

NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT REPORT

Results of the Foreign Policy Association's 2010 National Opinion Survey

GREAT DECISIONS 2010



FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
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OPINION BALLOTS have been included with the Foreign Policy Association's *Great Decisions* since 1955 to enable participants to make their views known. Each year FPA sends the National Opinion Ballot Report to the White House, the departments of State and Defense, members of Congress, the media and concerned citizens.

about GREAT DECISIONS balloters...

A. How many years have you participated in the GREAT DECISIONS program (that is, attended one or more discussion sessions)?

This is the first year I have participated.	25%
I participated in one previous year.	15%
I participated in more than one previous year.	60%

B. What is your sex?

Female	62%
Male	38%

C. Have you been abroad during the last two years?

Yes	50%
No	50%

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

Yes	48%
No	52%

E. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?

Some high school	0.2%
High school degree	2%
Some college	11%
College graduate	36%
Advanced degree	50%

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

Often	14%
Sometimes	50%
Hardly ever	36%

G. How many hours, on average, do you spend reading one GREAT DECISIONS chapter?

Less than 1 hr.	18%
1–2 hrs.	61%
3–4 hrs.	18%
More than 4 hrs.	3%

H. Do you have access to the internet (check all that apply)?

Yes, at home.	69%
Yes, at work.	9%
Yes, at school.	4%
Yes, at the library or internet café.	14%
No.	4%

I. 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	50%
Have not	27%
Uncertain	23%

The NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT REPORT was prepared by the Foreign Policy Association: Karen M. Rohan, Editor in Chief; Ke Wei, Assistant Editor; Ann R. Monjo, Editorial Consultant

Ballots received by June 30 were tabulated by Peter Abrams Research Services, NYC.

(Totals may not equal 100% because of rounding off.)

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The report can be accessed at our Web site, www.fpa.org

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Ballot Report Highlights

O **PINION BALLOTS** are included in each annual GREAT DECISIONS, a 112-page briefing book prepared by the national, nonpartisan, not-for-profit Foreign Policy Association. This year, 21,304 ballots were received from people who took part in the study and discussion of eight major foreign policy issues, with approximately 2,700 participants, on average, sending in ballots for a given topic. The five states whose participants submitted the largest number of ballots are, in descending order, California, Florida, Illinois, Virginia and Pennsylvania, accounting for 37 percent of the total number of ballots. Among the topics, the Persian Gulf and special envoys articles received the largest number of comments.

The ballots cast by participants in the Foreign Policy Association's study and discussion program indicate:

Support for:

- ✓ Using special envoys as a complement to traditional diplomatic efforts
- ✓ Enhancing cooperation with Interpol and relevant United Nations agencies to combat transnational crime
- ✓ Better regulation of financial activities at the domestic level
- ✓ Fostering relations with former Soviet republics, regardless of Russia's objections
- ✓ Using sanctions against Iran, with the support of key U.S. allies in a multilateral setting, while maintaining diplomatic efforts

Opposition to:

- ✓ Military action against Iran
- ✓ Staying in Iraq militarily beyond 2011
- ✓ Western/developed nations paying for cleaner technologies so that China can reduce its carbon-dioxide emissions

“We need to maintain diplomatic relations at all costs because diplomacy is the only currency that can buy long-range peace.”

“We should spend... time and money on the root causes of conflict before they escalate to violence.”

“Once again, we need to get our own house in order—our ability to recover from this recession, educate our children well, create jobs and reduce expectations to more realistic levels will enable us to engage with China and the rest of the world from a position of positive strength.”

—comments from balloters

WITH THE RESUMPTION of Israeli-Palestinian peace talks in September, due credit must be given to Special Envoy for Middle East Peace George Mitchell for his tireless quiet diplomacy between the two sides. Whether or not he made significant progress remains to be seen. Of the four envoys discussed in the article, Mitchell was outwardly the most successful, getting the Israelis and Palestinians to the negotiation table under deadline conditions. In contrast, a plurality of GREAT DECISIONS respondents, 43 percent, had predicted it would be Richard Holbrooke—and his more publicized role in Afghanistan/Pakistan—who would gain the spotlight.

