

APPENDIX 1

2004 CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS SURVEY QUESTIONS

Q1. When you follow the news these days, how interested are you in news about the relations of the United States with other countries?

- Very interested 1
- Somewhat interested 2
- Hardly interested 3
- Don't follow the news..... 4

Q2. Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

- Aid to education
- Defense spending
- Social Security
- Military aid to other nations
- Economic aid to other nations
- Health care
- Gathering intelligence information about other countries
- Farm Subsidies
- Homeland security

Q3. Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all.

- Economic competition from Europe
- The development of China as a world power
- Islamic fundamentalism
- The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers
- International terrorism
- Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the U.S.
- Economic competition from low-wage countries
- Global warming
- Chemical and biological weapons
- AIDS, the Ebola virus, and other potential epidemics
- Tensions between India and Pakistan
- World population growth
- Military conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors

Q4. Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all?

- Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression
- Strengthening the United Nations

- Combating world hunger
- Combating international terrorism
- Maintaining superior military power worldwide
- Protecting the jobs of American workers
- Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations
- Securing adequate supplies of energy
- Controlling and reducing illegal immigration
- Helping to improve the standard of living of less developed nations
- Improving the global environment
- Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons
- Stopping the flow of illegal drugs into the United States
- Protecting the interests of American business abroad

Q5. Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

- The Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming
- The treaty that bans all use of land mines
- The treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide
- The agreement on the International Criminal Court that can try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them

Q10. The World Trade Organization was established to rule on disputes over trade treaties. If another country files a complaint with the World Trade Organization and it rules against the U.S., as a general rule, should the U.S. (United States) comply with that decision or not?

Yes 1
 No 2

Q13. When the US is part of international economic organizations like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, do you think that decisions should always be made by a majority of members or should the US be able to veto any decision made by a majority?

Decisions should always be made by a majority.....1
 The U.S. should be able to veto any decision made by a majority.....2

Q15. If a large majority of countries in the world have signed an agreement on how to address a major global issue and the US is considering whether to sign, how much should the US take into account the fact that a majority of countries have signed the agreement:

Not at all 1
 Just a little..... 2
 Some 3
 A lot 4

Q20. The World Court is part of the United Nations. It makes rulings on disputes between countries based on treaties the countries have signed. There is a debate about whether countries should give the World Court more power by making a general commitment to accept the decisions of the World Court or restrict the power of the Court by deciding on a case-by-case basis whether they will accept the Court's decisions. Do you think the U.S. should or should not make the general commitment to accept the decisions of the World Court?

Should 1
 Should Not..... 2

Q22. Most countries have agreed to rules that prohibit torturing prisoners to extract information. Which comes closer to your point of view?

Terrorists pose such an extreme threat that governments should now be allowed to use torture if it may gain information that saves innocent lives 1
 Rules against torture should be maintained because torture is morally wrong and weakening these rules may lead to the torture of US soldiers who are held prisoner abroad 2

Q23. As you may know there are five permanent members of the UN Security Council and any one of them can veto any resolution. Some people have proposed that this should be changed so that if a decision was supported by all the other members, no member, not even the United States, could veto the decision. Would you favor or oppose this change?

Strongly favor.....1
 Somewhat favor.....2
 Somewhat oppose.....3
 Strongly oppose.....4

Q25. There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

- If North Korea invaded South Korea
- If Arab forces invaded Israel
- If China invaded Taiwan
- If the government of Pakistan requested our help against a radical Islamic revolution
- To be part of an international peacekeeping force in Afghanistan
- To be part of a UN- sponsored force to help keep peace between India and Pakistan
- To fight drug lords in Colombia
- To be part of an international peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians
- To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people
- To ensure the oil supply
- To install democratic governments in states where dictators rule
- To deal with humanitarian crises

Q27. The United States currently has about 37,000 troops in South Korea. In your view, is that:

- Too many 1
- Too few.....2
- About right 3

Q28. Officials in Washington have proposed reducing the number of U.S. troops in South Korea by about one third. Do you think this will:

- Be very good for South Korea's security 1
- Be somewhat good for South Korea's security..... 2
- Have no significant effect either way 3
- Be somewhat bad for South Korea's security..... 4
- Be very bad for South Korea's security 5

Q30. If North Korea were to attack South Korea, would you favor or oppose the U.S. contributing military forces, together with other countries, to a UN sponsored effort to reverse the aggression?

