U.S. may owe too much money to other countries					
2005		32	31	36	2
2006		27	34	36	2
Accusations of U.S. torture and abuse of suspected terrorists may damage our reputation in the world					
2005		29	32	39	1
2006		24	33	42	1

Some people say they are worried about various things, while others are not. I am going to read you several statements. For each statement, please tell me if this is something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat or is this something you do NOT worry about. [Randomize 10a – 10t]		Worry a lot %	Worry somewhat %	Don't worry %	Don't know %
The United States may not be doing enough to prevent contagious diseases like SARS, lethal flu and Mad Cow disease that come from other countries					
2005		23	39	39	1
2006		22	41	36	1
[Randomize 11a – 11d]		Yes %	No %	Don't know %	
Do you think that improved communication and dialogue with the Muslim world will reduce hatred of the U.S?					
2005		59	38	3	
2006		56	37	7	
Do you think that we can fight terrorism without sometimes using torture against suspected terrorists?					
2005		56	39	5	
2006		56	37	7	
Do you believe that when more countries become democratic there will be less conflict and violence in the world?					
2005		51	45	4	
2006		53	42	5	
Do you think that if there is less poverty in the world there will be less terrorism?					
2005		46	52	3	
2006		47	49	4	
Do you think it's realistic or unrealistic... [Randomize 12a – 11e]		Realistic %	Un-realistic %	Don't know %	
... to expect American companies to have the same standards abroad as they have at home?					
2005		44	52	-	
2006		38	57	5	
... to believe that U.S. companies will keep jobs in the U.S. when labor is cheaper elsewhere?					
2005		21	78	1	
2006		22	74	3	
... that the U.S. government will be able to have U.S. companies keep jobs in the U.S. rather than outsourcing them overseas?					
2005		N/A	N/A	N/A	
2006		44	52	5	

Do you think it's realistic or unrealistic... [Randomize 12a – 11e]		Realistic %	Un- realistic %	Don't know %	
... to expect American companies to have the same standards abroad as they have at home?					
... that the U.S. government will be able to maintain a stable supply of oil at a reasonable price?					
2005		N/A	N/A	N/A	
2006		35	65	3	
... that international cooperation can prevent global warming?					
2005		N/A	N/A	N/A	
2006		56	35	8	
Is the following something our government can do a lot about, something about or not much about? [Randomize 13a – 13j]		A lot %	Some- thing %	Not much %	Don't know %
Decreasing our dependence on other countries for our supply of energy		50	35	12	3
Slowing illegal immigration to the United States		48	37	14	1
Preventing jobs from going overseas		44	34	21	1
Reducing the spread of contagious diseases		43	41	14	1
Reducing our debts to other countries		41	39	15	5
Preventing another major terrorist attack against the United States		39	40	19	2
Establishing good relations with moderate Muslims		35	41	20	4
Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction		35	44	19	2
Reducing global warming		30	40	26	5
Creating a democratic Iraq		22	39	35	4
				2005 %	2006 %
16	Do you think it's right, wrong but sometimes necessary, or always wrong for the U.S. to cooperate with harsh, undemocratic governments in order to fight terrorism				
	Right			18	17
	Wrong but sometimes necessary			64	64
	Always wrong			14	13
	Don't know			4	5
17	Do you think that the U.S. can effectively help other countries become democratic or is democracy something that countries only come to on their own when they're ready for it?				
	The U.S. can help other countries become democracies			38	36
	Democracy is something that countries only come to on their own			54	58
	Don't know			4	6
18	Which comes closer to your view:				
	Our country is so well-off that we should really be doing more to help countries that are less fortunate			32	34
	With all the problems we have, we're already doing more than our share to help less fortunate countries			64	60
	Don't know			4	5

How important to our foreign policy should each of the following be? [Randomize 18a – 18k]	Very important %	Some-what important %	Not very important %	Not at all important %	Don't know %
Helping other countries when they are struck by natural disasters (like the tsunami in Indonesia)	71	24	2	2	1
Cooperating with other countries on problems like the environment or control of diseases	70	25	2	3	1
Improving the treatment of women in other countries	57	35	4	3	1
Helping people in poor countries to get an education	51	37	8	4	1
Initiating military force only when we have the support of our allies	50	31	8	7	3
Doing what we think is best for our own interests even if other nations oppose us	44	34	11	7	3
Helping poor countries move out of poverty	40	48	6	4	1
Taking into account the views and interests of other countries	40	47	6	4	2
Minding our own business and getting less involved with global issues	31	38	13	14	3
Encouraging US business to invest in poor countries	22	49	15	9	5
Actively creating democracies in other countries	20	46	18	12	3