Despite the apparent lack of progress, those surveyed express clear support for the use of special envoys as a foreign policy tool. An overwhelming 91 percent of respondents believe that they are not superfluous to the role that State Department diplomats play. A majority of balloters believe that negotiating skills are the most important quality in a special envoy, much more so than having expertise in the conflict or region. A participant from Milwaukee, WI, points out that it is not necessarily expertise that is required, but rather “a situation where the opposing parties have a genuine need to find some sort of solution to their problem.”

“It is important to have a multipronged approach to most volatile situations: diplomatic, special envoys, multinational approach and sanctions, where effective.”

—comment from balloter in Turlock, CA

ISSUE A: What qualities do you consider to be most important/most effective in a special envoy? (Select one.)

Personal stature/recognizable name.	6%
Knowing how to work in coordination with the State Department and ambassadors instead of circumventing established policy.	13%
Expertise in the conflict/region.	22%
Being willing to work outside of the bureaucratic structure.	7%
Negotiating skills.	51%

ISSUE B: The role of special envoys in the U.S. government seems superfluous and the duties they undertake should be left to the traditional diplomats of the State Department.

Agree	9%
Disagree	91%

ISSUE C: In your view, special envoys (select one):

Are more effective at closing deals and negotiating precarious peace processes than diplomats and foreign service officers.	26%
Are counterproductive in achieving certain foreign policy goals; foreign relations with other countries should be left to the embassies and consulates to deal with.	4%
Are a nice complement to the efforts that traditional diplomacy aims to accomplish.	70%

ISSUE D: Out of the following three envoys discussed, who do you think stands the best chance of making significant progress on their issue? (Select one.)

Richard Holbrooke in Afghanistan/Pakistan.	43%
George Mitchell in the Middle East.	20%
Scott Gration in Sudan.	11%
None of the above.	26%

WHILE NOMINALLY THE Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine has generated much support among policymakers and the public, GREAT DECISIONS participants were quite guarded in their responses when asked if they would send U.S. troops to halt atrocities. A plurality of balloters, 34 percent, argues that the U.S. should not send troops into dangerous and unstable areas to prevent atrocities. Some balloters who believe that the U.S. does have a military obligation in certain crises provided various conditions for sending troops, contending that the U.S. should do so only if it resulted in “political and financial gain,” or if such actions were backed by the United Nations and neighboring countries.

Almost three quarters of all participants agree that when it comes to putting R2P in practice, it is sensible

ISSUE A: How do you feel about sending U.S. troops to prevent atrocities in countries in which the U.S. has no other interests? (Select one.)

- The U.S. has a moral obligation as a leader of the free world to prevent such atrocities. 21%
- The U.S. has enough military commitments without sending American soldiers to become mired in dangerous and unstable countries. 34%
- The U.S. and other Western powers contributed to the corruption that led to instability in these African countries, and thus have an obligation to protect civilians in these countries from violence. 29%
- Other 16%

ISSUE B: Is it wise for R2P to set aside long-term solutions in the interest of short-term prevention of escalating violence?

- Yes 73%
- No 27%

to first pursue short-term prevention during the outbreak of conflict rather than focusing on longer-term solutions. As shown in the Kenya case, the momentum created by the initial postelection peace agreement helped push forward longer-term solutions in the form of a new constitution that seeks to address some of the underlying issues associated with the postelection violence.

Nevertheless, those surveyed appeared ambivalent over whether R2P-based actions can be successful in maintaining peace, especially over the long-term. Respondents were almost evenly split when asked if potential international community-led interventions, especially in Kenya, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Zimbabwe, could help resolve the ethnic and political divisions and sustain peace in those countries.

ISSUE C: In your opinion, what are the prospects of success for R2P in preventing mass atrocities and maintaining peace in countries such as Kenya, Sudan, the DRC and Zimbabwe?