- Favor 1
- Oppose 2

Q35. Do you think that the United States has the responsibility to play the role of 'world policeman,' that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur?

- Yes 1
- No 2

Q40. Please select if you agree or disagree with the following statement: The U.S. is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be.

- Agree 1
- Disagree 2

Q42. Here are some positions about the possible use of nuclear weapons by the United States. Which one comes closest to yours?

- The U.S. should never use nuclear weapons under any circumstances..... 1
- The U.S. should only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack 2
- In certain circumstances, the U.S. should use nuclear weapons even if it has not suffered a nuclear attack..... 3

Q50. IN ORDER TO COMBAT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, PLEASE SELECT WHETHER YOU FAVOR OR OPPOSE EACH OF THE FOLLOWING MEASURES.

- U.S. air strikes against terrorist training camps and other facilities
- Attacks by U.S. ground troops against terrorist training camps and other facilities
- Assassination of individual terrorist leaders
- Trial of suspected terrorists in the International Criminal Court
- Helping poor countries develop their economies
- Working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members enforce them
- Making a major effort to be even-handed in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict
- Toppling unfriendly regimes that support terrorist groups threatening the U.S.
- Restricting immigration into the U.S.
- Using racial profiling in airport security checks
- Using torture to extract information from suspected terrorists

[53A AND 53B ARE ONE QUESTION WITH TWO VERSIONS, WITH EACH RESPONDENT ONLY RECEIVES ONE OPTION, RECORD QUESTION SHOWN IN DATA VARIABLE Q53Q]

Q53a. Suppose there is a government that is providing substantial support to a terrorist group that the United States thinks might pose a threat to the United States at some point in the future. Please select when you think the US would have the right to overthrow this government.

- Whenever the United States determines it to be necessary, without the need to get United Nations approval.....1
- The United States should first seek United Nations approval, but it can act if it does not get U.N. approval.....2
- Only when the United Nations determines that such an action is necessary.....3
- Under no circumstances.....4

Q53b. Suppose there is a government that is providing substantial support to a terrorist group that the United States thinks might pose a threat to the United States. Please select when you think the US would have the right to overthrow this government even if it does not have UN approval .

- When the US thinks that the terrorist group may pose a threat at some point in the future, whether or not it poses such a threat now.....1
- Only when the US has strong evidence that the terrorist group poses an imminent threat.....2
- The US would always first need to get UN approval.....3

Q55. Which best describes the conditions under which you think countries, on their own, should have the right to go to war with another country they believe may pose a threat to them.

[LEAVE IN ORDER 1-4]

If they have strong evidence that the other country is acquiring weapons of mass destruction that could be used against them at some point in the future..... 1
Only if they have strong evidence that they are in imminent danger of being attacked by the other country 2
Only if the other country attacks them first 3
Never 4

[ROTATE Q59 AND 60]

Q59. Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force for each of the following purposes:

- To prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them
- To prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide
- To stop a country from supporting terrorist groups
- To restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown
- To defend a country that has been attacked

Q60. Do you think that a country, without UN approval, should or should not have the right to use military force for each of the following purposes:

- To prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them
- To prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide
- To stop a country from supporting terrorist groups
- To restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown
- To defend another country that has been attacked

[70-1 TO 70-8 IS ONE QUESTION SPLIT 8WAYS, WITH EACH RESPONDENT ONLY RECEIVING ONE OPTION RECORD QUESTION SHOWN IN DATA VARIABLE Q70Q]

Q70-1. Suppose North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons. Please select whether you would support or oppose the United States using military force to destroy North Korea's nuclear weapons capability if the UN Security Council, most U.S. allies and the South Korean government were to approve such action.

