

# GREAT DECISIONS

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2024 EDITION

## 2024 National Opinion Ballot

First, we'd like to ask you for some information about your participation in the Great Decisions program. If you are not currently a Great Decisions program member, please skip to the "background" section.

How long have you participated in the Great Decisions program (i.e., attended one or more discussion sessions)?

- This is the first year I have participated
- I participated in one previous year
- I participated in more than one previous year

How did you learn about the Great Decisions Program?

- Word of mouth
- Local library
- Foreign Policy Association website
- Promotional brochure
- Other organization \_\_\_\_\_

Where does your Great Decisions group meet?

- Private home
- Library
- Community center
- Learning in retirement
- Online/Zoom
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

How many hours, on average, do you spend reading one *Great Decisions* chapter?

- Less than 1 hour
- 1–2 hours
- 3–4 hours
- More than 4 hours

Would you say you have or have not changed your opinion in a fairly significant way as a result of taking part in the Great Decisions program?

- Have
- Have not

**Background Section:** Next, we'd like to ask you some information about your background.

How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Although the media often reports about national and international events and developments, this news is seldom as interesting as the things that happen directly in our own community and neighborhood.

- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

Generally speaking, how interested are you in politics?

- Very much interested
- Somewhat interested
- Not too interested
- Not interested at all

Do you think it is best for the future of the United States if the U.S. takes an active role in world affairs or stays out of world affairs?

- Takes an active role in world affairs
- Stays out of world affairs

How often are you asked for your opinion on foreign policy?

- Often
- Sometimes
- Never

Have you been abroad during the last two years?

- Yes
- No

Do you know, or are you learning, a foreign language?

- Yes
- No

Do you have any close friends or family that live in other countries?

- Yes
- No

Do you donate to any charities that help the poor in other countries?

- Yes
- No

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent or something else?

- Republican
- Democrat
- Independent
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

With which gender do you most identify?

- Male
- Female
- Transgender male
- Transgender female
- Gender variant/non-conforming
- Other \_\_\_\_\_
- Prefer not to answer

What race do you consider yourself?

- White/Caucasian
- Black/African American
- Hispanic/Latino
- Asian American
- Native American
- Other \_\_\_\_\_
- Prefer not to answer

Were you born in the United States or another country?

- United States
- Another country

Are you a citizen of the United States, another country, or are you a citizen of both the United States and another country?

- United States
- Another country
- United States and another country

How important is religion in your life?

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Not too important
- Not at all important

What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_

Are you currently employed?

- Full-time employee
- Part-time employee
- Self-employed
- Unemployed
- Retired
- Student
- Homemaker

What are the first three digits of your zip code? (This will allow us to do a state-by-state breakdown of results.)

\_\_\_\_\_

Can you give us an estimate of your household income in 2018 before taxes?

- Below \$30,000
- \$30,000–\$50,000
- \$50,000–\$75,000
- \$75,000–\$100,000
- \$100,000–\$150,000
- Over \$150,000
- Not sure
- Prefer not to say

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Did not graduate from high school
- High school graduate
- Some college, but no degree (yet)
- 2-year college degree
- 4-year college degree
- Some postgraduate work, but no degree (yet)
- Post-graduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)

# Topic I. The U.S. and the Middle East

*From NOBR 2014:*

**1.** Do you think Israel and an independent Palestinian state could coexist peacefully with each other, or not?

- Yes
- No

**2.** In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

- Israel
- Palestinians
- Both
- Neither

*From NOBR 2015*

**3.** In terms of the political situation in the Middle East, which is more important?

- Democratic governments, even if there is less stability in the region
- Stable governments, even if there is less democracy in the region

**4.** The United States has traditionally pursued several major interests in the Middle East, including the free flow of oil, the security of Israel, and fighting terrorism. Are these still the most important and relevant issues for the American national interest?

- Yes
- No

**5.** The Bush administration’s decision to invade Iraq continues to hang over discussions of American Middle East policy. In retrospect, did the overthrow of Saddam Hussein advance the interests of the United States and its regional allies?

- Yes
- No

**6.** The Arab uprisings of 2011 unleashed a massive wave of protests demanding democracy, justice, and freedom. While those are traditionally considered to be American values, the targets of their rage were almost all American allies. Should the United States prioritize its alliances or its values in the Middle East?

- Prioritize alliances
- Prioritize values

**7.** The Trump administration negotiated the Abraham Accords normalizing relations between Israel and several Arab states on the premise that the Palestinian issue no longer mattered. Does that assumption seem correct in the aftermath of the October 7, 2023, Hamas attack on Israel and the Israeli war on Gaza which followed?

- Yes
- No

**8.** Since at least 1991, the United States has been the dominant power in the Middle East. In recent years, that primacy has been challenged by the rise of China and Russia, declining American involvement, and increasing independence of America’s regional allies. Are we now living in a multipolar Middle East, or is the United States still the primary power in the region?

- Multipolar Middle East
- United States is still the primary power in the Middle East

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## Topic 2. Global trade and green energy

*From NOBR 2014*

1. How important is investing in renewable energy to the United States remaining competitive with other countries in the global economy?

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Not too important
- Not important at all

2. How much do you agree or disagree that the United States should fund renewable energy projects over “traditional” energy projects, even if the payoff is not as immediately high?

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

3. Can nuclear power overcome some of the most common concerns of critics—high costs, long permitting and construction delays, concerns over national security, and disposal of nuclear wastes?

- Yes
- No

4. Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the ability to maintain growth while converting to a net-zero carbon emissions economy?

- Optimistic
- Pessimistic

5. Do you see a period of “natural resources nationalism” impeding global access to rare earth minerals and metals needed to fuel a move to clean electrification?

- Yes
- No

## Topic 3. Risky science across borders

Should there be a global moratorium on Solar Radiation Management research?