- Intervention by the international community will prevent mass atrocities and buy the time necessary for countries to peacefully resolve political and ethnic divisions. 43%
- The international community may succeed in preventing violence initially, but it is only a temporary solution and once peacekeeping forces leave the situation will deteriorate once again. 45%
- Other 12%

ISSUE D: The author’s claim that impatience is a virtue.... (Select one.)

- Accurately reflects the need to act swiftly in order to stop violence before it escalates into a larger problem. 57%
- Runs the risk of rushing into action without properly assessing the situation, and possibly making the situation worse. 27%
- May cause the parties involved to lose sight of longer-term goals in their preoccupation with immediate dangers. 16%

TOPIC 3/TRANSNATIONAL CRIME

FREQUENT REPORTS OF drug-related violence and other horror stories from across the Mexican border have no doubt contributed to the perception held by GREAT DECISIONS program participants that among the growing list of international criminal organizations, Mexican drug cartels pose the biggest threat to the United States. Over 50 percent of balloters view it as the most dangerous group, followed by the Russian Mafiya and, in a distant third, the Colom-

bian cartels; of least concern are the Japanese Yakuza and Jamaican Posses.

As globalization continues to create more opportunities for both sanctioned and illicit activities, an overwhelming 97 percent of respondents believe that U.S. law enforcement agencies should increase cooperation with Interpol and the UN. However, several commenters argued that “solutions must focus on the demand side” as well, including the potential legalization of drugs.

ISSUE A: The transnational criminal organization seemingly presenting the greatest threat, financial or otherwise, to individual American citizens and/or U.S. government interests is: (Rank in order of danger, with 1 being the most significant and 11 the least.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Russian Mafiya	30%	16%	19%	11%	10%	4%	3%	2%	2%	1%	1%
Italian Mafia	3%	6%	8%	12%	12%	11%	12%	10%	9%	10%	8%
La Cosa Nostra	4%	6%	10%	10%	12%	12%	10%	9%	9%	11%	8%
Balkan Organized Crime	2%	5%	8%	12%	9%	11%	11%	11%	11%	10%	11%
Chinese Triads	4%	7%	14%	16%	15%	12%	11%	9%	6%	5%	1%
Japanese Yakuza	0.3%	2%	2%	6%	8%	11%	13%	15%	15%	13%	14%
Colombian Cartels	9%	36%	19%	10%	7%	7%	4%	3%	4%	1%	0.5%
Mexican Drug-Trafficking Organizations	54%	21%	9%	5%	4%	2%	2%	2%	1%	0.5%	0.1%
Mara Salvatrucha	3%	6%	7%	7%	8%	8%	8%	8%	14%	16%	16%
Nigerian Syndicates	2%	4%	8%	11%	10%	9%	10%	11%	13%	14%	7%
Jamaican Posses	0.5%	1%	4%	5%	7%	9%	10%	13%	12%	14%	25%

ISSUE B: U.S. law enforcement organizations should more vigorously cooperate with Interpol and UN agencies to devise more-effective methods for confronting transnational criminal organizations.

Yes	97%
No	3%

ISSUE C: Which of the following transnational criminal enterprises inflicts the greatest harm on individuals, nations and the global community? (Rank in order of urgency, with 1 being the most significant and 9 the least.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Gun-running	7%	11%	14%	14%	14%	12%	12%	9%	8%
Money laundering	3%	7%	9%	11%	12%	17%	17%	16%	9%
Narcotics trafficking	33%	18%	15%	10%	10%	6%	3%	2%	2%
Human trafficking	26%	20%	15%	11%	10%	8%	6%	3%	1%
People smuggling	3%	13%	12%	12%	15%	15%	14%	12%	5%
Product counterfeiting	0.4%	2%	3%	5%	6%	9%	13%	21%	40%
Identify theft	5%	6%	8%	11%	10%	13%	15%	18%	14%
Trade with terrorists	14%	15%	14%	13%	13%	10%	9%	8%	5%
Official corruption	18%	12%	13%	14%	11%	9%	8%	7%	9%

