

PRESENTATION PREPARED FOR

Constrained Internationalism: Adapting to New Realities

Results of a 2010 Chicago Council
Survey of U.S. Public Opinion



THE CHICAGO COUNCIL
ON GLOBAL AFFAIRS

Study Funding

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

The McCormick Foundation

The Chicago Council 21st Century Fund

The Korea Foundation



Methodology

Sample: 2,596 respondents, nationally representative

- Full sample margin of error: +/- 1.9%
- Half sample: +/- 2.72%
- Third sample: +/- 3.33%

Fielding Dates: June 11-22, 2010

Fielding Method: Knowledge Networks' randomly-selected panel

Administered over internet

America's Global Views in 2010— A Summary

- Americans view their role in the world as constrained by pressing economic problems at home and by lessening U.S. influence abroad.
- They have not retreated from the broad support for international engagement that has been a constant of U.S. policy and public opinion since World War II.
- But they prefer that the United States play a less dominant role in world affairs and pursue a policy of “selective engagement.”
- Selective engagement means that U.S. power should be used to counter critical threats to the homeland, to alleviate humanitarian crises, and to support multilateral actions.
- The United States should avoid military involvement in conflicts between other nations and should lighten its military presence outside the country.

America's Views of Asia 2010

Summary

- Asia is the good news story, so far.
- China's rise dominates American perceptions but overall Americans do not feel overly threatened by it.
- China is now seen as the most important nation to the United States in the world, and as more important to the United States in Asia than Japan.
- Looking to the future, however, Americans want to hedge against a possible Chinese threat.
- Americans look to U.S. allies and friends, particularly to Korea and Japan, to help balance China's power.
- There is strong support for the U.S.-ROK alliance and for the U.S. military presence on the Peninsula, even after possible reunification.

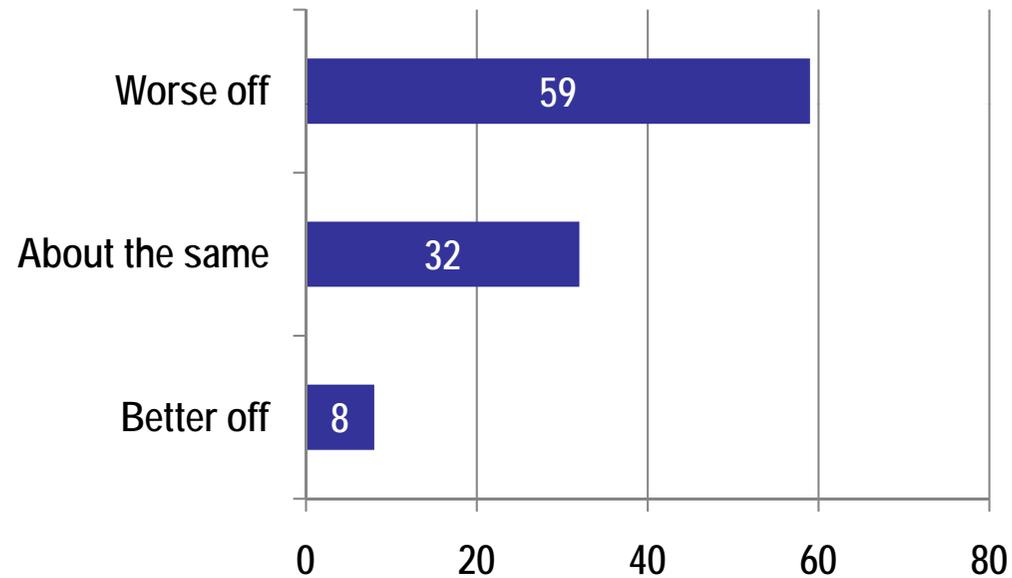




Economic Constraints at Home

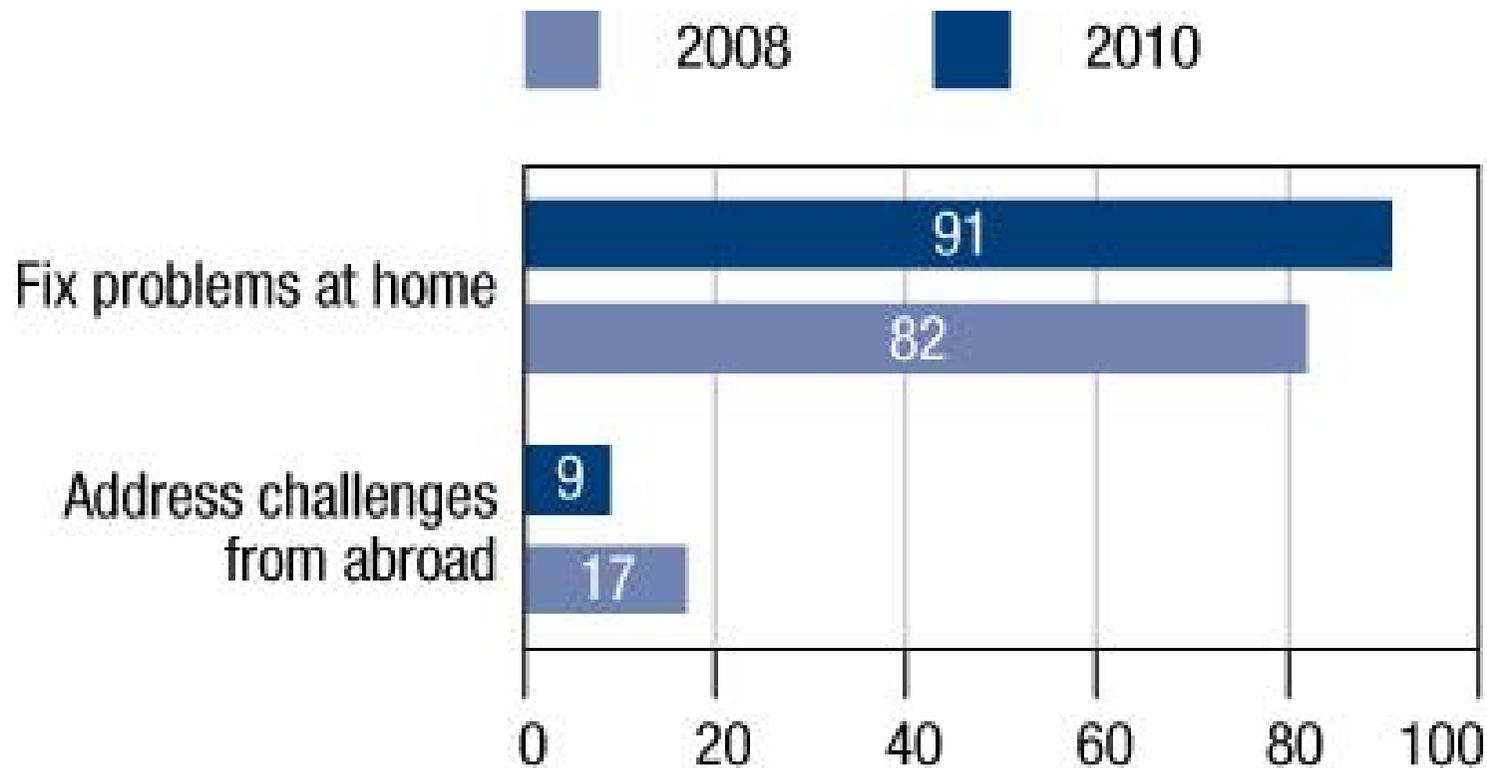
America's Economic Future

The way things are going, the next generation of Americans will be economically:

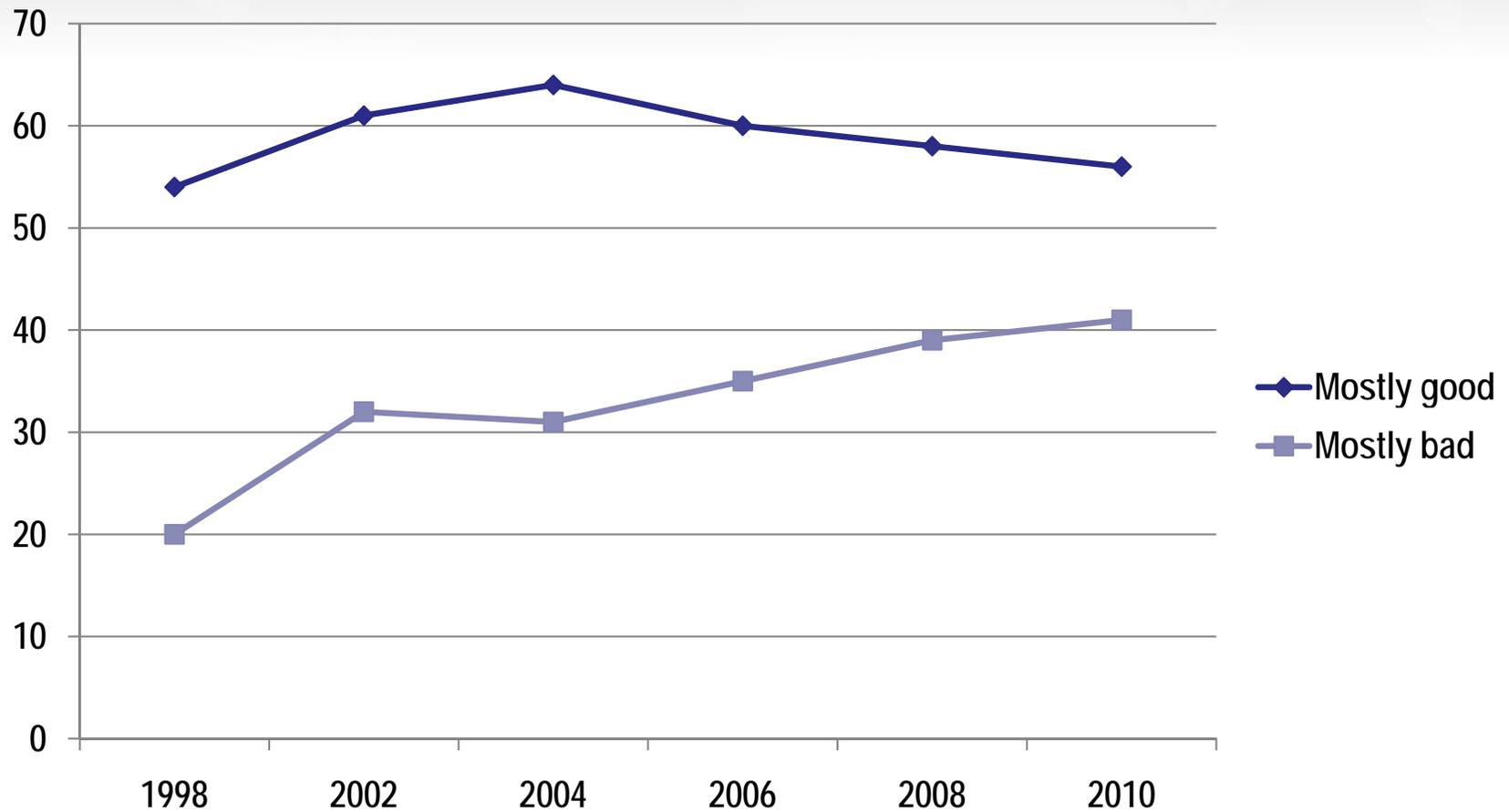


Domestic vs. International Focus

Which is more important:

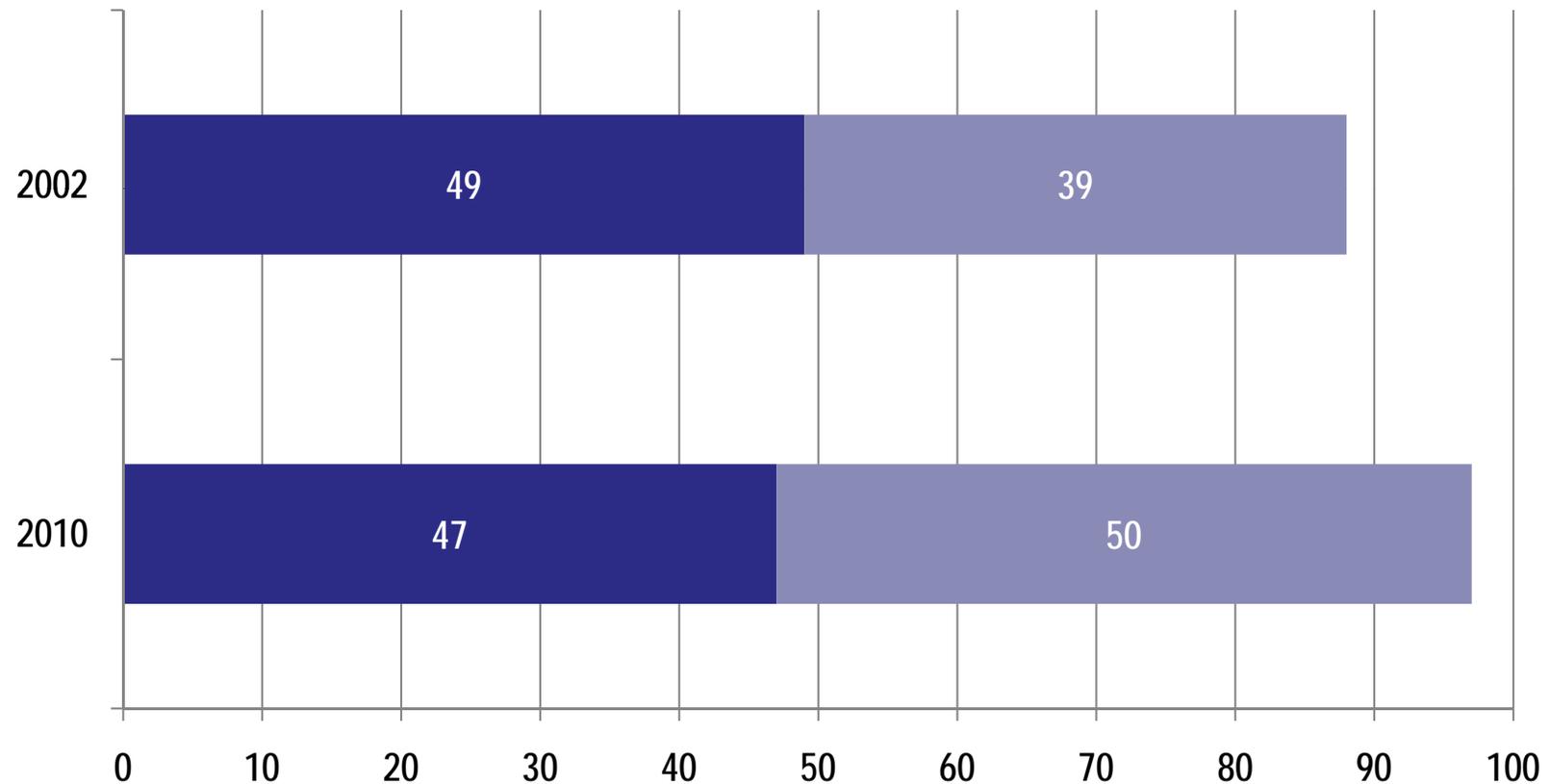


Impact of Globalization



What to Do About Globalization

■ Actively promote it or allow it to continue ■ Try to slow it down or try to reverse it