Support 1
Oppose 2

Q70-2. Suppose North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons. Please select whether you would support or oppose the United States using military force to destroy North Korea's nuclear weapons capability if the UN Security Council and the South Korean government were to approve such action, but most U.S. allies were opposed .

Support 1
Oppose 2

Q70-3. Suppose North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons. Please select whether you would support or oppose the United States using military force to destroy North Korea's nuclear weapons capability if the UN Security Council and most U.S. allies were to approve but the South Korean government were to be opposed.

Support 1
Oppose 2

Q70-4. Suppose North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons. Please select whether you would support or oppose the United States using military force to destroy North Korea's nuclear weapons capability if the UN Security Council were to approve but most U.S. allies and the South Korean government were to be opposed.

Support 1
Oppose 2

Q70-5. Suppose North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons. Please select whether you would support or oppose the United States using military force to destroy North Korea's nuclear weapons capability if the UN Security Council were to not approve of the action, but most U.S. allies and the South Korean government were to approve such action.

Support 1
Oppose 2

Q70-6. Suppose North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons. Please select whether you would support or oppose the United States using military force to destroy North Korea's nuclear weapons capability if the UN Security Council were to not approve of such action, most allies were opposed, but South Korea were to approve.

Support 1
Oppose 2

Q70-7. Suppose North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons. Please select whether you would support or oppose the United States using military force to destroy North Korea's nuclear weapons capability if the UN Security Council were to not approve of the action, the South Korean government were to be opposed, but most U.S. allies were to approve.

Support 1
Oppose 2

Q70-8. Suppose North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons. Please select whether you would support or oppose the United States using military force to destroy North Korea's nuclear weapons capability if the UN Security Council were to not approve of the action, and most U.S. allies and the South Korean government were opposed?

Support 1
Oppose 2

Q73-2. If the U.S. were to consider using military force to destroy North Korea's nuclear capability would it be necessary or not necessary to first get:

- Approval of the UN Security Council
- Approval of most of U.S. allies
- Approval of the South Korean government

Q75. When the US government is making a decision, which do you think it should give more consideration to the views of:

The majority of governments around the world..... 1
The majority of people around the world 2

Q77. Now please consider how much influence you think some people and groups have on U.S. foreign policy. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning they are not at all influential and 10 meaning they are extremely influential

- The opinion of the majority of the U.S. Public
- The U.S. Congress
- The U.S. President
- U.S. Interest Groups
- The opinion of the majority of all people around the world
- The opinion of the majority of governments around the world

Q78. How much influence do you think the following **SHOULD** have on U.S. foreign policy. 0 means they should not be at all influential and 10 means they should be extremely influential.

- The opinion of the majority of the U.S. Public
- The U.S. Congress
- The U.S. President
- U.S. Interest Groups
- The opinion of the majority of all people around the world
- The opinion of the majority of governments around the world

Q80. If a majority of people in the Middle East want the U.S. to remove its military presence there, do you think the U.S. should or should not remove its military presence?

- Should 1
- Should Not..... 2

Q85. Next, we have a question about NATO, the military organization of Europe and the United States. Do you feel we should:

- Increase our commitment to NATO 1
- Keep our commitment what it is now 2
- Decrease our commitment but still remain in NATO 3
- Withdraw from NATO entirely 4

Q90. Please select whether you agree or disagree with the following statement.

When dealing with international problems, the U.S. should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that the United States will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.

- Agree 1
- Disagree 2

Q95. In general, when the United States is asked to be part of a United Nations international peacekeeping force in a troubled part of the world, do you think we:

- Should take part 1
- Should leave this job to other countries..... 2

Q100. Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the UN (United Nations), here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step.