U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS continue along a bumpy road due to a variety of economic and security issues, from ongoing currency disputes to tensions over the Korean peninsula. Heading into the future, one of the key factors in the U.S.-China relationship will be how each side’s domestic public views the other. Sixty-three percent of those surveyed view China foremost as a rival, but only 14 percent see it as a threat, an interesting distinction. Moreover, a clear majority of respondents agrees that it is China’s disproportionate share of U.S. securities that deserves the most concern, suggesting that perhaps it is China’s economic leverage rather than its military power that worries GREAT DECISIONS balloters.

Likewise, only 8 percent of participants believe that China will replace the United States as the new global superpower, whereas 68 percent believe that, instead, China will be one of several “poles” in a multipolar world order. This topic generated many insightful comments from our readers. Some point out that China has proven adept at maximizing its gains under the current system, in particular through trade, while being less cooperative in other realms such as global climate change. A commenter from Tallahassee, FL, writes: “I believe China will support the current economic order as long as it continues to serve its national interests... [but] when it ceases to operate to the advantage of China, it will change its policy.” In this case, and rightfully acknowledged by various respondents, it simply may be “far too early to tell.”

“It is a better policy to encourage China with cooperation than to block [its] progress. Avoid an arms race—increase economic cooperation.”

—comment from balloter in Kennett Square, PA

ISSUE A: When considering U.S.-China relations, you consider China foremost as:

An ally	24%
A rival	63%
A threat	14%

ISSUE B: Who should assume responsibility for paying for cleaner technologies to reduce China’s CO₂ emissions?

China	57%
Western/developed nations	1%
Both	42%

ISSUE C: What is your greatest concern regarding China? (Select one.)

China’s nuclear threat.	4%
Human rights violations in China.	11%
China’s disproportionate share of U.S. securities.	64%
Environmental concerns about China’s CO ₂ emissions.	21%

ISSUE D: 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.	8%
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.	13%
Becoming one of the “poles” in a multipolar world order.	68%
Domestic issues in China will prevent it from assuming a large global role.	11%

ISSUE E: Given the strength and credibility of the current liberal economic world order, China will not try to change the international system but rather play by its rules.

Agree	60%
Disagree	40%

TOPIC 5/THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS AND ITS EFFECTS

IN SPITE OF THE FACT that economic recovery remains shaky especially in the United States and other parts of the developed world, most GREAT DECISIONS participants do not see short-term signs that U.S. power is diminishing. A combined 85 percent of respondents believe the United States will remain the dominant power in the foreseeable future or at least for the next 10 years. Meanwhile, almost 60 percent predict the dollar will remain the reserve currency.

Two thirds of those surveyed argue that international institutions will become more significant tools in addressing global challenges in general, with some adding that other groupings, including regional or issue-based ones, will also become more important. Yet an insightful reader from Lake Geneva, WI, adds that recognizing the need for greater cooperation does not mean that states will actually do so, especially if their immediate interests are threatened.

In looking at the financial system specifically, a dominant majority, 77 percent, argues that better regulation at the national level is required to prevent a similar crisis from occurring in the future.

ISSUE A: Which of the following statements best describes the future U.S. role in the world? (Select one.)

- | | |
|---|-----|
| The U.S. will remain the dominant power for the next 10 years. | 40% |
| The U.S. will remain the dominant power for the foreseeable future. | 45% |
| The U.S. is no longer the dominant global power. | 15% |

ISSUE C: What do you foresee will be the future role of international institutions? (Select one.)

- | | |
|--|-----|
| The inability of countries to agree on policies will lead to the overall weakening of institutions, reducing their relevance to international governance. | 9% |
| Countries will rely more on regional institutions and groupings to achieve their aims. | 24% |
| Institutions will become more significant for global governance since the nature of globalization will require more international cooperation to tackle shared challenges. | 66% |
| Other, or comment. | 1% |

ISSUE D: What do you think will happen to the U.S. dollar's role as the international reserve currency in the future? (Select one.)

