**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 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: 28.7%
- I participated in one previous year: 15.7%
- I participated in more than one previous year: 55.6%

**B. How did you learn about the Great Decisions program?**
- Word of mouth: 34.7%
- Local Library: 14.8%
- Foreign Policy Association website: 0.9%
- Promotional Brochure: 1.2%
- Other organization: 38.0%

**C. Where does your Great Decisions group meet?**
- Private Home: 2.7%
- Online/Zoom: 72.6%
- Library: 7.7%
- Community Center: 5.9%
- Learning in retirement: 5.9%
- Other: 4.4%

**D. How many hours, on average, do you spend reading one Great Decisions chapter?**
- Less than 1 hour: 13.6%
- 1–2 hours: 66.0%
- 2–4 hours: 18.3%
- More than 4 hours: 2.1%

**E. 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: 50.0%
- Have not: 27.8%
- Not Sure: 22.2%

**F. 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 community and neighborhood.**
- Agree strongly: 1.0%
- Agree somewhat: 7.7%
- Neither agree or disagree: 20.2%
- Disagree somewhat: 34.2%
- Disagree strongly: 37.0%

**G. Generally speaking, how interested are you in politics?**
- Very much interested: 70.3%
- Somewhat interested: 27.6%
- Not too interested: 2.1%

**H. 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: 98.5%
- Stays out of world affairs: 1.5%

**I. How often are you asked for your opinion on foreign policy?**
- Often: 8.3%
- Sometimes: 69.1%
- Never: 22.6%

**J. Have you been abroad during the last two years?**
- Yes: 63.9%
- No: 36.1%

**K. Do you know, or are you learning, a foreign language?**
- Yes: 53.1%
- No: 46.9%

**L. Do you have any close friends or family that live in other countries?**
- Yes: 60.2%
- No: 40.0%

*(Totals may not equal 100% after rounding.)*

For more information about *Great Decisions*, visit us online

[www.fpa.org/great_decisions](http://www.fpa.org/great_decisions)
The NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT REPORT was prepared by the Foreign Policy Association: Karen M. Rohan, editor in chief; Graham Nau, assistant editor.

Ballot questions were composed, collected and tabulated by Lauren Prather, assistant professor of political science at the School of Global Policy and Strategy at University of California, San Diego, in affiliation with UCSD.
Opinion ballots are included in each edition of Great Decisions, a briefing book prepared annually by the non-partisan, not-for-profit Foreign Policy Association. Their responses reflect opinions crafted after the study and discussion of each of this year’s eight Great Decisions topics. The majority of ballot participants were middle or upper-middle class and held an advanced degree. They did not shy away from partisan politics either—most were Democrats, although Republicans and Independents were well represented.

The ballots cast by Great Decisions participants include:

Support For:
- ✓ Increased government/private sector cooperation in order to compete against China economically.
- ✓ Environmental protection in the Arctic
- ✓ Increased embrace of globalization by U.S. administrations
- ✓ Utilizing a coalition of partners to deal with Iran
- ✓ Stronger U.S. presence in the WHO

Opposition to:
- ✓ Brexit
- ✓ Trump’s decision to withdraw from the WHO
- ✓ Trump’s decision to strengthen ties with Saudi Arabia
- ✓ Trump’s approach to combatting North Korea’s nuclear program

Other Views:
- ✓ Increased concern regarding global supply chains post covid-19 outbreak
- ✓ Increased concern over China’s growing economic presence in Africa
- ✓ North Korea will not give up its nuclear weapons

Some questions from the previous opinion ballots, asked again in 2021
(Previous years’ answers are in parentheses)

A. From 2008’s “U.S.-China Economic relations”: Does the fact that a product is made in China affect your decisions on whether or not to buy it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>2021 (%)</th>
<th>2008 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I buy products made in China</td>
<td>60.3%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t buy products made in China</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t care where the products I buy are made</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. From 2014’s “China’s foreign policy”: How worried are you, if it all, that China could become a military threat to the U.S. in the future?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of concern</th>
<th>2021 (%)</th>
<th>2014 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very worried</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat worried</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too worried</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all worried</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. From 2013’s “Trade”: People debate whether the U.S. government should increase restrictions on imports, keep restrictions on imports at current levels or decrease restrictions on imports. What do you think the U.S. government should do?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>2021 (%)</th>
<th>2013 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increase restrictions on imports</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep restrictions on imports at current levels</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>52.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease restrictions on imports</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Totals from older ballot reports may not equal 100% because some participants did not mark particular ballots or voluntered other responses not tabulated here.)
D. From 2009’s “The Arctic age”: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

The U.S. must develop a plan for its Navy based upon the premise that the Arctic region will be open for exploration, transport and trade in the next 10 years.
- Agree 95.4% (95%)
- Disagree 4.6% (5%)

The U.S. must do whatever is necessary to actively compete for resources in the Arctic.
- Agree 67.0% (70%)
- Disagree 33.0% (30%)

The U.S. must ensure all parties in the region take adequate environmental measures.
- Agree 96.6% (89%)
- Disagree 3.4% (11%)

E. From 2011’s “Making sense of multilateralism”: If the international community only has the time and commitment to cooperate on one of the issues below, which issue do you think most critically needs to be addressed at the global level?