- Giving the UN the power to regulate the international arms trade
- Having a standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained and commanded by the United Nations
- Giving the UN the power to fund its activities by imposing a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil

Q102. Who do you think should have the stronger role in helping the Iraqis to write a new constitution and build a new democratic government in Iraq, the United States or the United Nations?

United States 1
United Nations 2

Q105. Do you favor or oppose giving the World Health Organization the authority to intervene in a country to respond to a crisis that threatens world health, even if that country disagrees?

Favor 1
Oppose 2

Q120. Do you favor or oppose engaging in trade with the following countries?

- Cuba
- Iran
- North Korea
- China
- Mexico

Q125. Which of the following three positions comes closest to your point of view about lowering trade barriers such as tariffs?

I favor agreements to lower trade barriers provided the government has programs to help workers who lose their jobs 1
I favor agreements to lower trade barriers, but I oppose government programs to help workers who lose their jobs 2
I oppose agreements to lower trade barriers 3

Q130. Overall, do you think that countries that are part of international trade agreements should or should not be required to maintain minimum standards for working conditions?

Should be required 1
Should not be required 2

Q135. Overall, do you think that countries that are part of international trade agreements should or should not be required to maintain minimum standards for protection of the environment?

Should be required 1
Should not be required 2

Q140. In general, do you think that the following countries practice fair trade or unfair trade with the United States?

- The countries of the European Union
- Japan
- South Korea
- China
- Mexico
- Canada

145. In general, do you think that the United States practices fair trade or unfair trade with the following countries?

- The countries of the European Union
- Japan
- China
- Mexico
- Canada
- Poor countries
- South Korea

Q150. Turning to something else, do you believe that globalization, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for the United States?

Mostly good 1
 Mostly bad 2

Q155. Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for:

- The U.S. (United States) economy
- American companies
- Consumers like you
- Creating jobs in the U.S. (United States)
- The environment
- Job security for American workers
- Your own standard of living

Q165. Do you favor or oppose the U.S. government giving subsidies to small farmers, who work farms less than 500 acres?

Favor 1
 Oppose 2

[THOSE WHO SAY FAVOR OR SKIPPED Q165]

Q166. Do you favor the U.S. government giving subsidies to small farmers:

Only in bad years..... 1
 On a regular annual basis 2

Q167. Do you favor or oppose the U.S. government giving subsidies to large farming businesses?

Favor 1
 Oppose 2

[THOSE WHO SAY FAVOR OR SKIPPED IN Q167]

Q168. Do you favor the U.S. government giving subsidies to large farming businesses:
Only in bad years..... 1
On a regular annual basis 2

Q175. For the following statement please select if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or somewhat disagree: Rich countries are playing fair in trade negotiations with poor countries.
Strongly agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Somewhat disagree..... 3
Strongly disagree..... 4

Q176. Currently there is a debate about outsourcing U.S. jobs, that is, moving jobs to countries where wages are lower. Which position is closer to yours:
Outsourcing is mostly a good thing because it results in lower prices in the U.S. which helps stimulate the economy and create new jobs..... 1
Outsourcing is mostly a bad thing because American workers lose their jobs to people in other countries..... 2

Q185. Here are some types of foreign aid. Please select whether you favor or oppose them:

- Food and medical assistance to people in needy countries
- Aid that helps needy countries develop their economies
- Assistance with the prevention and treatment of AIDS in poor countries
- Aid for birth control in poor countries to help reduce population growth
- Aid for women's education in poor countries to help reduce population growth
- Assistance to promote democracy abroad

Q190. Thinking about long-term military bases the U.S. has overseas, do you think the U.S. should have more bases overseas, fewer bases overseas, or about as many as we have now?
More bases..... 1
Fewer bases 2
About as many as we have now..... 3

Q195. Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?
Germany
Turkey
Japan

Guantanamo Bay in Cuba
 Saudi Arabia
 Iraq
 Pakistan
 South Korea
 Afghanistan
 Uzbekistan

Q199. In the effort to fight terrorism, do you think that in the future, compared with what it has been doing, the U.S. government:

- Should put more emphasis on military methods 1
- Should put more emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods 2
- Has the balance about right 3

Q200. 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?