- | | |
|---|-----|
| The dollar will lose its dominant position in the next 10 years. | 16% |
| The dollar will be gradually overtaken in the next 15 years by a mix of other currencies. | 26% |
| The dollar will continue as the reserve currency of choice, due to the lack of any viable alternatives in the midterm and a relatively strong U.S. economic recovery. | 58% |

ISSUE B: To prevent future crises, rank the following approaches in order of importance, with 1 being most important and 4 being the least important.

	1	2	3	4
• International oversight of countries' economic policies.	9%	34%	50%	8%
• Better regulation of financial transactions and activities at the domestic level.	77%	15%	8%	1%
• Addressing the "global imbalances" in the international economic system.	15%	46%	36%	3%
• Do nothing, financial crises are an inevitable part of the economic cycle.	5%	4%	5%	87%

TOPIC 6/EUROPE'S 'FAR EAST': THE UNCERTAIN FRONTIER

WHILE U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS have appeared more stable since the signing of the START II treaty in April 2010, a combined 84 percent of those surveyed agree or strongly agree that the United States should continue to foster relations with the former Soviet republics, regardless of Russia's assertion of its "sphere of influence." However, GREAT DECISIONS participants ranked U.S. influence in the former Soviet republics as the least important issue in terms of U.S.-Russia relations, naming continuing nuclear reductions and nonproliferation, as well as Russian cooperation in dealing with Iran, as far more important priorities.

A slight majority of respondents, 51 percent, believes that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

ISSUE A: In 2008, NATO promised future offers of membership to Georgia and Ukraine. In the case of Ukraine, where Ukrainians themselves (as well as Western European states) are divided over the issue, should the U.S. push for Ukrainian membership in NATO? (Select one.)

Yes, regardless of any divisions.	2%
Yes, but only if the majority of Ukrainians support it.	10%
Yes, but only if the majority of Ukrainians and other NATO members support it.	51%
No, NATO is already overstretched, and expanding east would raise concerns about the credibility of the military alliance.	38%

should expand to include Ukraine *if* the majority of Ukrainians and other NATO members support its membership. More surprisingly, almost 40 percent argue that NATO should simply not expand further east.

This topic elicited many comments and write-in responses. Several respondents suggested that the United States and Russia should identify and cooperate on issues of mutual interest, including trade, energy and technology, while others expressed the importance of encouraging the rule of law and democracy in Russia. Apropos of both the 2008 and 2010 GREAT DECISIONS topics on Russia, balloters have consistently expressed support for engagement with Russia and the importance of stable U.S.-Russia bilateral relations in general.

ISSUE B: The U.S. should foster relations with former Soviet republics, regardless of Russia's objections.

Strongly Agree	15%
Agree	69%
Disagree	14%
Strongly disagree	2%

ISSUE D: Why do you think the Obama Administration decided to revise its ballistic missile defense plans and installations in Eastern Europe? (Select one.)

The new plan does a better job of credibly countering Iranian threats.	8%
It was mainly changed to placate Russian concerns, as part of the "reset" in relations.	28%
For both the reasons listed above.	62%
Other.	2%

ISSUE C: In terms of U.S.-Russia relations, rank the following issues in order of importance, with 1 being the most important and 5 the least important.

	1	2	3	4	5
• Influence in former Soviet republics, particularly Georgia and Ukraine.	5%	11%	61%	21%	1%
• Reduction of nuclear arsenals and nuclear nonproliferation.	60%	29%	8%	3%	0.2%
• U.S.-Russia cooperation in dealing with Iran's nuclear program.	35%	54%	8%	3%	0.3%
• A permanent U.S. military presence in Central Asia.	2%	5%	18%	68%	7%
• Other, or comment.	17%	5%	17%	17%	45%

THE RESULTS FROM the GREAT DECISIONS 2010 ballots provide further evidence that the American public is weary of the continuing U.S. military engagement in Iraq. Sixty-five percent of our balloters agree that the United States should withdraw militarily from Iraq by the end of 2011, regardless of the consequences. Meanwhile, U.S. policy toward Iran is moving in the direction supported by a clear majority (61 percent) of those surveyed—tightening sanctions yet continuing multilateral diplomatic efforts. Few participants, only 2 percent, support seriously considering military action against Iran.