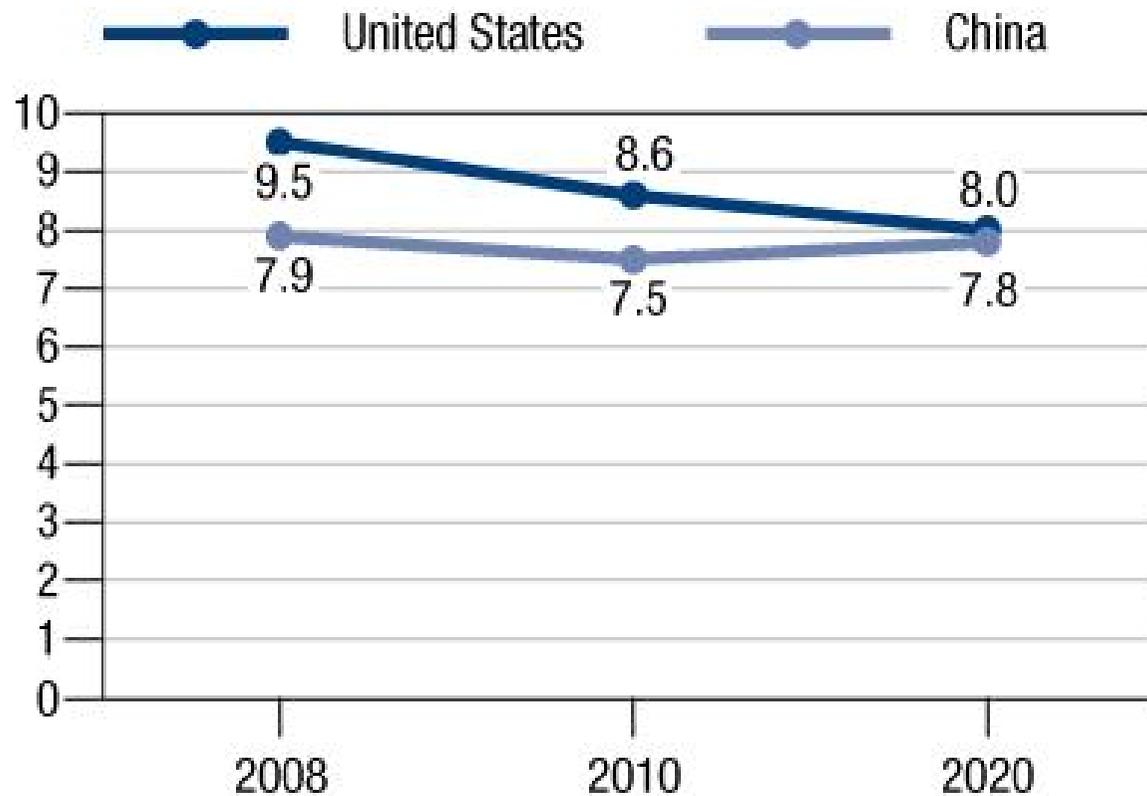




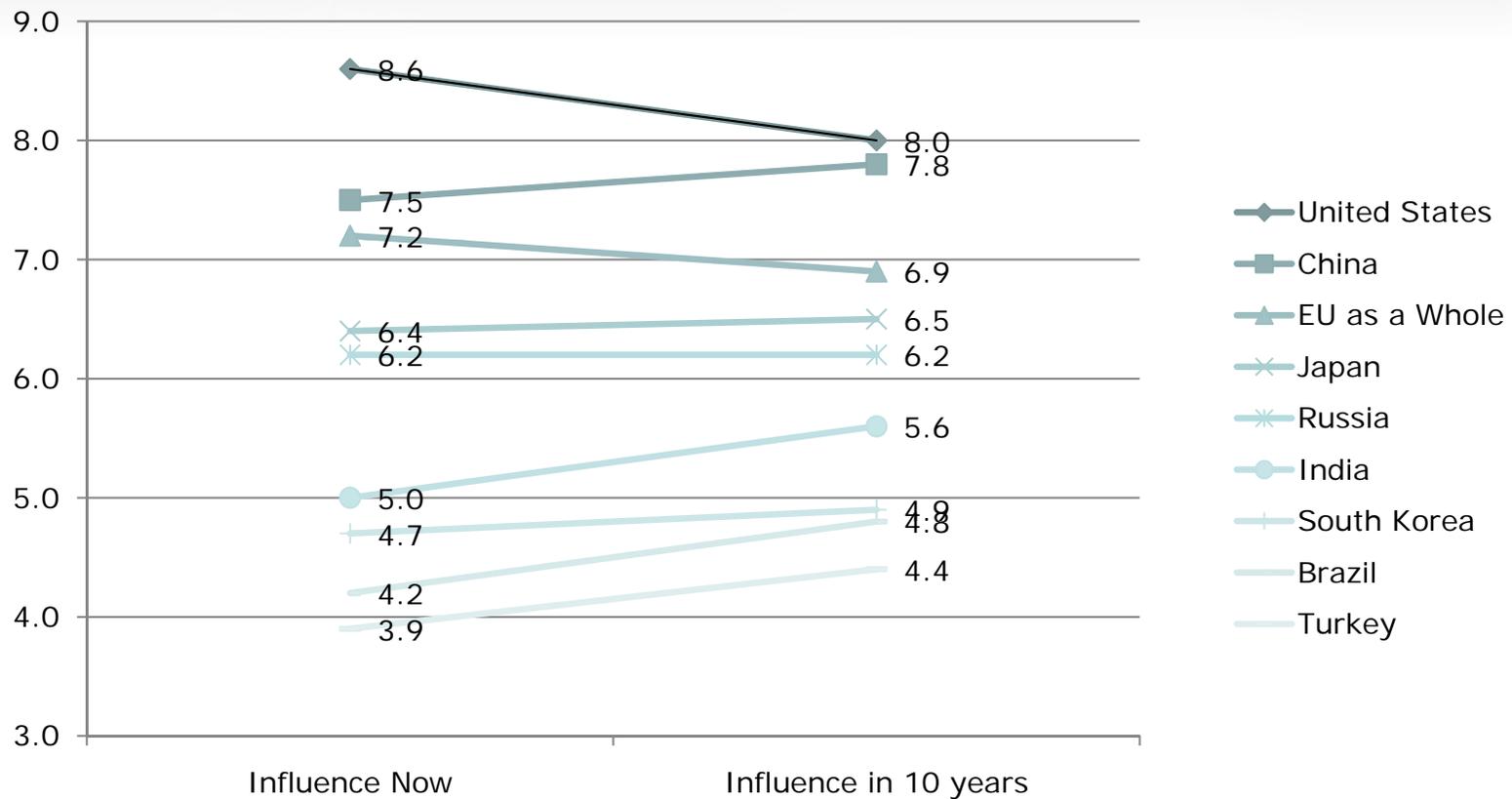
Perceived Lessening of U.S. Influence

Influence of the U.S. and China

Mean rating of perceived influence in the world in 2008, 2010, and projected to have in ten years