- Active part..... 1
- Stay out 2

Q203. Do you think the US should or should not make active efforts to ensure that no other country becomes a superpower?

- Should make active efforts..... 1
- Should not make active efforts..... 2

Q205. Which statement comes closest to your position?

- As the sole remaining superpower, the U.S. should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems 1
- The U.S. should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries 2
- The U.S. should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems 3

Q208. What do you think is the more important lesson of September 11th; that the U.S. needs to work more closely with other countries to fight terrorism or that the U.S. needs to act on its own more to fight terrorism?

- Needs to work more closely with other countries..... 1
- Needs to act on its own more 2

Q220. In the Middle East conflict, do you think the United States should:

- Take Israel's side..... 1
- Take the Palestinians' side 2
- Not take either side..... 3

Q230. Do you think the U.S. should or should not put greater pressure on countries in the Middle East, like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, to become more democratic?

Should 1
Should not 2

Q240. After World War II, the United States spent billions of dollars to reconstruct and democratize Europe. Would you favor or oppose making a similar investment in the Middle East?

Favor 1
Oppose 2

Q243. Before the U.S. withdraws from Iraq do you think it is or is not necessary to have a democratically-elected government?

Is necessary 1
Is not necessary 2

Q244. If a clear majority of the Iraqi people want the U.S. to withdraw its forces, should the U.S. do so?

Yes 1
No 2

Q255. Please select whether you agree or disagree with the following statement.

When dealing with common problems, the U.S. and Mexico should be more willing to make decisions jointly, even if this means that the U.S., as well as Mexico, will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.

Agree 1
Disagree 2

Q260. Should legal immigration into the United States be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

Kept at present level 1
Increased 2
Decreased 3

Q265. Overall, do you think the North American Free Trade Agreement, also known as NAFTA, is good or bad for:

- The U.S. (United States) economy
- American companies
- Consumers like you
- The Mexican economy
- Creating jobs in the U.S. (United States)
- The environment
- Job security for American workers
- Your own standard of living
- Creating jobs in Mexico

Q270. Would you favor or oppose an agreement in which Mexico would make greater efforts to reduce illegal migration and drug trafficking into the U.S. and the U.S. would provide greater opportunities for Mexicans to work and live legally in the United States.

Favor 1
Oppose 2

Q275. Would you favor or oppose an agreement in which Mexico would give the U.S. greater access to its oil and energy resources to reduce U.S. reliance on Middle East oil, and the U.S. would provide greater financing for Mexico's economic development?

Favor 1
Oppose 2

Q280. The U.S. and most countries in North, Central and South America have been discussing the possibility of having a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas similar to what the U.S. now has with Mexico and Canada in NAFTA, do you favor or oppose this idea?

Favor 1
Oppose 2

Q290. As a general rule, when it comes to international issues, do you think Mexico should follow the U.S. lead or should Mexico generally have an independent foreign policy?

Follow the U.S. lead 1
Have an independent foreign policy 2

Q310. Which country should be more responsible for dealing with each of the following problems?

- Illegal Mexican immigrants entering the U.S.
- Illegal immigrants from countries other than Mexico entering the U.S. through Mexico.
- Illegal drug trafficking from Mexico into the U.S.
- The smuggling of guns and assault weapons from the United States into Mexico, where they are illegal

[IF RESPONDENT SKIPS QUESTION, PROMPT SHOULD SAY: "PLEASE TYPE IN YOUR BEST GUESS"]

Q315 Just your best guess, please estimate what percentage of adults in Mexico know how to read and write their native language? Please indicate a number from 0 to 100.