- Yes
- No

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has placed science at the heart of global negotiations around the climate crisis. But scientists are not the lead decision-makers, and powerful actors like governments and industries don’t follow the science. Should scientists have more power in global decision-making?

- Yes
- No

Are there more benefits or risks involved in private investment versus government funding in supporting experimentation and deployment of Solar Radiation Management systems?

- More benefits
- More risks

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# Topic 4. Technology denial and Sino-American rivalry

*From 2010 NOBR:*

**1.** When considering U.S.-China relations, do you consider China foremost as:

- An ally
- A rival
- A threat

**2.** Given the rising strength and power of China in the international system, what do you expect a future China to look like? (Select one.)

- Replacing the U.S. as the hegemon in a unipolar world order.
- Taking on the role the Soviet Union had during the cold war as the major rival to the U.S. in a bipolar world order.
- Becoming one of the “poles” in a multipolar world order.
- Domestic issues in China will prevent it from assuming a large global role.

*From NOBR 2014*

**3.** How worried are you, if at all, that China could become a military threat to the U.S. in the future? Please say whether you are very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not worried at all?

- Very worried
- Somewhat worried
- Not too worried
- Not worried at all

*From NOBR 2018*

**4.** Which concerns you more about China: its economic strength or its military strength?

- Its economic strength
- Its military strength

**5.** Is China a national security threat or a business opportunity?  
National security threat

- Business opportunity
- Both

**6.** If China is a national security threat, should a U.S. denial strategy attempt to slow China’s overall economic development, or just its military development?

- Overall economic development
- Military development

**7.** Should U.S. investors, and their asset managers, be prohibited from buying and owning Chinese defense companies?

- Yes
- No

**8.** Is the United States in a new cold war with China?

- Yes
- No

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## Topic 5. NATO's future

*From NOBR 2018*

1. If Russia got into a serious military conflict with one of its neighboring countries that is a NATO ally of the United States, do you think the United States should or should not use military force to defend that country?

- Should use military force
- Should not use military force

2. Some people say that NATO is still essential to U.S. security. Others say it is no longer essential. Which of these views is closest to your own?

- NATO is still essential to U.S. security
- NATO is no longer essential to U.S. security

3. Did the U.S. need to get involved in defending Ukraine against Russia?

- Yes
- No

4. Should the U.S. still be responsible for the defense of the European Union, especially given that the EU is the richest bloc of countries in the world?

- Yes
- No

5. Should the West have tried to include Russia in helping design a post-Cold War European security structure?

- Yes
- No

6. One suggestion for the future of NATO is to put Europeans in all its top management positions, include SACEUR, and to turn over NATO operations to Europeans. The U.S. would be a member country, but not the Alliance's leader – does this seem feasible?

- Yes
- No

7. Should Ukraine join Nato?

- Yes
- No

8. How should NATO's operations abroad—especially in regions beyond its borders—be seen by adversarial states, such as China and Russia? Does the expansion and/or extraterritorial activity of NATO constitute self-defense or aggression?

- Self defense
- Aggression

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## Topic 6. Invisible Indonesia

*From NOBR2012:*

1. Expansion of U.S.-Indonesia relations should focus on which issue?

- Trade and economic development
- Global terrorism
- Regional stability in Southeast Asia
- Combating China's influence
- Other

2. As Indonesia threads the needle between U.S. and Chinese plays for influence in Southeast Asia, how important is Indonesia's role in ASEAN?

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Not very important

3. The relationship between political leadership and average Indonesians has at times been authoritarian and controlling, despite the presence of elections. Is present-day Indonesia a democracy?

- Yes
- No

4. Indonesia has had to fight for control of its own economy since the colonial era. Within this history, how successful is President Widodo's current international positions about Indonesia's nickel industry?

- Very successful
- Somewhat successful
- Not very successful

## Topic 7. High Seas Treaty

*From NOBR 2012:*

1. In your opinion, which of the following is the most pressing ocean policy issue?

- Undersea minerals and other natural resources
- Transit and shipping access
- Sustainability of fish stocks
- Rising sea levels
- Loss of biodiversity
- Claims on the Arctic
- Other

2. Do you think that the High Seas Treaty will be more successful than past agreements on the environment?

- Yes
- No

3. How would you define success—countries ratifying the treaty? Or seeing an improvement in the state of the oceans?

- Countries ratifying the treaty
- Improvement in state of the oceans

4. In the last few years, effects of climate change, such as wild fires, and floods, have made people more aware of how time is running out on “fixing” climate issues. Will this attitude make the BBNJ agreement more likely to be ratified?

- Yes
- No

5. The United States has signed but not acceded to the Law of the Sea Treaty (UNCLOS) and recognizes it as codification of existing international law. Do you think the U.S. should ratify the High Seas Treaty?

Yes  
No

## Topic 8. Pandemic preparedness

*From NOBR 2018*

1. In terms of what the U.S. government could spend on foreign aid, do you think combating global outbreaks of diseases like Ebola or Zika should be one of the top priorities, important but not a top priority, or not that important?

- One of the top priorities
- Important but not a top priority
- Not that important

2. To what extent do you agree or disagree that Americans will be better off if the U.S. government invests in global health research?

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

3. Does the United States have an interest and responsibility in helping other countries secure access to lifesaving vaccines, medicines, and medical supplies in the event of a global pandemic?

- Yes
- No

4. Covid-19 exposed the current limitations of international organizations like the World Health Organization to compel countries to cooperate in the face a global pandemic. As with other international agreements under international law, the Pandemic Agreement now being negotiated by countries seeks to address this by strengthening the global rules of the road for everyone. What should be given more weight between promoting global solidarity and protecting national sovereignty?

- Promoting global solidarity
- Protecting national security

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