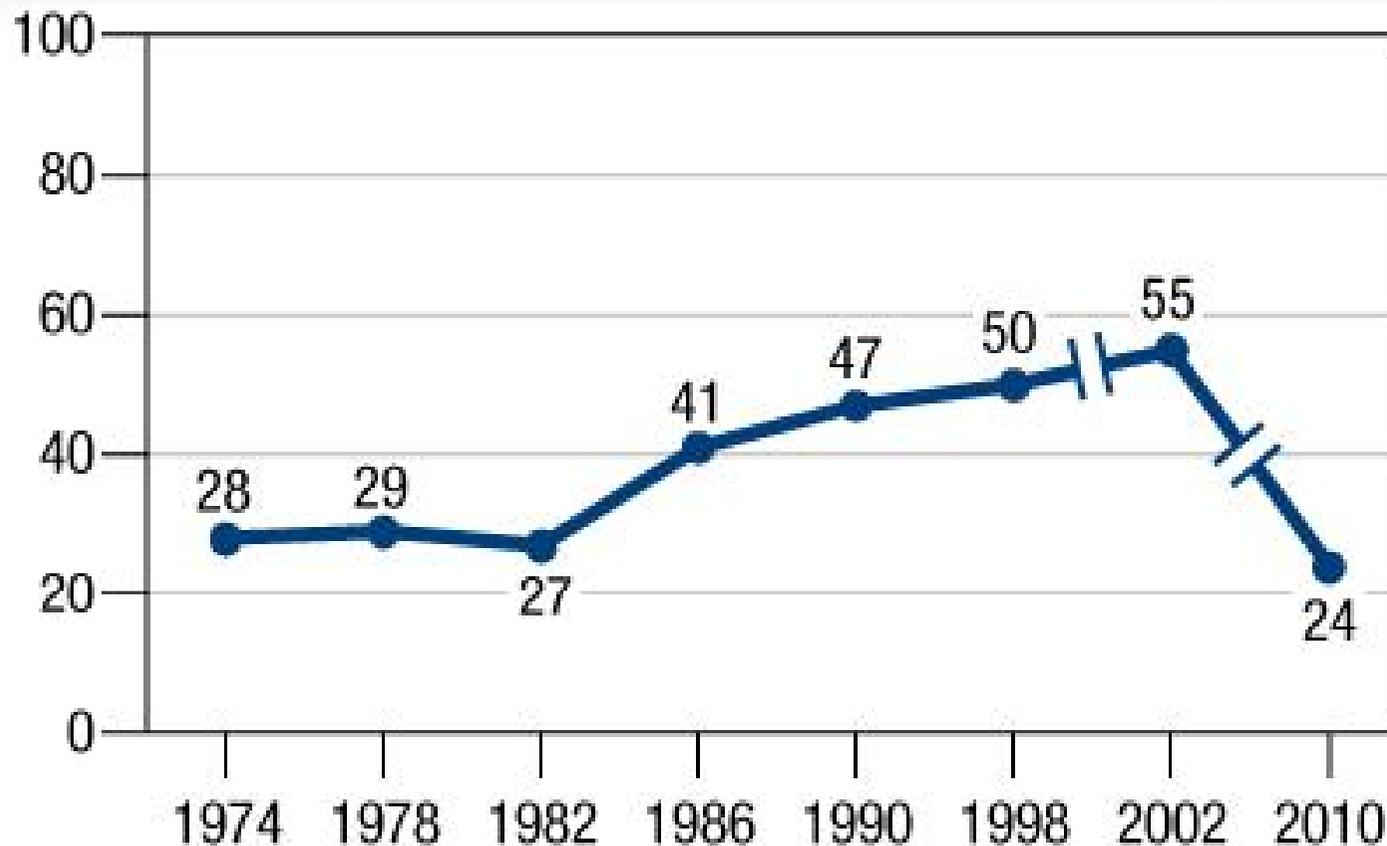


Influence of Nations

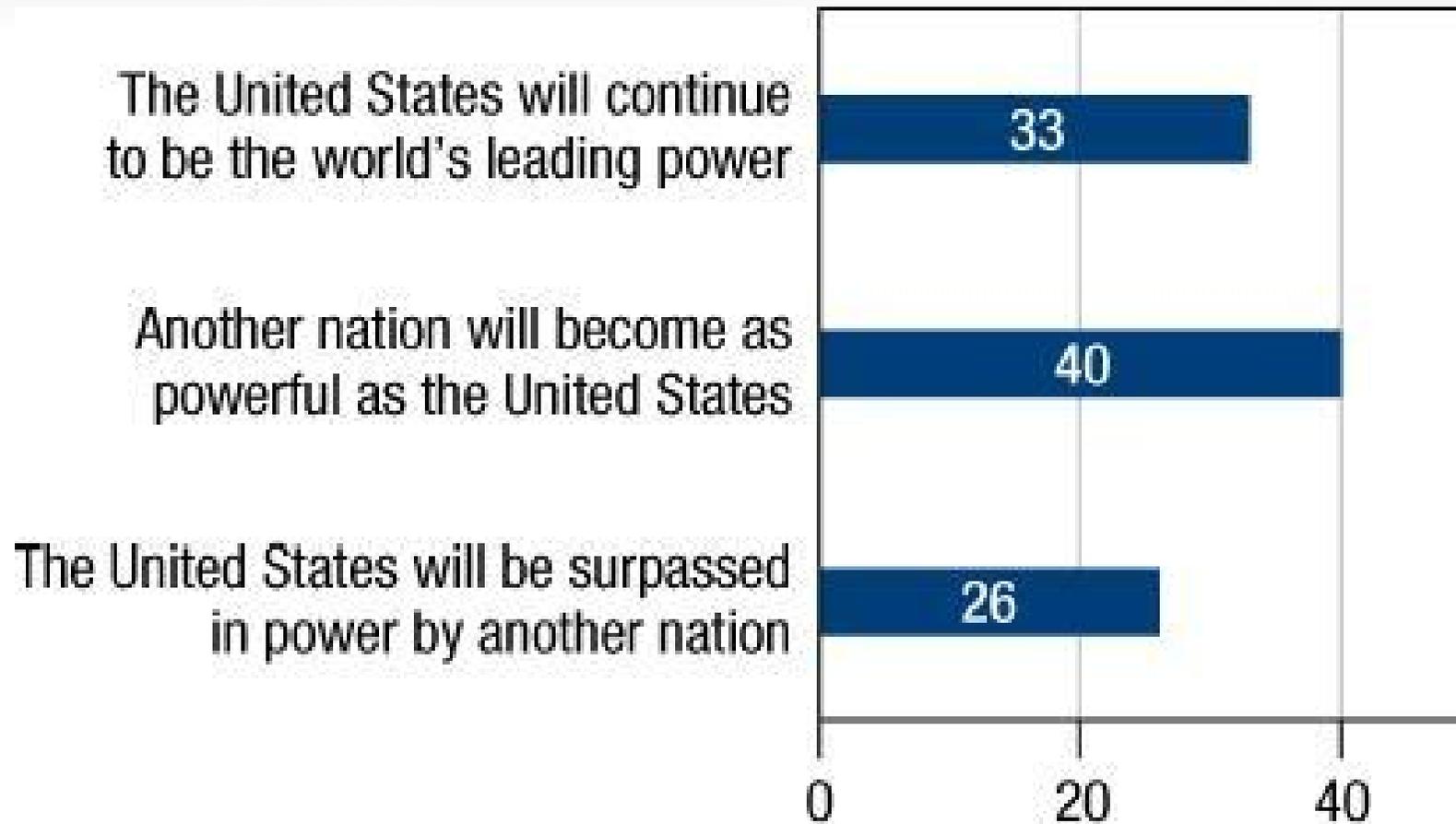


U.S. Role as a World Leader

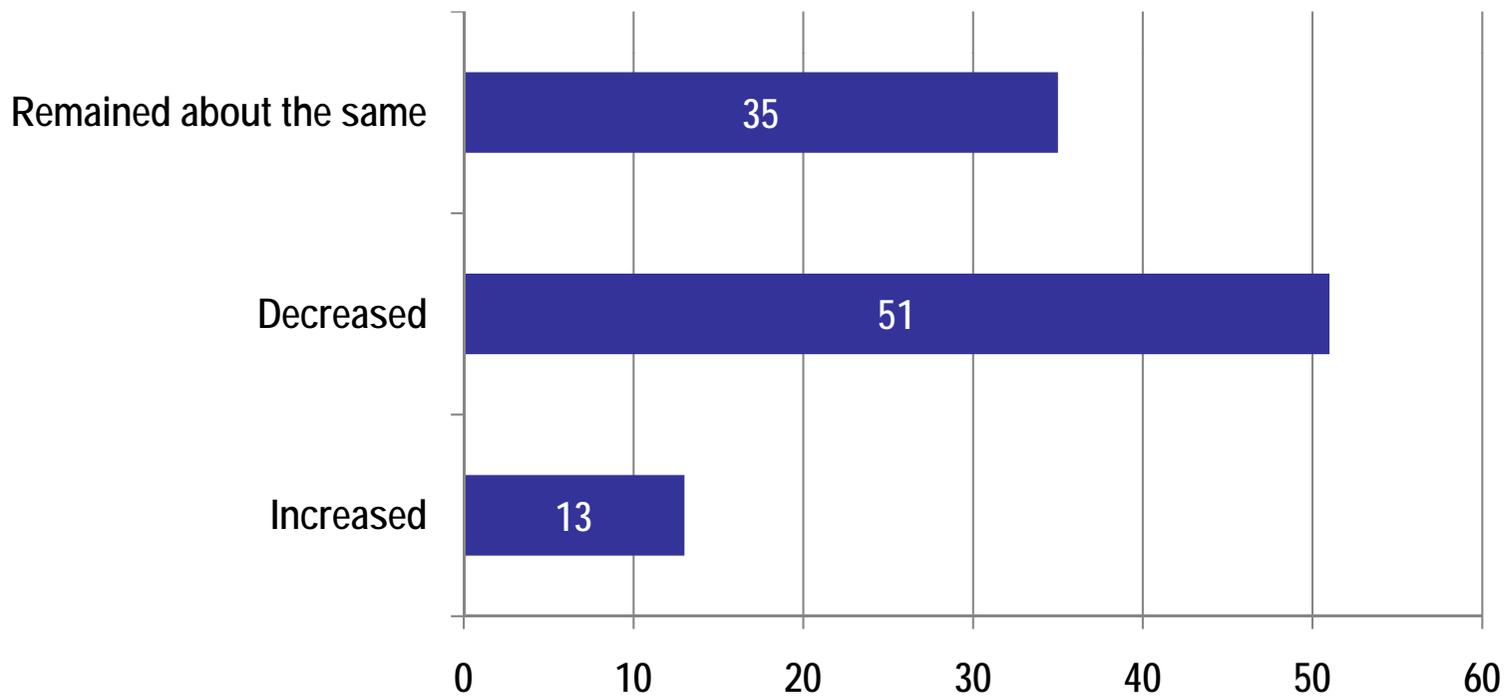
Percentage who think the United States plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to ten years ago



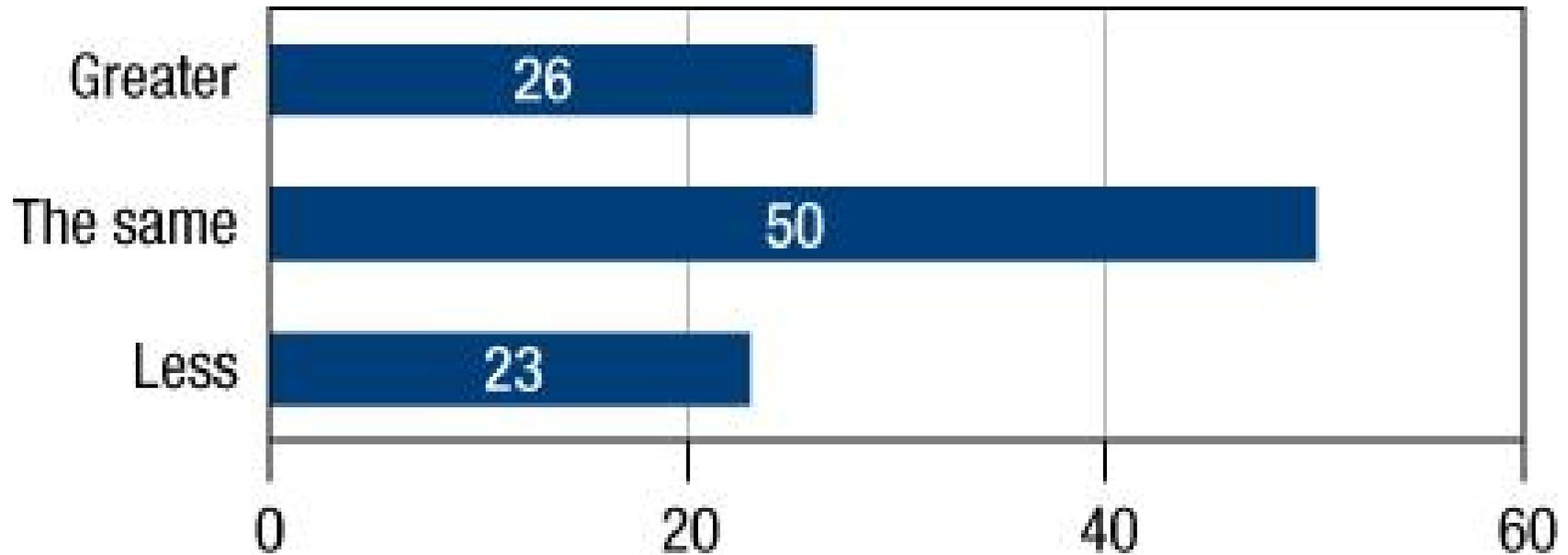
What Will Happen in 50 Years?



U.S. Ability to Achieve Foreign Policy Goals Over the Last Few Years



Ability of Terrorists to Launch an Attack on U.S. Compared to 9/11



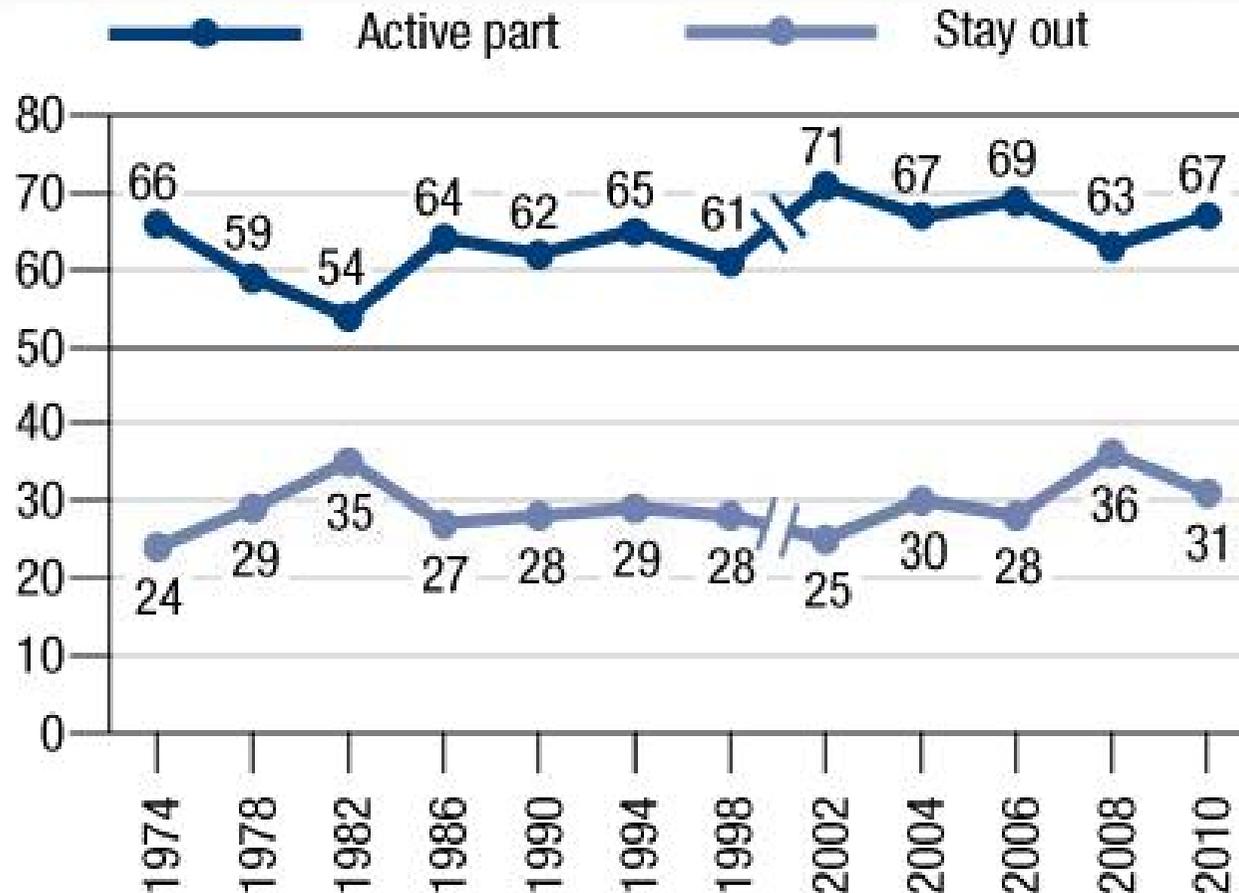


Sustained Support for International Engagement Overall



Support for Active Part in World Affairs

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

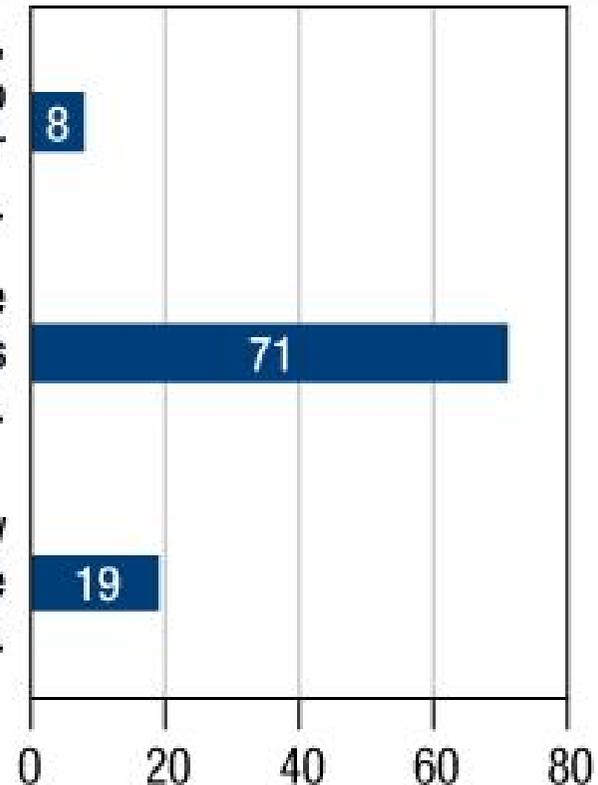


U.S. Role in Solving International Problems

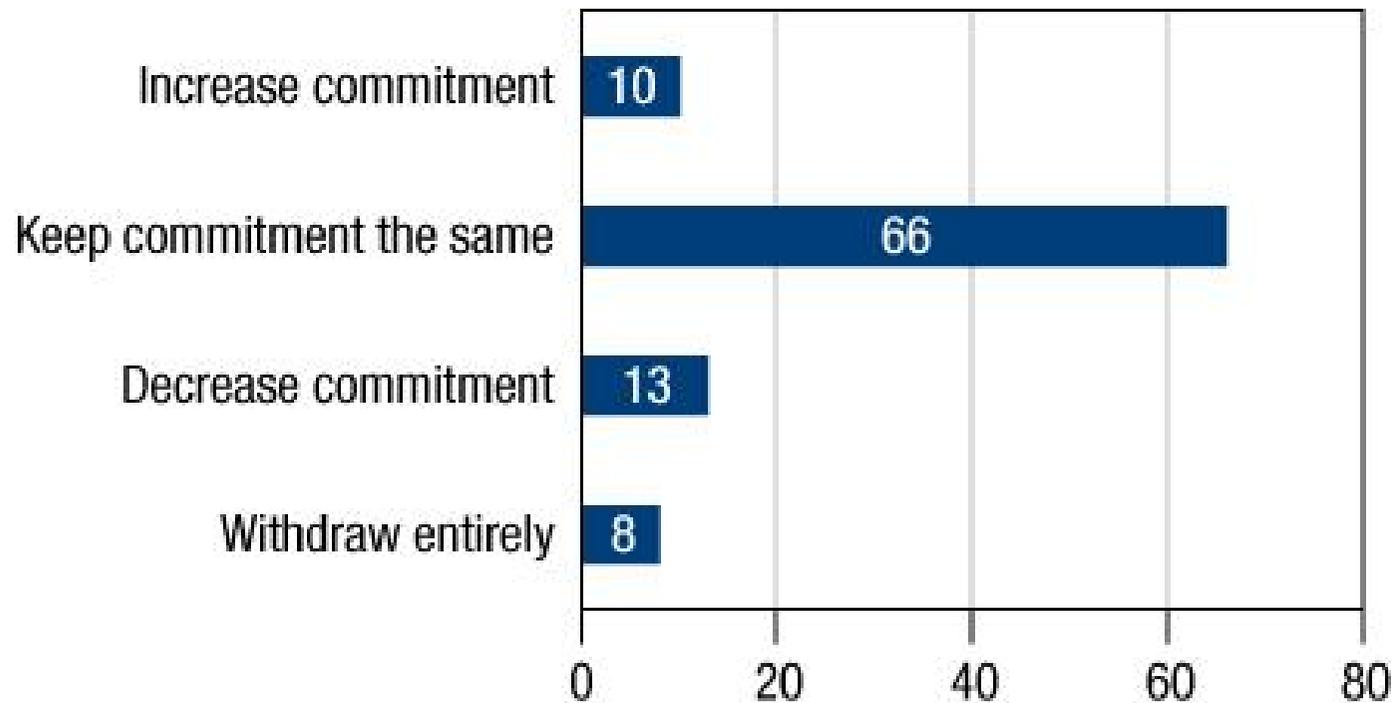
As the sole remaining superpower, the U.S. should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems.