[IF RESPONDENT SKIPS QUESTION, PROMPT SHOULD SAY: "PLEASE TYPE IN YOUR BEST GUESS"]

Q317 Just your best guess, please estimate what percentage of Americans have used marijuana? Please indicate a number from 0 to 100.

[IF RESPONDENT SKIPS QUESTION, PROMPT SHOULD SAY: "PLEASE TYPE IN YOUR BEST GUESS"]

Q316 Just your best guess, please estimate what percentage of Mexicans have used marijuana? Please indicate a number from 0 to 100.

Q320 Do you think most Mexican immigrants to the U.S.:

- Learn English
- Respect the law
- Integrate into American life
- Work hard

Q325 Officials in Washington have proposed a plan that would allow foreigners who have jobs but are staying illegally in the United States to apply for legal, temporary-worker status. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

Favor 1
Oppose 2

Q330 Please rate your feelings toward some countries and peoples, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that country or those people. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country or those people, please leave the box blank and move on to the next question.

North Korea
Germany
Mexico
Israel
Great Britain
China
Saudi Arabia
France
South Korea
Cuba
The Muslim People

Q335 Please rate your feelings toward some international organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward those organizations. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that organization, please leave the box blank and move on to the next question. .

The World Trade Organization (WTO)
The United Nations
The World Bank
Multinational corporations
The European Union
The International Monetary Fund (IMF)
International human rights groups
The World Court
The World Health Organization (WHO)

Q345. Do you favor or oppose having diplomatic relations with the following countries?

Cuba
Iran
North Korea
China

Appendix 2: Design of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Surveys' Leaders Samples

The opinion leader sample of the Chicago Council's 2004 study on foreign relations was designed to replicate opinion leader samples used in previous years. Wherever possible, the directories used for names, and the number of names used for each type of opinion leader modeled the 1990, 1994, 1998 and 2002 sample design. The outline below describes each elite sub-sample.

Congress: In the House of Representatives and Senate samples there was an oversample of congressional staffers (for a total of 100) so that these cases are weighted down (weight of .65) to make the sample comparable to previous years (65). Representatives' names were selected from the Congressional Yellow Book, published by Leadership Directories, Inc. If the House or Senate members were not available, the interviews were conducted with the legislative assistants responsible for foreign affairs.

Administration: This sample of 34 included interviews with assistant secretaries and other senior level staff. The directory used to select names from various agencies and offices dealing with foreign affairs was The Federal Yellow Book, Leadership Directories, Inc., 2002.

Business: For this group 38 interviews were completed with vice presidents in charge of international affairs. The top industrial corporations in the Fortune 1000 list were included in the sampling frame, and names were obtained from idExec, Inc., 2002, an infoUSA Company.

Media: These were 57 interviews with television and radio news directors, network newscasters, newspaper editors and columnists. Names were sampled from the News Media Yellow Book, Leadership Directories, Inc., 2002.

Labor: Leaders: Interviews were conducted with 28 presidents of the largest labor unions. The directory was used to obtain the sample was The Capital Source, the National Journal Group Inc., 2002; Dun and Bradstreet, 2002.

Educators: Interviews were conducted with 62 presidents and faculty who teach in the area of foreign affairs from a list of universities used in previous Chicago Council on Foreign Affairs studies, Market Data Retrieval, 1998 and 2002.

Religious Leaders: Interviews were conducted with 50 religious leaders representing all faiths, proportionate to the number of Americans who worship each in faith. The directory used to obtain names was the Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 2000.

Interest Groups: Interviews were conducted with a purposely drawn sample of 23 presidents from large interest groups relevant to foreign policy. The directory used to obtain names was The Capital Source, published by the National Journal Group Inc., 2002

Private Foreign Policy Organizations: Interviews were conducted with 21 presidents from major private foreign policy organizations. The directory were used to obtain names was The Capital Source "The Who's Who, What, Where in Washington: Think Tanks," the National Journal Group Inc., 2002.