A decisive majority, 77 percent, believe that national security interests, specifically preventing terrorism, should be the number one priority for the United States in the Persian Gulf, followed by securing U.S. economic interests. Many comments were directed toward the linkage between these three priorities—to what extent is terrorism directed against the United States related to how the United States protects its economic interests in the region? Conversely, if freedom and democracy were to be successfully promoted, would the United States need to focus on security as much as it does now?

With policymakers and experts sharply divided over U.S. policy toward Iran, it is not surprising that this issue was a polarizing one among GREAT DECISIONS participants as well. Some argued that war with Iran is inevitable, while others stated that Iran has a right to its nuclear weapons program. Many comments also brought up the connection between resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and other issues in the region.

“If we develop and fund a rational and coherent energy policy, our economic interests will not depend on oil from the Middle East.”

—comment from balloter in Valrico, FL

ISSUE A: Should the U.S. withdraw its military from Iraq by the end of 2011, even if it appears that such a move would lead to increasing violence and instability in that country?

Yes	65%
No	35%

ISSUE B: The Obama Administration should adopt the following stance on Iran (select one):

Continue efforts at diplomatic negotiations.	33%
Abandon diplomacy and begin engaging in harsh economic sanctions through bilateral arrangements.	5%
Begin tentative moves toward sanctions and other actions with key U.S. allies in a strictly multilateral setting without completely abandoning diplomatic efforts.	61%
Seriously consider military action against Iran.	2%

ISSUE C: What should U.S. priorities be in the Persian Gulf? Rank the following in order of importance to the U.S., with 1 being most important and 3 being least important.

	1	2	3
Safeguarding U.S. national security interests (e.g., terrorism)	77%	19%	4%
Promoting freedom and democracy	14%	22%	64%
Securing U.S. economic interests (e.g., oil)	13%	58%	29%

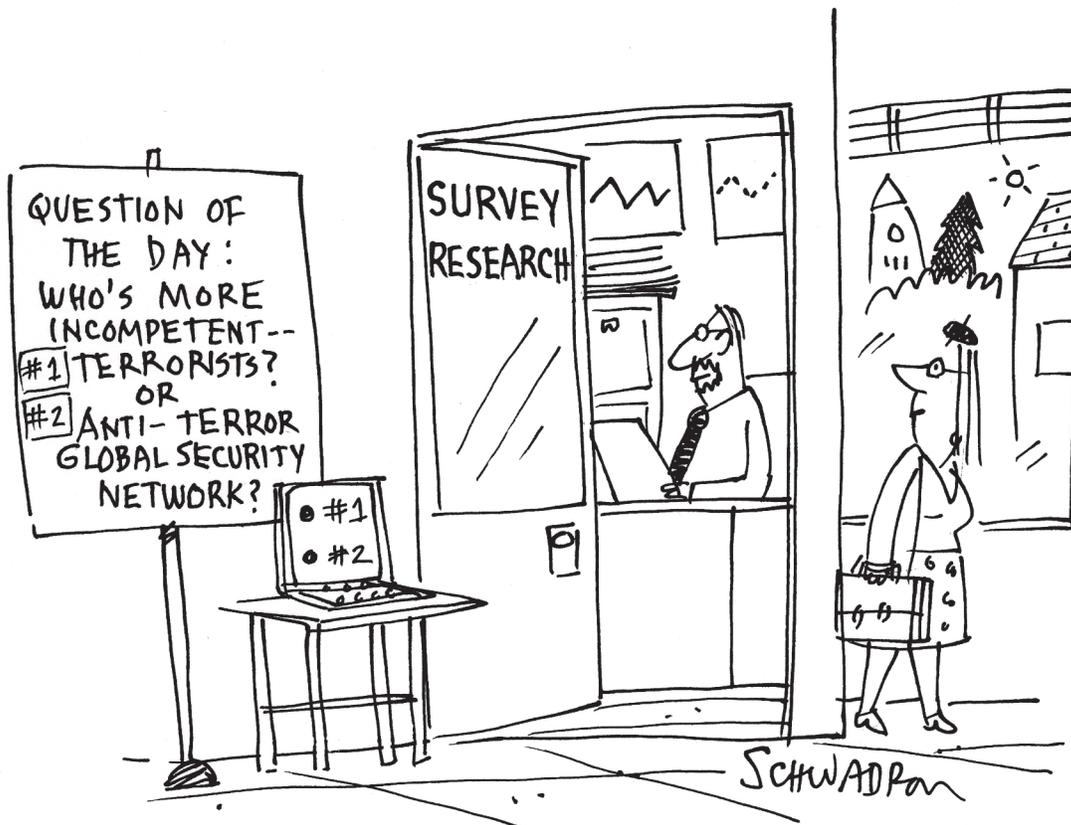
WHILE 50 PERCENT of the balloters agree that a “unified security budget” is the best approach to handling our security priorities, almost 30 percent did not feel comfortable responding or did not have an opinion on this issue. A plurality of participants, 36 percent, thought that such a budget should provide 50 percent for military needs, 30 percent for nonmilitary (diplomatic) engagement and 20 percent for foreign aid. However, none of the questions associated with this topic received a conclusive (majority) response, suggesting that those trying to make selections may have wanted more situation-specific information in order to assess and respond.