The U.S. should do its share to solve international problems together with other countries.

The U.S. should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems.

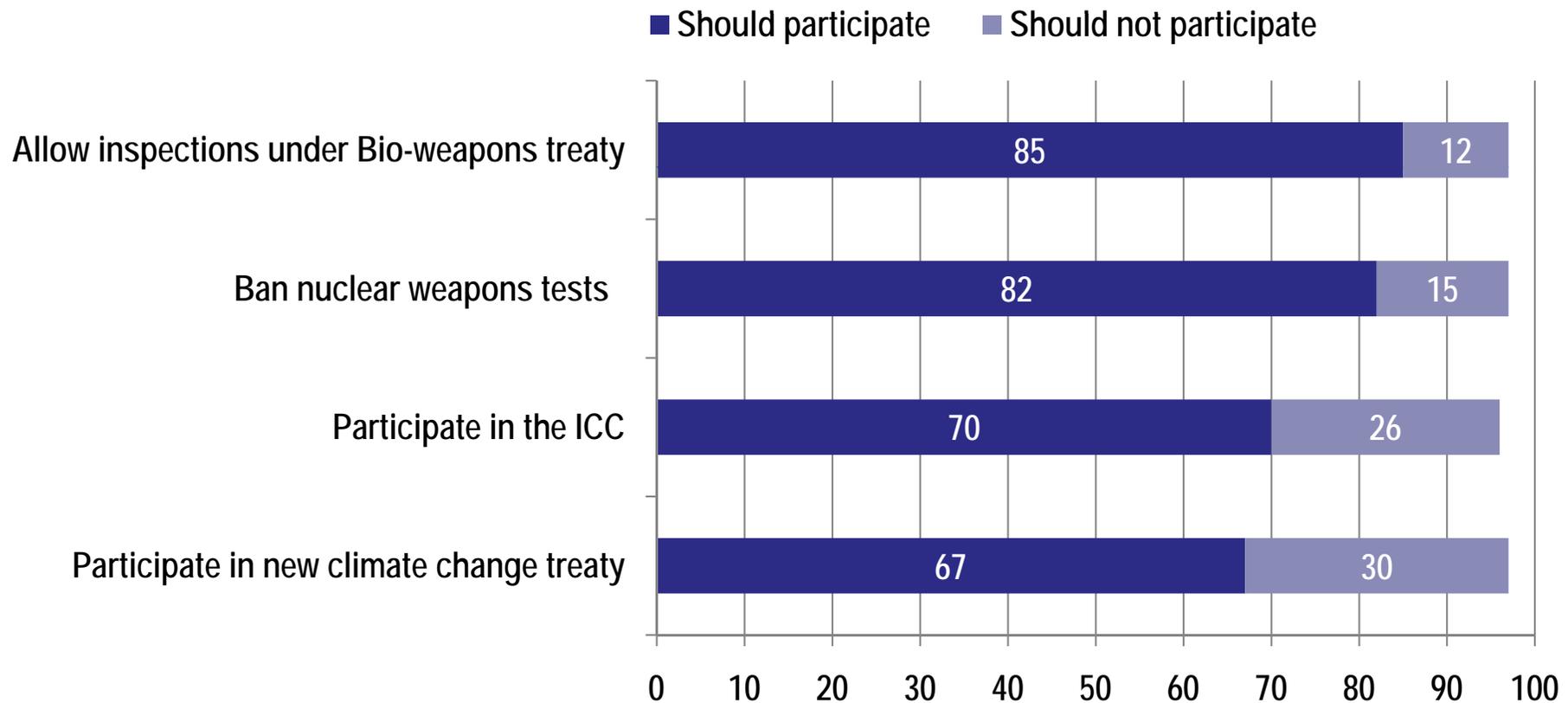


Commitment to NATO



Participation in International Treaties and Agreements

Percentage who think the United States should participate in the following treaties and agreements