	2006 %
18aa Would you say that the U.S. support of the U.N. Peacekeeping effort is...	
Important and worthwhile	69
A waste of resources	24
Other	1
Don't know	6
18bb How much do you trust our government to tell the public the truth about our relations with other countries? Would you say you trust them...?	
Very much	11
Somewhat	37
Not too much	28
Not at all	23
Don't know	*

For each of the following issues, please tell me how truthful you think the government has been in what it has told the public? [Randomize 18ca – 18ce]	Completely %	Some-what %	Not very %	Not at all %	Don't know %
Why we waged war against Afghanistan	19	42	17	17	4
Why we invaded Iraq	13	34	22	28	2
How well we are doing in the war on terrorism	13	42	25	17	2
Who is responsible for the torture and mistreatment of prisoners in Iraq	10	43	23	19	5
How much progress we are making in homeland security	10	50	23	14	2
					2006 %
18d Which statement comes closer to your own views even if neither is exactly right?					
The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers					45
The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others					39
Don't know					15
18e What's your impression – how many Muslims around the world are anti-American?					
Almost all					7
Most					16
About half					27
Some					25
Just a few					16
Don't know					9
I'm going to read you some proposals for strengthening our nation's security. For each of the following, please tell me if it would enhance our security a great deal, somewhat or not at all. [Randomize 19a-19m]	A great deal %	Some-what %	Not at all %	Don't know %	
Improving the effectiveness of our intelligence operations					
2005	65	30	4	1	
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 472)	60	33	3	3	
Tighter controls on immigration to the U.S.					
2005	58	30	10	2	
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 468)	50	41	8	*	
Showing more respect for the views and needs of other countries					
2005	49	38	12	1	
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 472)	45	43	11	1	
Providing health care in countries where contagious diseases are a threat					
2005	42	39	18	1	
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 470)	33	47	17	2	

I'm going to read you some proposals for strengthening our nation's security. For each of the following, please tell me if it would enhance our security a great deal, somewhat or not at all. [Randomize 19a-19m]	A great deal %	Somewhat %	Not at all %	Don't know %
Creating policies that support equal rights and better educational opportunities for women in Muslim countries				
2005	41	37	20	2
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 470)	30	45	19	4
Tighter control over foreign students who come to our colleges and universities to study				
2005	41	34	23	2
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 472)	32	44	21	3
Maintaining our military edge by exploring new technologies or placing weapons in space				
2005	40	34	23	4
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 473)	33	45	16	5
Closer cooperation with the UN				
2005	34	37	26	3
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 471)	33	46	18	3
Attacking countries that develop weapons of mass destruction				
2005	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 470)	29	40	24	6
Giving government more power to investigate, even if we have to give up some of our privacy in order to do it				
2005	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 472)	27	35	36	1
Building large projects such as roads, dams, and hospitals in developing countries				
2005	29	43	26	2
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 473)	19	55	23	3
Doing more to help Muslim countries develop economically				
2005	27	46	26	2
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 472)	20	53	23	3
Becoming less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy				
2005	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 472)	57	33	8	2

Here are some criticisms of U.S. foreign policies that have been made in recent years. For each, please tell me if you find the criticism to be: Totally justified, partly justified, or not justified at all. [Randomize 20a-20e]	Totally justified %	Partly justified %	Not justified at all %	Don't know %
The U.S. has been too quick to resort to war				
2005	35	27	37	1
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 607)	34	31	32	3
The U.S. is so concerned with its own security that it sometimes ends up violating the rights of citizens in other countries				
2005	26	39	32	4
2006 (Base = total asked; n = 606)	23	46	27	4

Here are some criticisms of U.S. foreign policies that have been made in recent years. For each, please tell me if you find the criticism to be: Totally justified, partly justified, or not justified at all. [Randomize 20a-20e]	Totally justified %	Partly justified %	Not justified at all %	Don't know %
The U.S. has often allied with governments who are unjust and exploit their own people				
2005	24	46	26	4
2006 (<i>Base = total asked; n = 607</i>)	15	48	30	7
U.S. policies are too pro-Israel for the U.S. to be able to broker peace between Israel and the Palestinians				
2005	21	41	30	8
2006 (<i>Base = total asked; n = 609</i>)	14	48	25	12
The U.S. is only concerned with its own interests and disregards the interests of other countries				
2005	19	36	44	1
2006 (<i>Base = total asked; n = 609</i>)	16	40	39	5

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