ISSUE A: The idea of a “unified security budget,” in which all U.S. security spending would fall under one budget, is the best approach to effectively balance and assess our security priorities.

Agree	50%
Disagree	22%
Do not know/No opinion	28%

ISSUE B: Which of the following proposed breakdowns in U.S. budget allocation with respect to funding for military needs, non-military forms of engagement and foreign aid would you be most in favor of? (Select one.) For reference, the fiscal year 2010 budget allocation for the Department of Defense was \$664 billion and \$52 billion for the State Department.

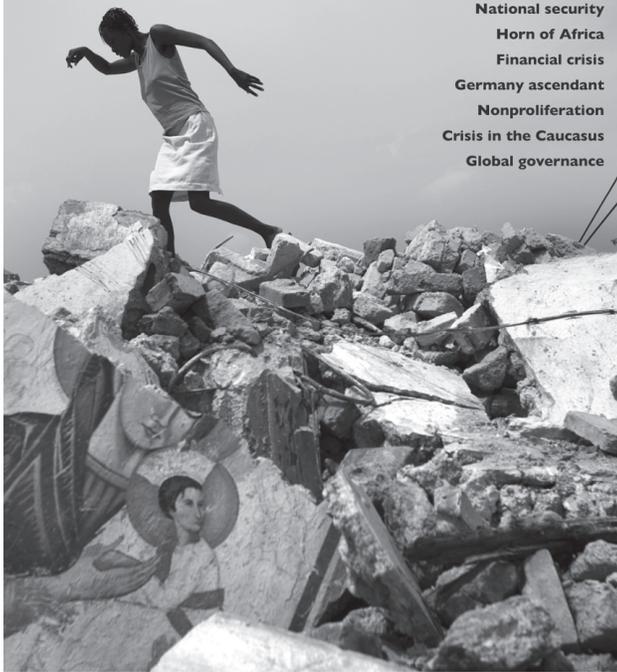
70% for military needs, 20% to nonmilitary engagement, 10% for aid.	15%
50% for military needs, 30% for nonmilitary engagement, 20% for aid.	36%
34% for military needs, 33% for nonmilitary engagement, 33% for aid.	27%
30% for military needs, 50% for nonmilitary engagement, 20% for aid.	17%
Other.	6%



GREAT DECISIONS

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