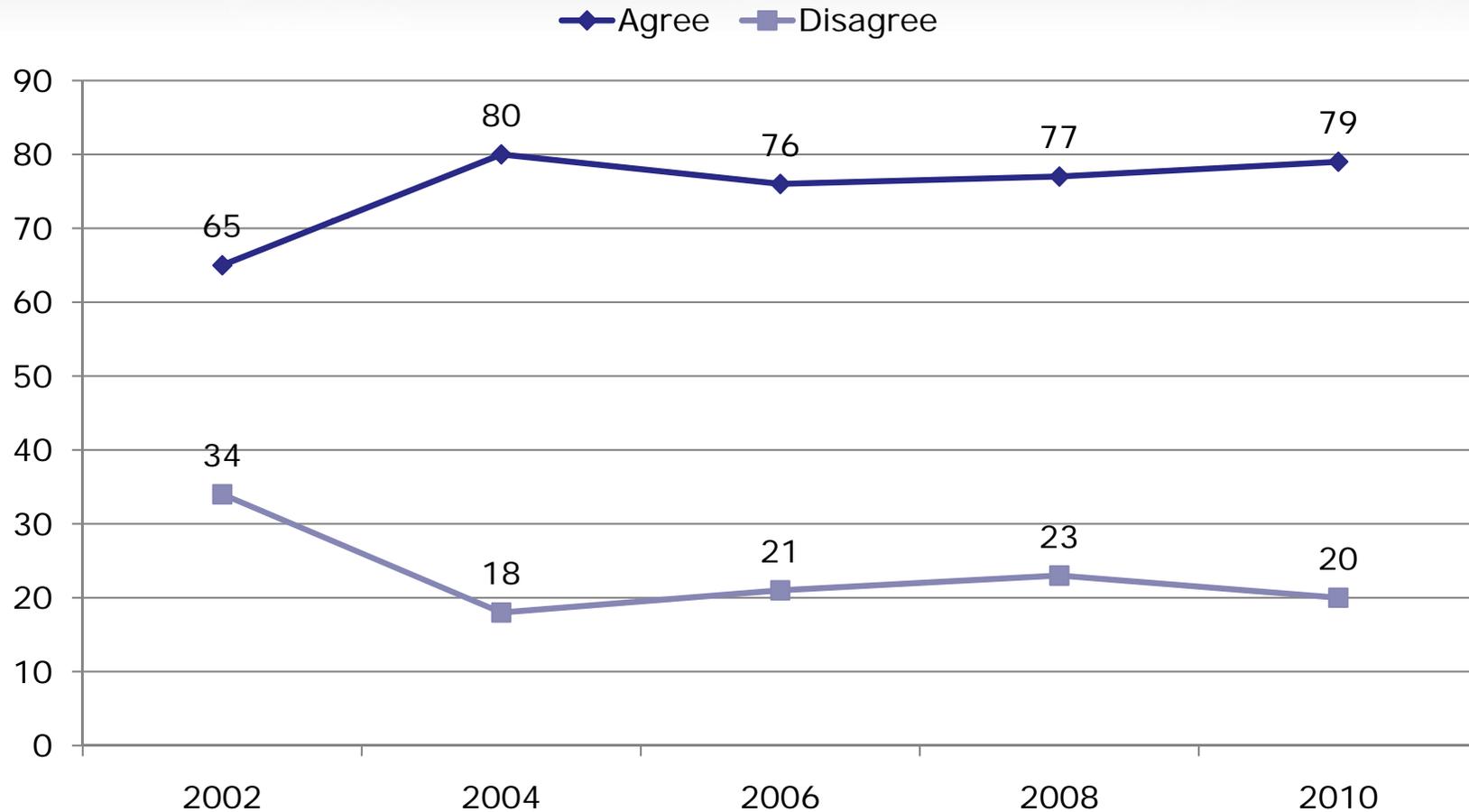




Acceptance of Less Dominance

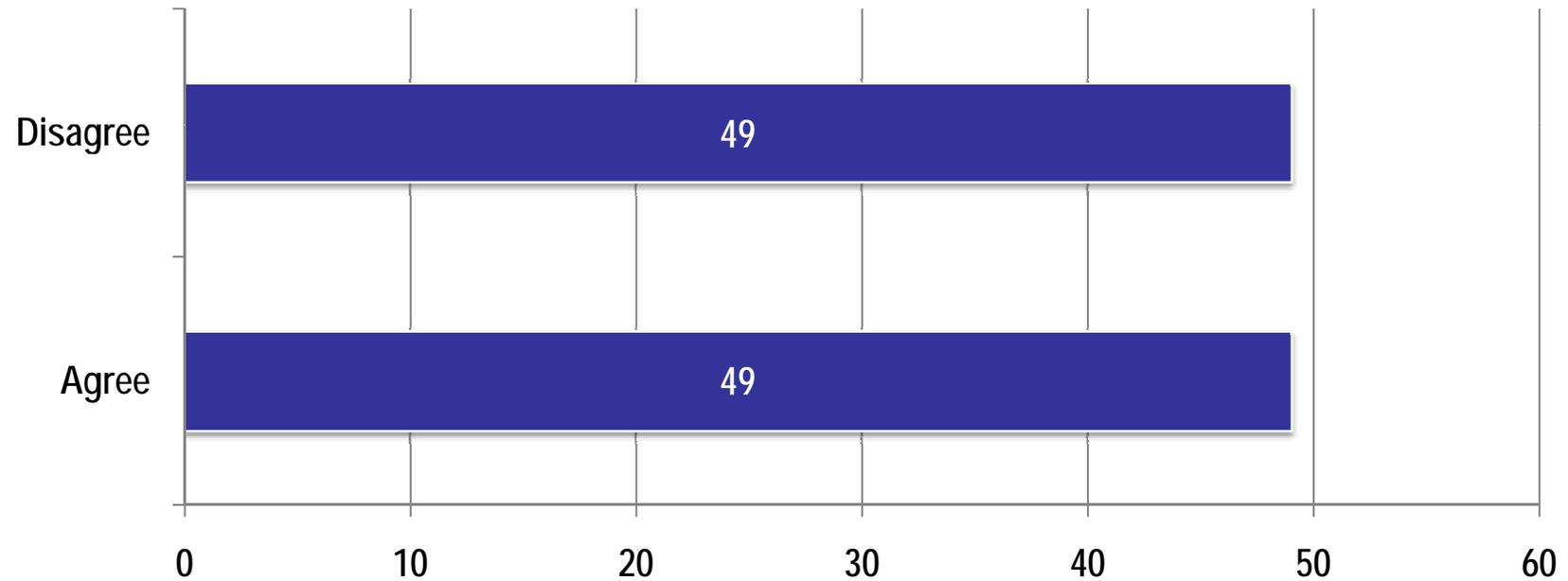
U.S. as World Policeman

The U.S. is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be



Minding its Own Business

The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own



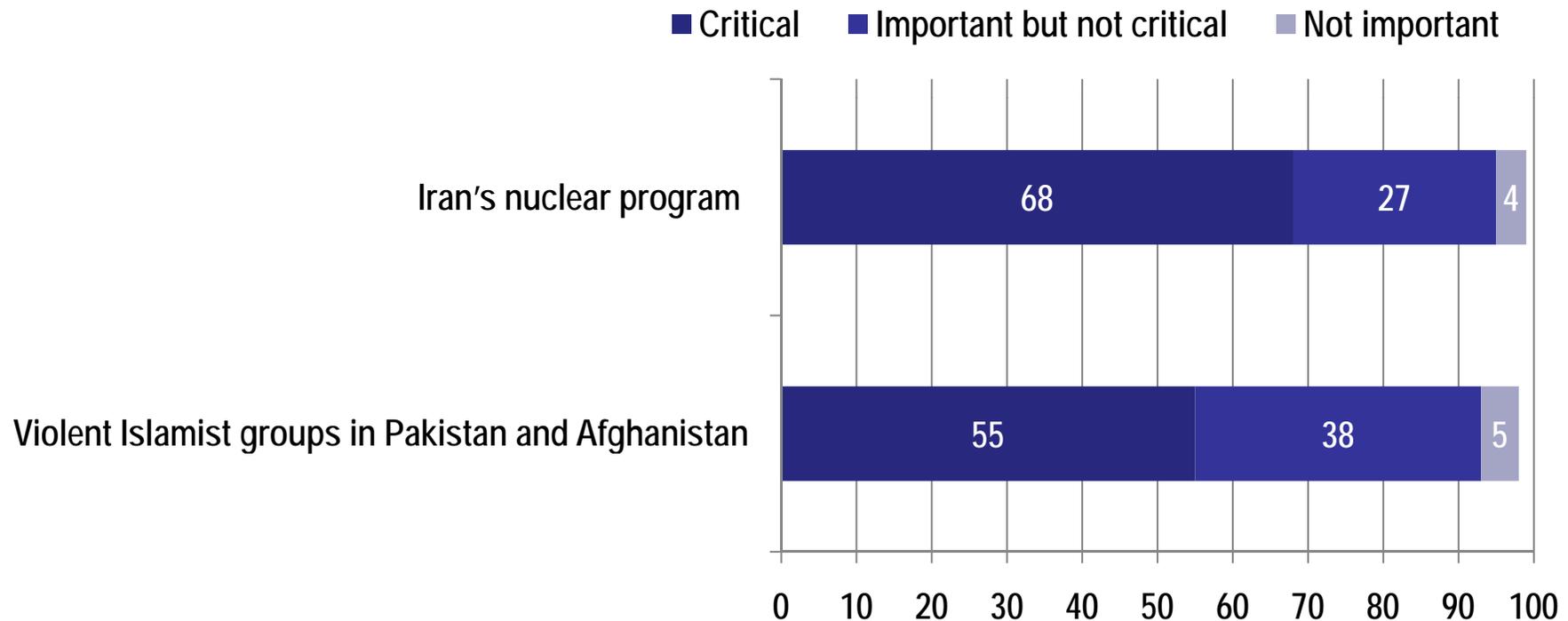


Selective Engagement

Continued Priorities for Engagement

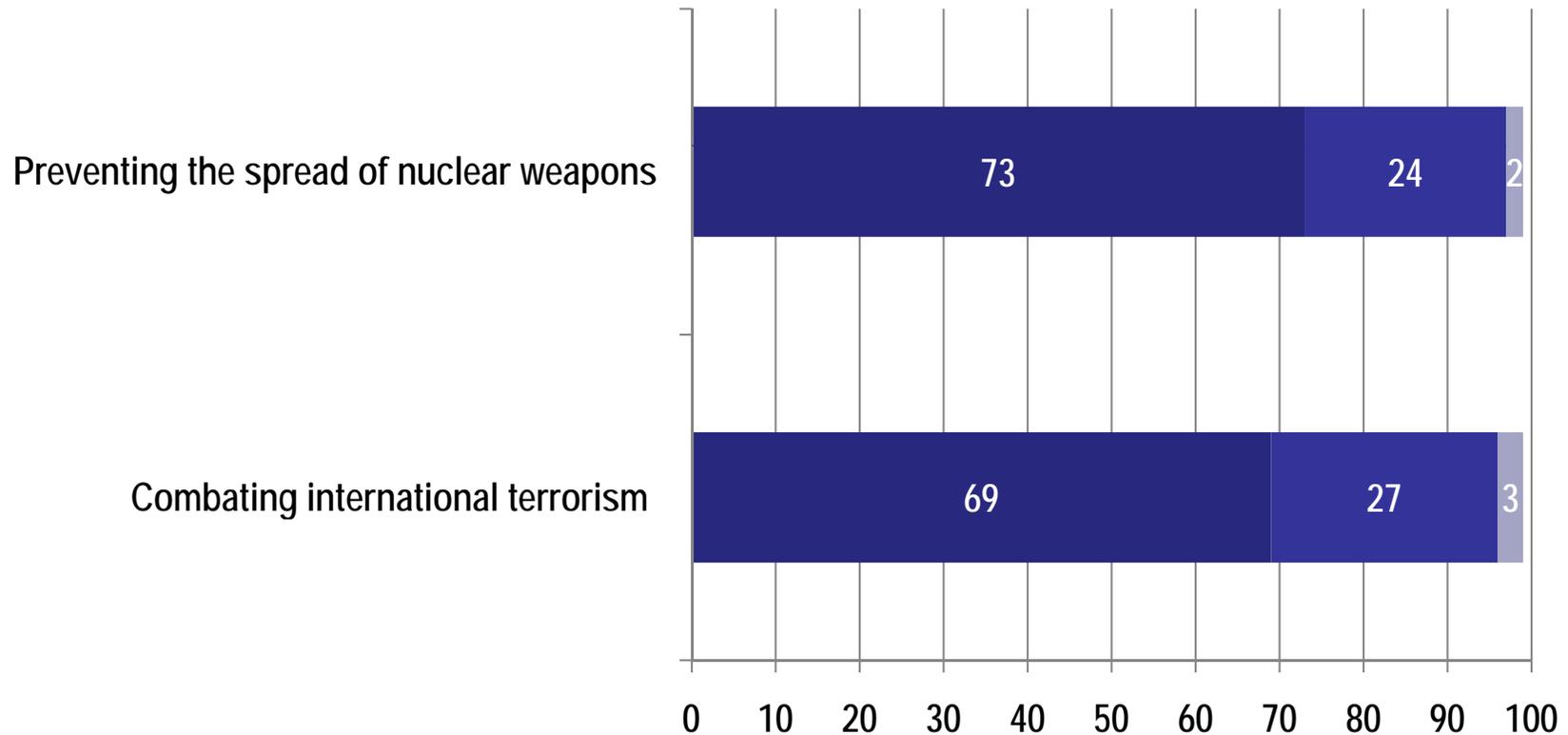
- Principle #1: Support for actions against top threats
- Principle #2: Support for humanitarian actions
- Principle #3: Support for multilateral actions through the United Nations
- Principle #4: Preference for staying on the sideline of other nations' conflicts
- Principle #5: Preference for lightening the U.S. military footprint

Nuclear Proliferation and Violent Islamist Groups as Critical Threats

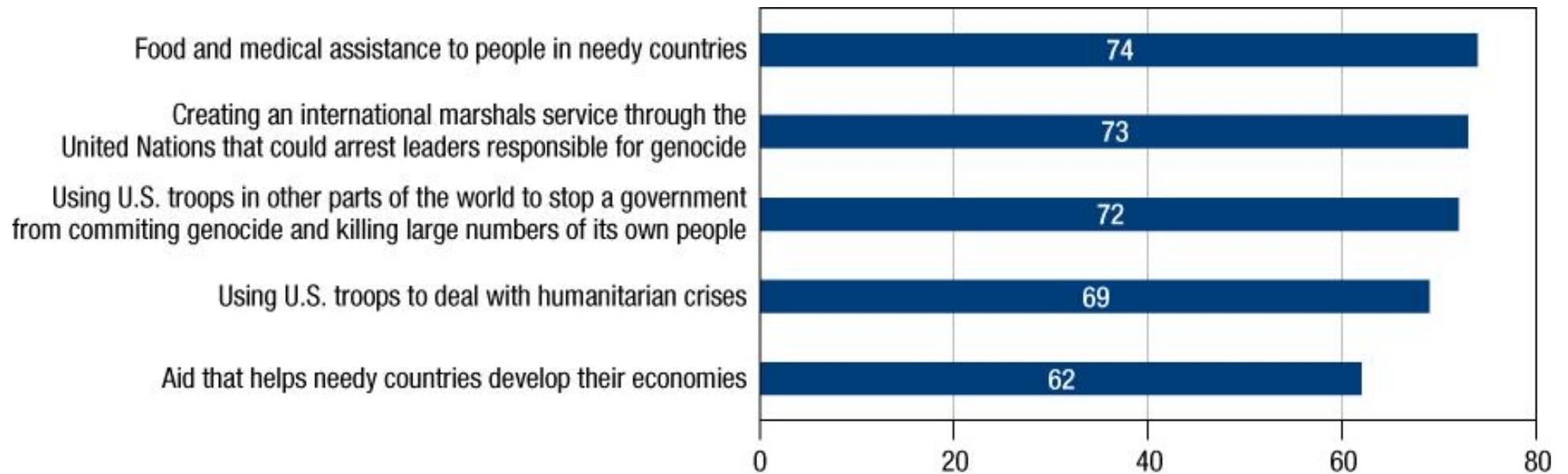


Addressing Nuclear Proliferation and Terrorism as Top Goals

■ Very important ■ Somewhat important ■ Not important

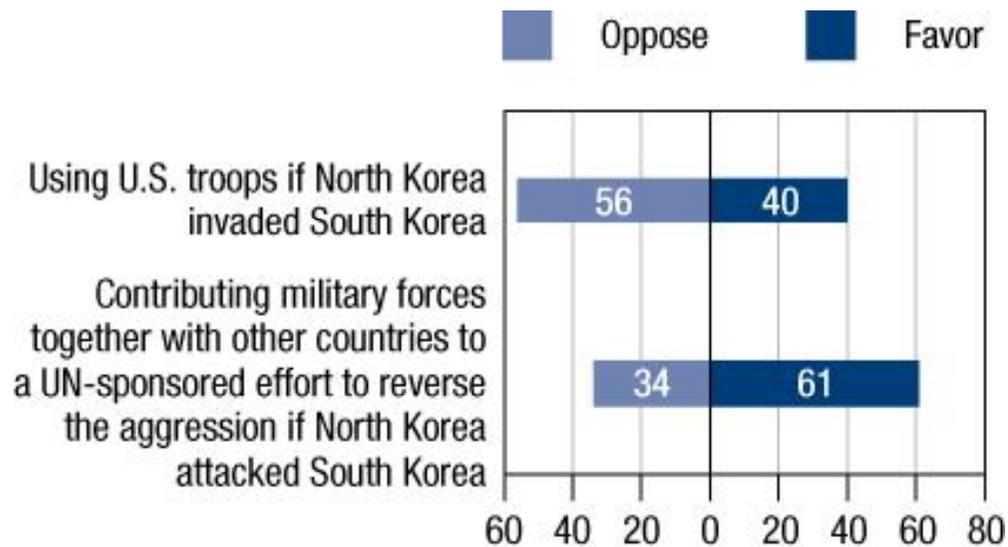


Support for Humanitarian Measures

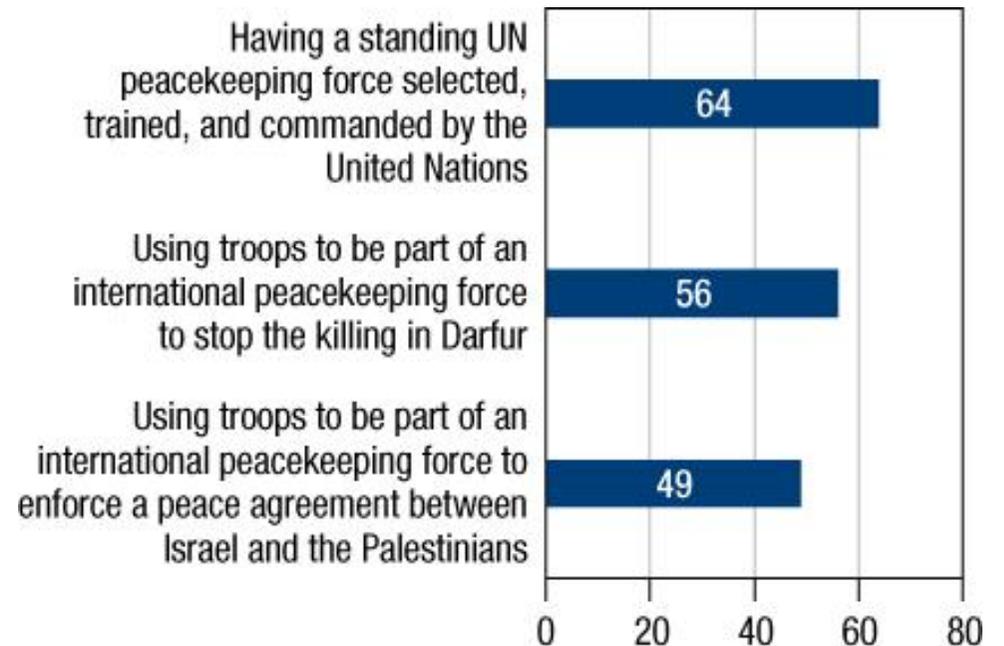


Support for Multilateral Actions Through the United Nations

Defending South Korea



Multilateral Peacekeeping

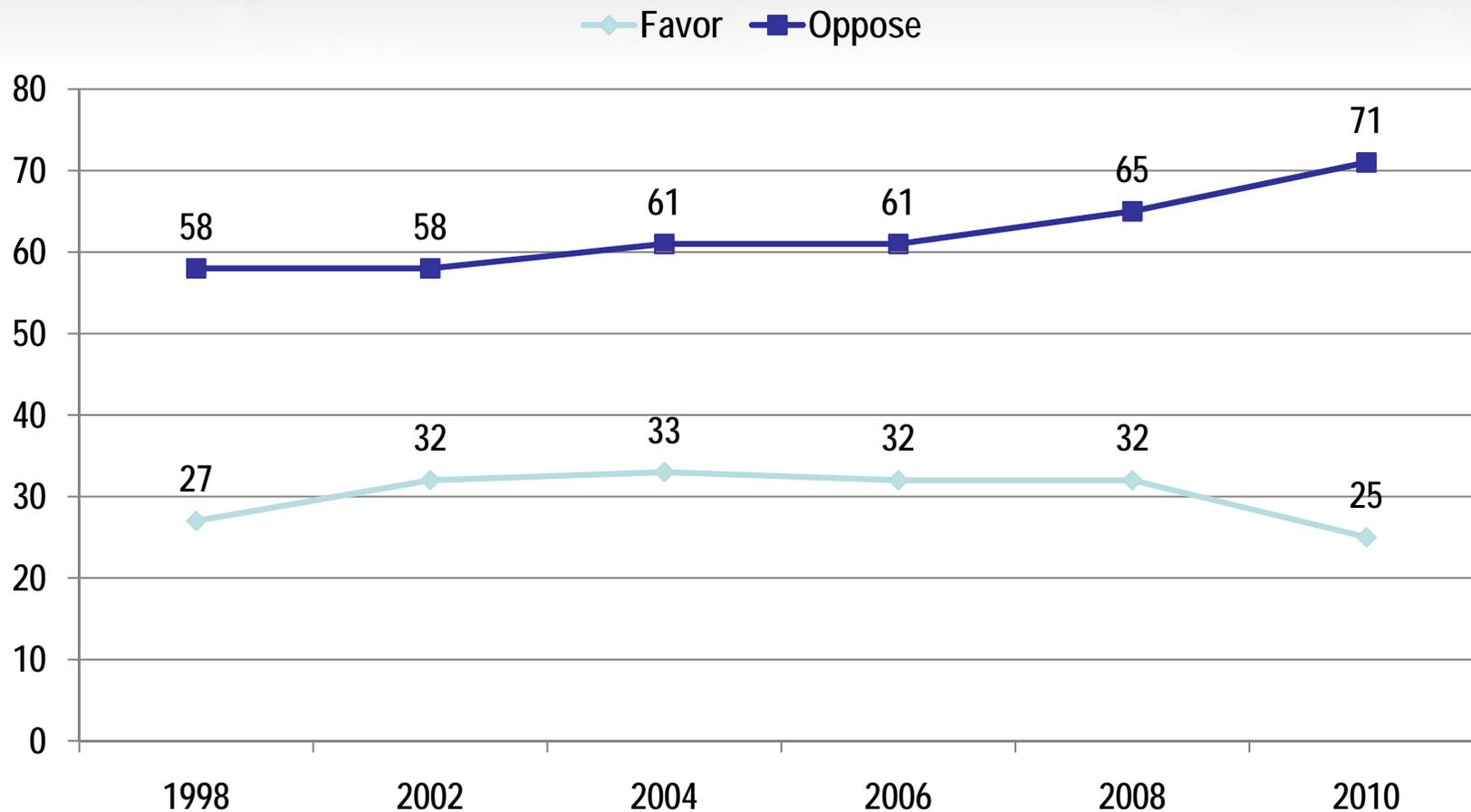




Staying on the Sidelines of Other Nations' Conflicts

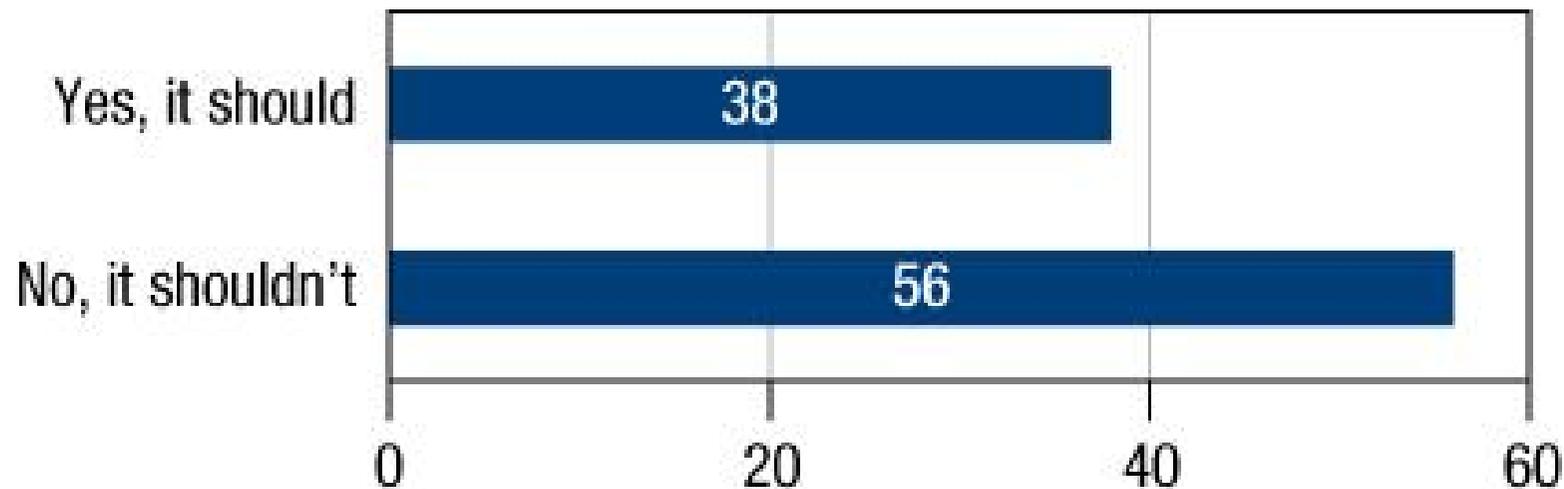


Use of U.S. Troops in China-Taiwan Conflict



Conflict Between Israel and Iran

If Israel were to bomb Iran's nuclear facilities, Iran were to retaliate against Israel, and the two were to go to war, should the United States bring its military forces into the war on the side of Israel?





The U.S. and Asia



Importance of Other Countries

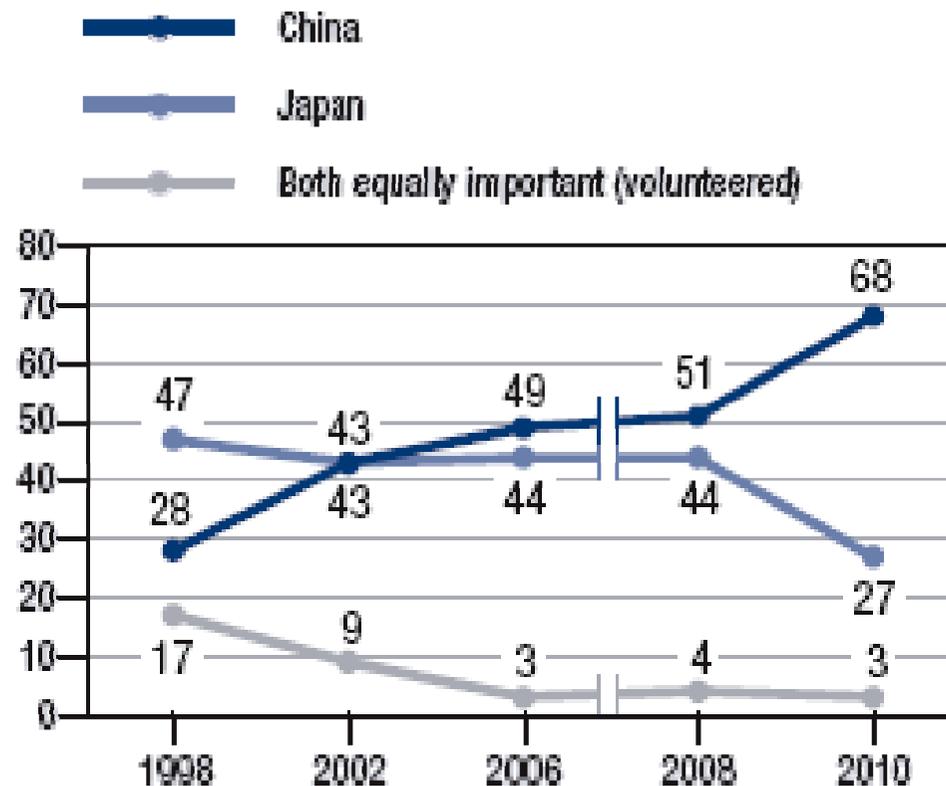
Rank order of countries as “very important” to the United States in 2008 and 2010 and as “very” and “somewhat” important combined in 2010.

Rank in 2008 (Very important)	%	Rank in 2010 (Very important)	%	Rank in 2010 (Very and somewhat important combined)	%
Great Britain	60	China	54	China	87
Canada	53	Great Britain	52	Great Britain	86
China	52	Canada	50	Japan	86
Japan	45	Japan	40	Canada	84
Saudi Arabia	44	Israel	33	Germany	77
Israel	40	Mexico	31	Israel	74
Mexico	37	Saudi Arabia	30	Saudi Arabia	74
Russia	34	Germany	27	Russia	74
Iran	32	Iraq	26	Mexico	72
Pakistan	30	Russia	26	India	68
Germany	29	Iran	25	South Korea	67
India	25	Afghanistan	21	Iraq	63
Afghanistan	25	South Korea	21	Afghanistan	60
France	22	Pakistan	19	Iran	59
Venezuela	16	India	18	Pakistan	59
Egypt	16	Brazil	10	Brazil	54
Brazil	14	Turkey	10	Turkey	52
Indonesia	9	Nigeria	6	Nigeria	35



Importance of China vs. Japan

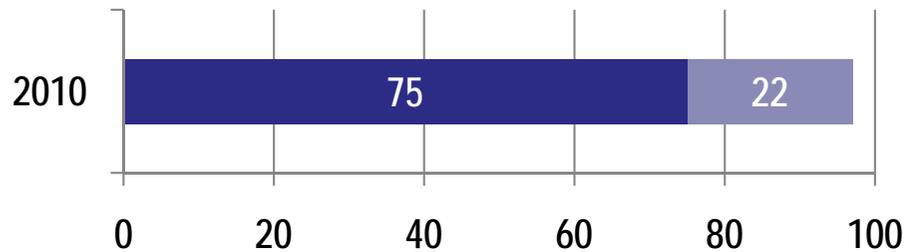
Percentage who think that Japan or China is more important to the United States than the other in terms of American vital interests today.



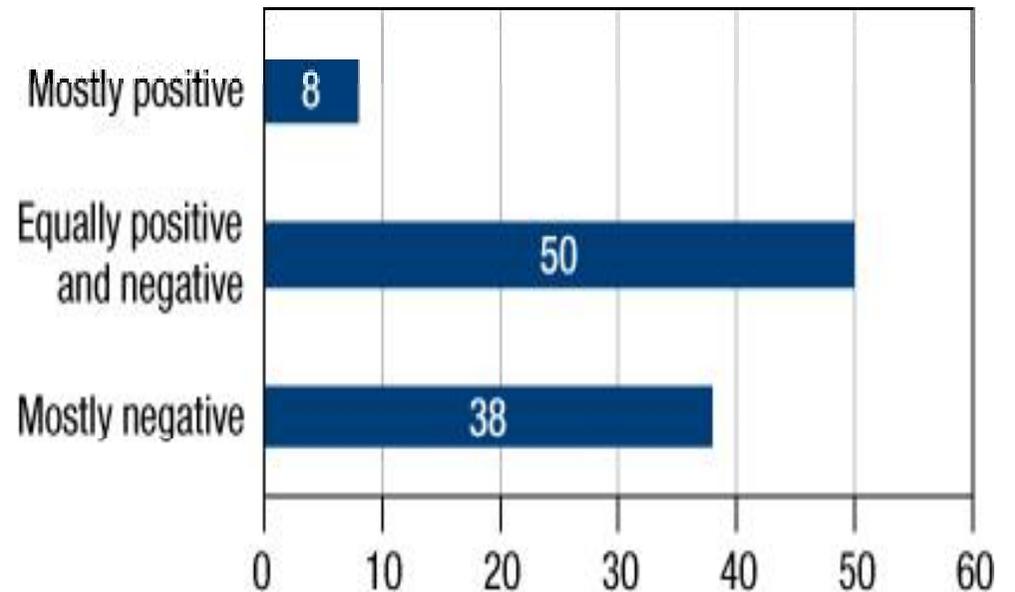
Views of China Catching Up

Will China catch up with U.S. economically?

- China's economy will grow as large as the U.S. economy
- The U.S. economy will always stay larger than China's

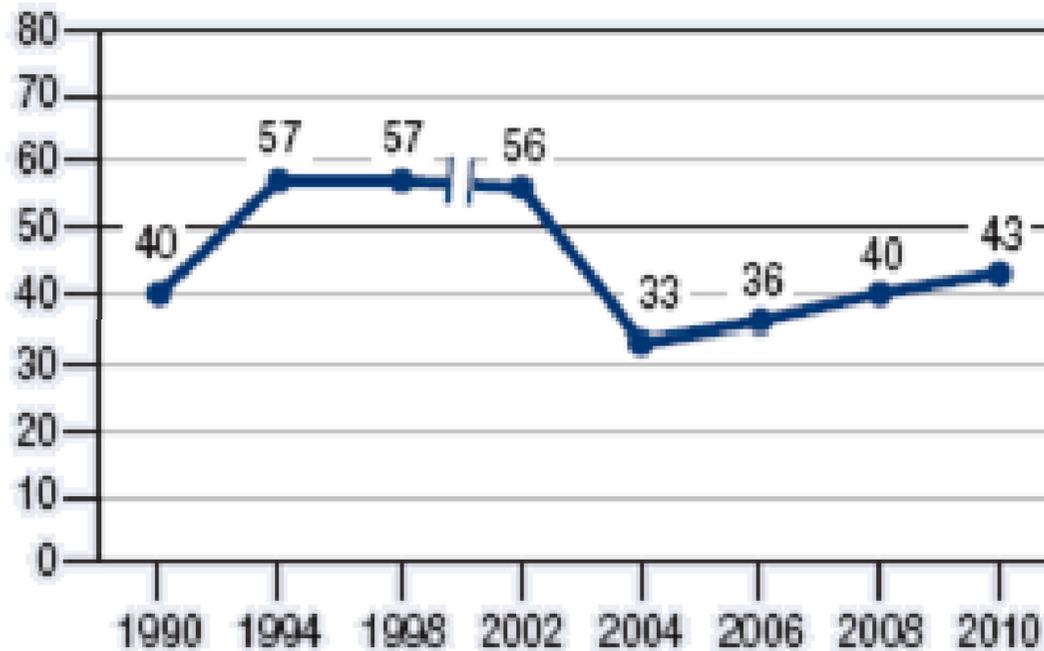


If it does, would this be:

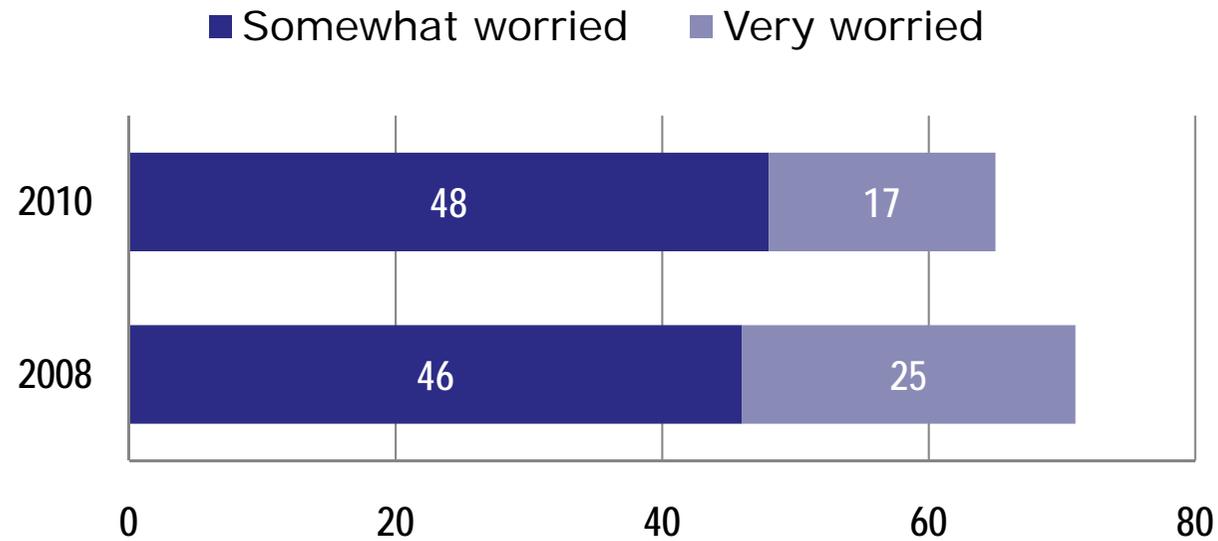


Perceived Threat of China's Rise

Percentage who see the development of China as a world power as a "critical" threat to the vital interest of the United States in the next ten years.

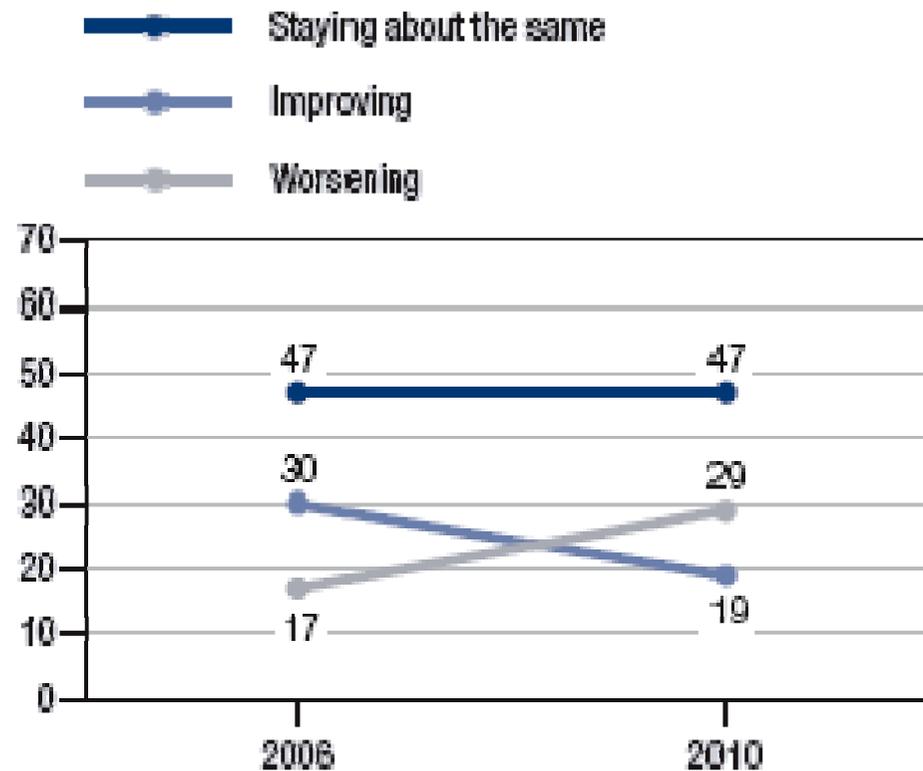


China as a Military Threat in the Future



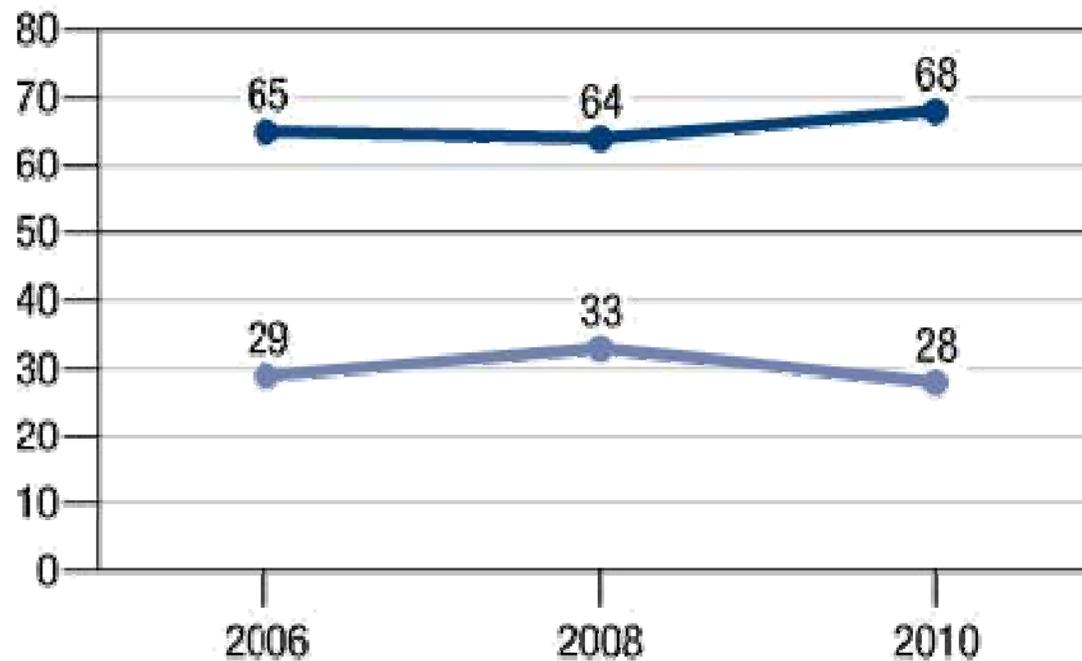
Relations with China

Percentage who think relations with China are improving, worsening, or staying about the same.



How to Deal with the Rise of China

- Undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China
- Actively work to limit the growth of China's power

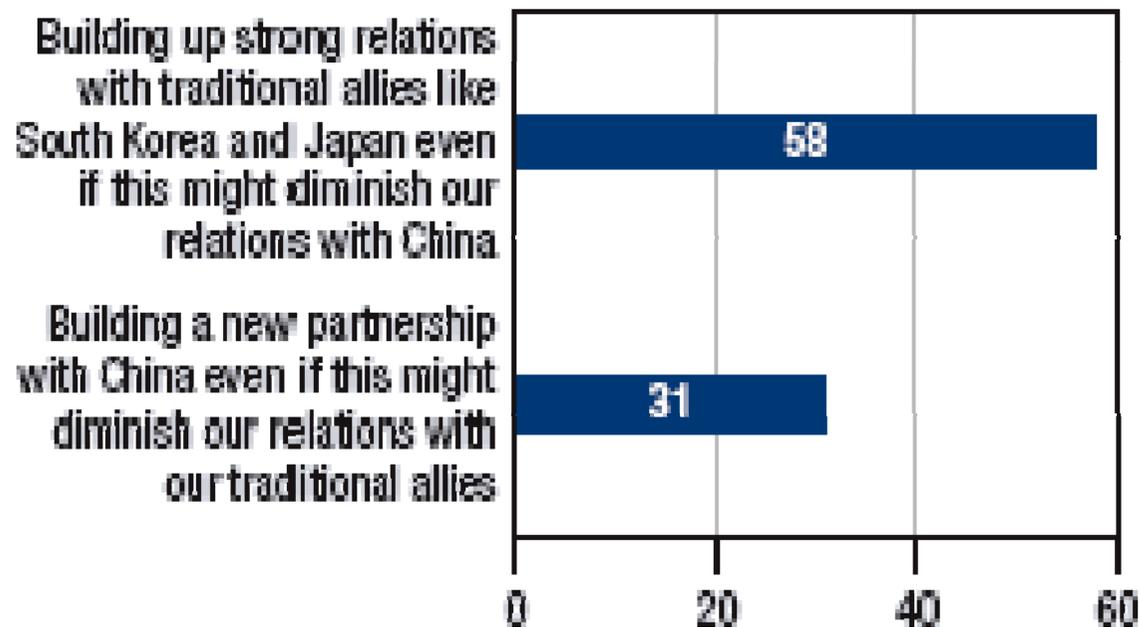




Asian Security

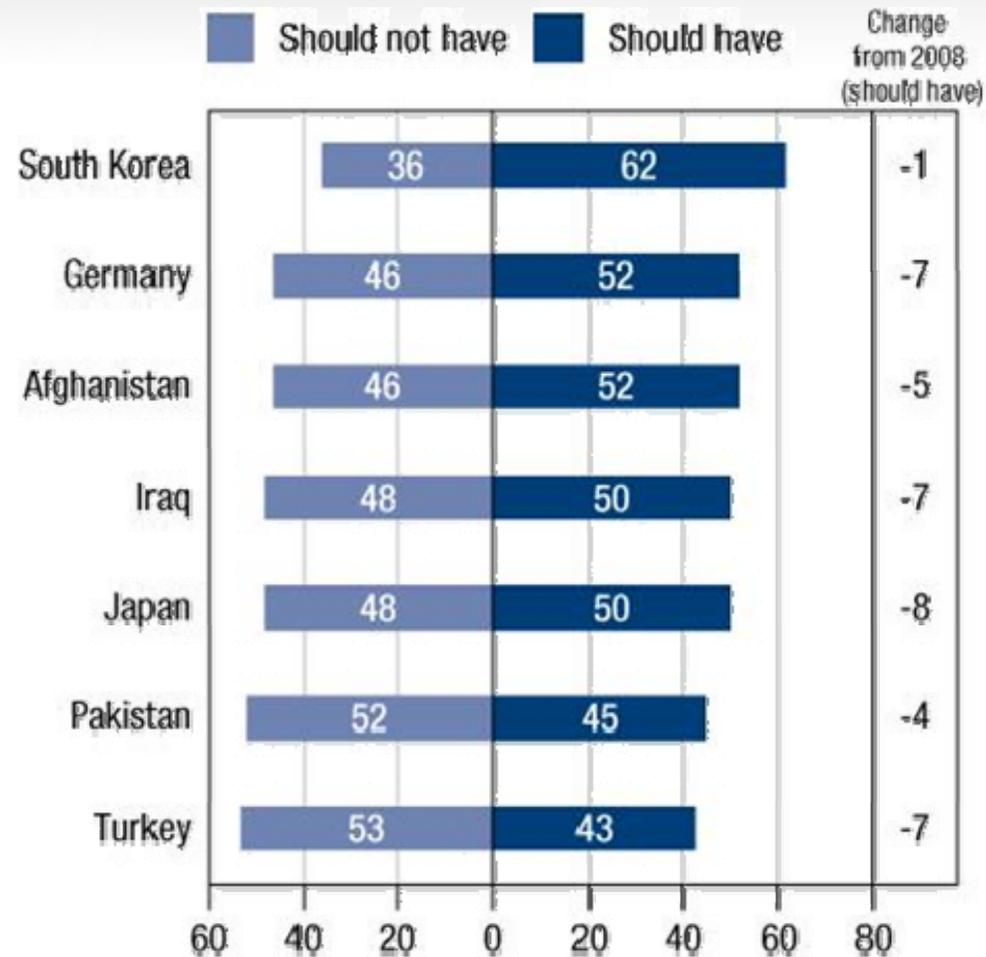
U.S. Foreign Policy in Asia

Percentage who think the United States should put a higher priority on the following in thinking about U.S. foreign policy in Asia.



Long-term Military Bases

Percentage who think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following countries.

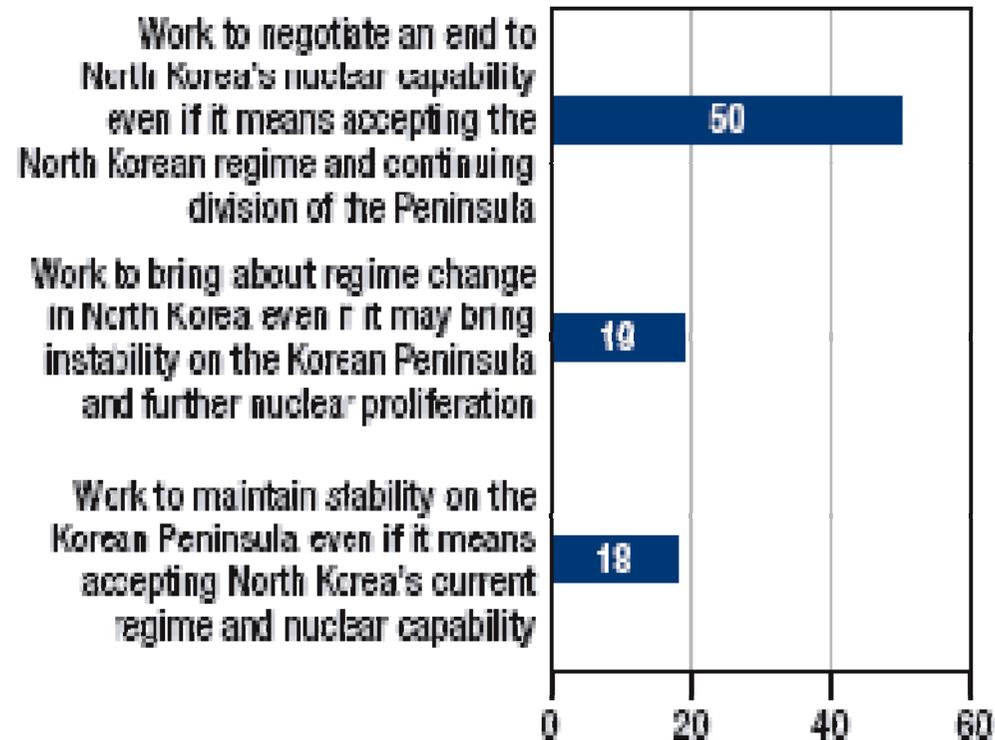




The Korean Peninsula

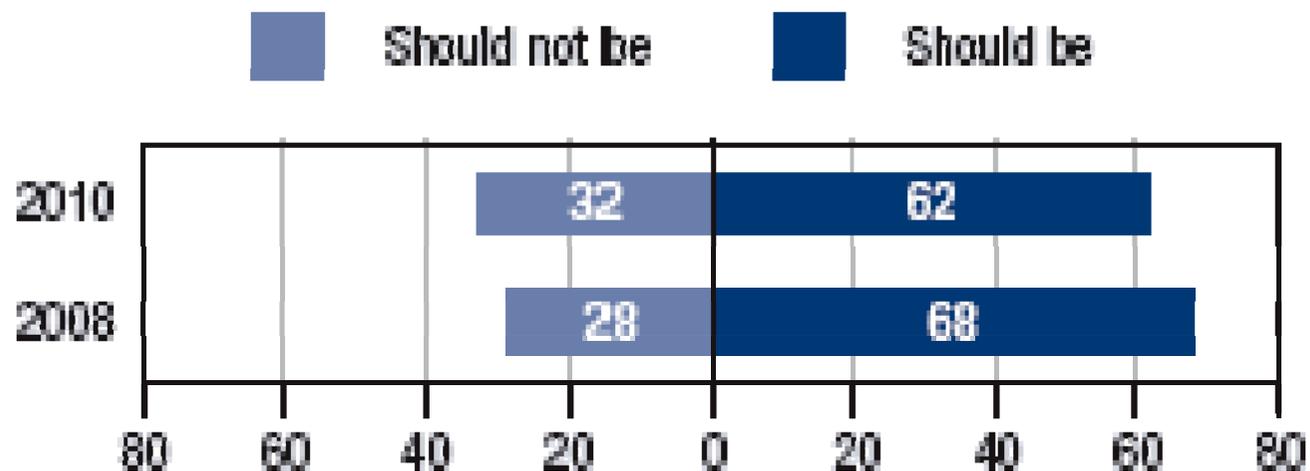
U.S. Policy Toward North Korea

Percentage who agree with each of the following objectives of U.S. Foreign Policy toward North Korea.



Talking with North Korea

Percentage who think U.S. government leaders should be ready to meet and talk with leaders of North Korea.

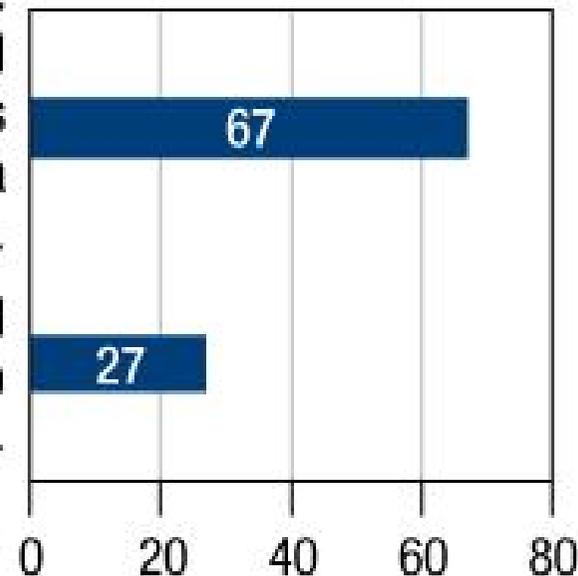


Response to the Attack on a South Korean Naval Ship

Percentage who say each of the following views on the recent torpedoing of a South Korean naval ship forty-six sailors is closest to their own.

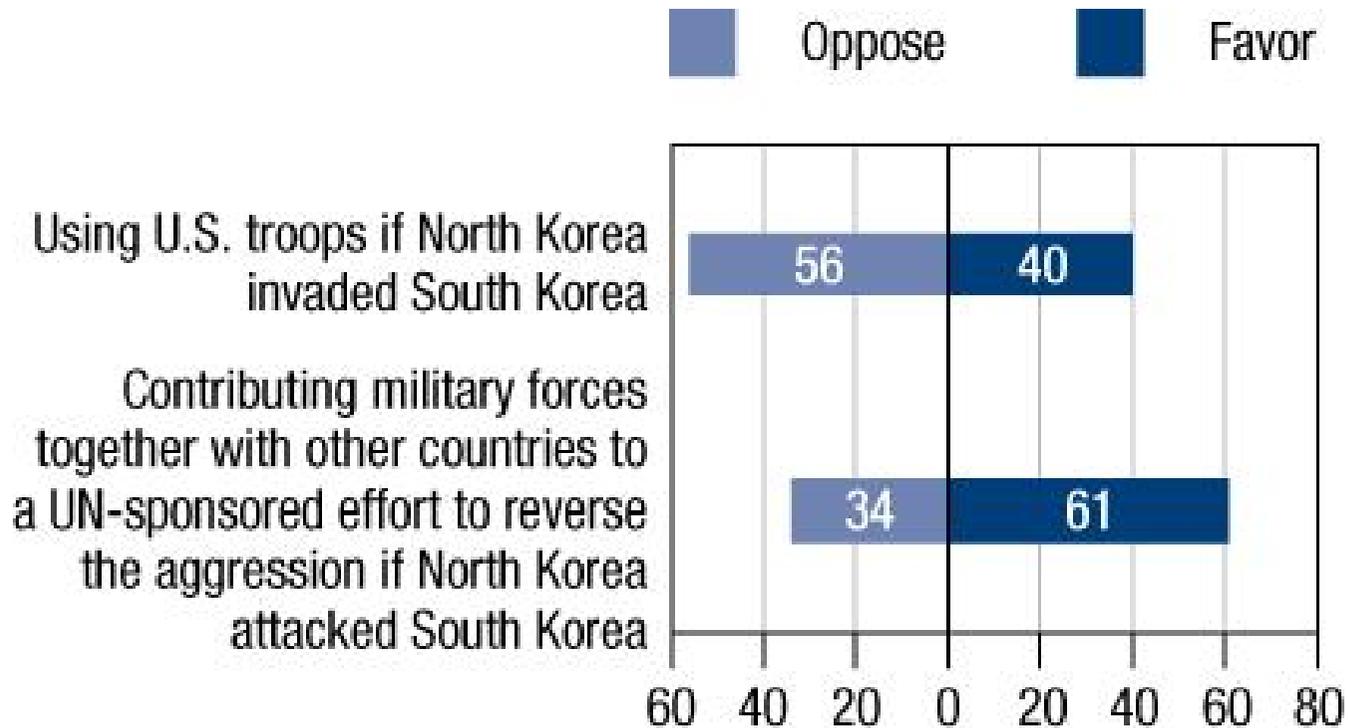
The U.S. should strongly criticize North Korea for its attack, but should view it as one in a series of incidents in the North Korea-South Korea conflict over disputed waters.

This was an act of unprovoked aggression and the U.S. should join South Korea in punishing North Korea.



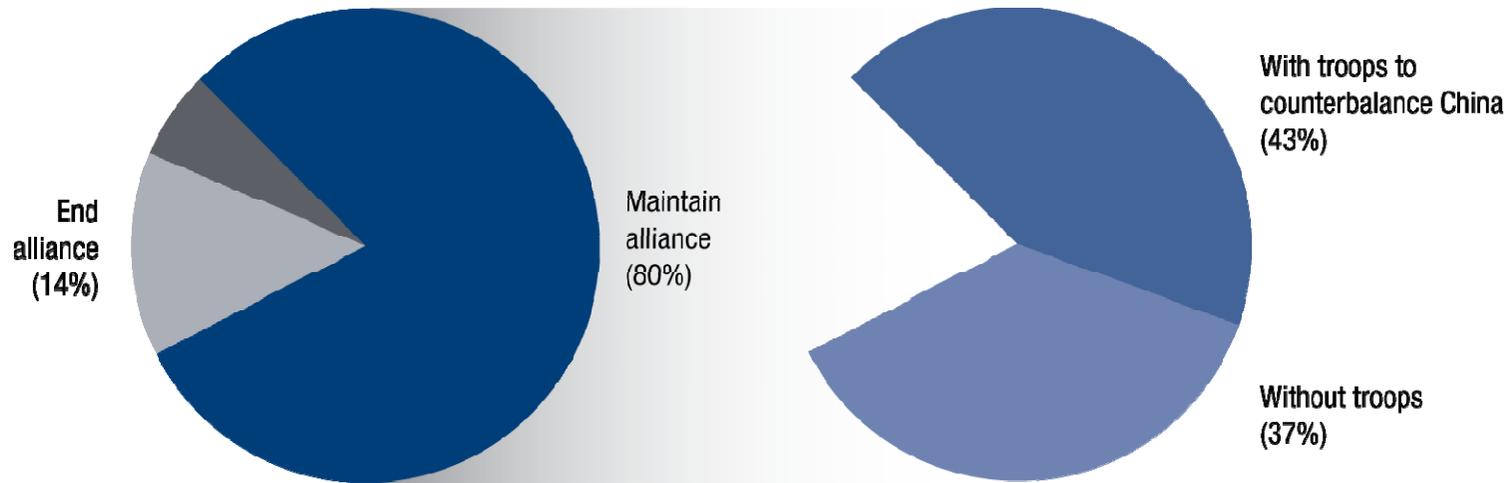
Use of U.S. Troops to Defend South Korea

Percentage who favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops either unilaterally or through the United Nations to defend South Korea if it were attacked/invaded by North Korea.



Maintaining the Alliance if North and South Korea Reunify

Percentage who think the United States should do each of the following if North and South Korea were to reunify as a single nation.



- Maintain its alliance with Korea and keep U.S. ground troops to counterbalance China (43%)
- Maintain its alliance with Korea but remove U.S. ground troops (37%)
- End its alliance with Korea and remove U.S. ground troops (14%)
- Not sure, decline (6%)



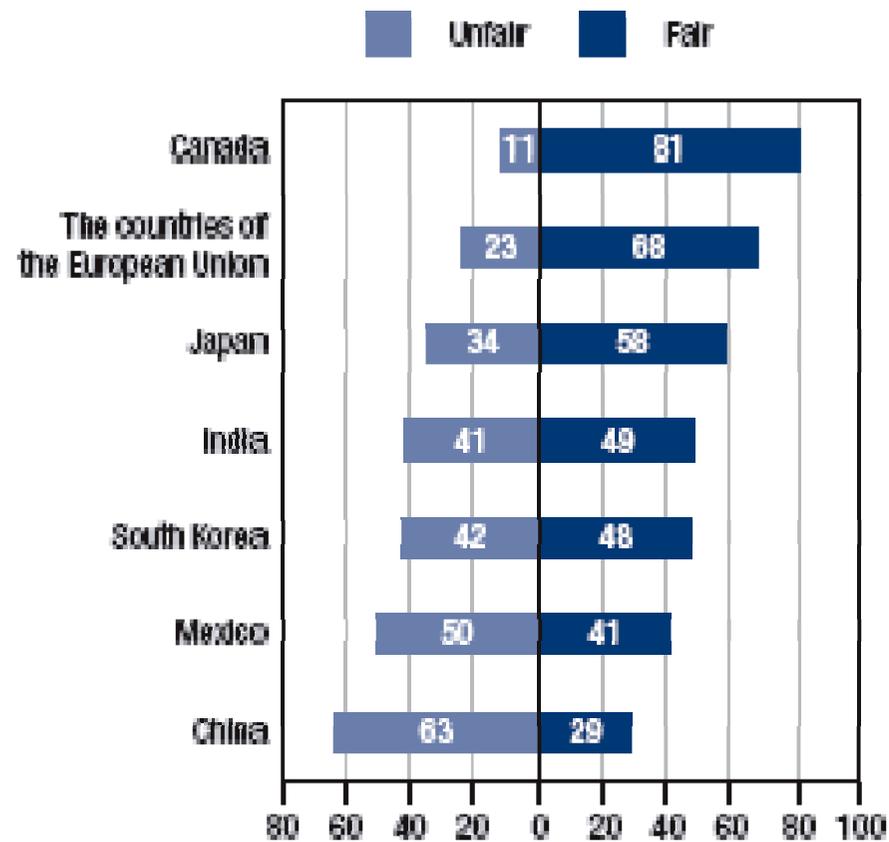


U.S. – ROK Trade Issues



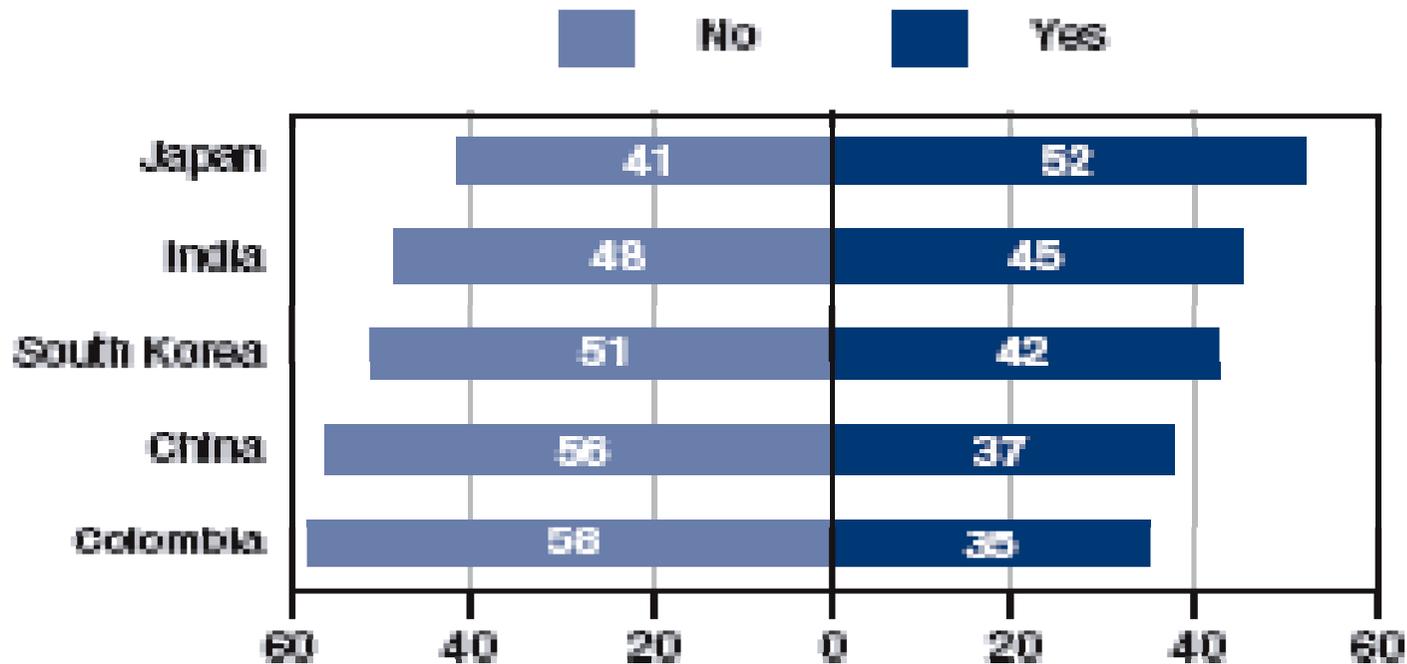
U.S. Trade with Other Countries

Percentage who think the following countries practice fair trade or unfair trade with the United States.



Free Trade Agreements

Percentage who say “yes” or “no” when asked if the United States should have a free trade agreement that would lower barriers such as tariffs with the following countries.





END