- Nuclear proliferation 8.0% (41%)
- Climate Change 75.2% (28%)
- Global economic coordination 7.7% (21%)
- Economic development 4.3% (11%)
- Human rights 4.9% (12%)

F. From 2013’s “China in Africa”: What should be the top U.S. priority in Africa?

- Peacekeeping 3.5% (11%)
- Democracy building 10.1% (8%)
- Humanitarian assistance 36.5% (28%)
- Human rights 8.5% (14%)
- Economic investment 34.9% (1%)
- Natural resources 2.5% (7%)
- Trade 4.1% (4%)

G. From 2015’s “The U.S. and Africa: The Rise and Fall of Obamamania”: Do you think the amount of foreign aid the U.S. gives to African countries in general should be increased, kept the same, decreased, or stopped altogether?

- Increased 60.5% (38.5%)
- Kept the same 34.1% (44%)
- Decreased 3.8% (15.5%)
- Stopped altogether 1.6% (2%)

H. From 2014’s “China’s Foreign Policy”: In dealing with a rising China, do you think the U.S. should...

- Undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China 61.9% (96.7%)
- Actively work to limit the growth of China’s power 38.1% (3.1%)

I. From 2017’s “The future of Europe”: Which of the following do you think poses the greatest challenge to the EU?

- Managing Brexit 26.5% (27.8%)
- Immigration from non-EU countries 46.7% (48.9%)
- Terrorist attacks 5.7% (9.5%)
- Russian actions in Crimea and Ukraine 21.1% (13.9%)

J. From 2017’s “Trade, jobs and politics”: How important were free trade agreements in your vote for president in 2016?

- Extremely important 12.7% (17.3%)
- Somewhat important 27.2% (41.7%)
- Not too important 32.1% (28.3%)
- Not at all important 28.1% (12.8%)

K. From 2016’s “Korean Choices”: How likely is it that the Korean peninsula will unify in the next decade?

- Very likely 0.2% (0.6%)
- Somewhat likely 5.9% (8.4%)
- Somewhat unlikely 27.0% (27.5%)
- Very unlikely 66.5% (63.5%)

‘It is important to maintain stability in the Persian Gulf region while creating alliances, remembering that each one of the countries have their own agendas which are not necessarily the U.S. agenda.’

‘Buying so much overseas makes us dependent in all areas, and put many, many U.S. people out of work when our factories closed.’

(Comments from balloters are in maroon boxes throughout the report.)
Global supply chains keep the different economies of the world interconnected, in particular the U.S. and Chinese economies. The Covid-19 pandemic has highlighted this interdependence, as China was unable to provide certain items to the United States due to a shutdown of global supply chains. What are the lasting effects the pandemic may have on supply chains? Will this affect national security?

Participants reported a big increase in concern regarding global supply chains post Covid-19 pandemic, with 86% reporting they were more concerned than before the pandemic. This increased concern demonstrates the high level of awareness regarding the vulnerable position the United States is in when it comes to U.S.-Chinese economic relations.

Ballot participants were largely in agreement that the best way for the United States to remove itself from this vulnerable economic relation is to increase government/private sector cooperation, with 85% reporting their support for better cooperation. In addition, many participants were in favor of the United States making a concentrated effort to increase domestic manufacturing jobs in order to reduce reliance on China, with 84% reporting support for a concentrated effort of some form.

A. Have you engaged in any of the following activities related to the Global Supply Chains and National Security topic?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Read the article on the Global Supply Chains and National Security topic in the 2021 Great Decisions briefing book</td>
<td>91.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed the article on the Global Supply Chains and National Security topic with a Great Decisions discussion group</td>
<td>92.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed the article on the Global Supply Chains and National Security topic with friends or family</td>
<td>50.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watched the GDTV episode on supply chains</td>
<td>71.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Followed news related to the Global Supply Chains and National Security topic</td>
<td>61.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taken a class in which you learned about issues related to the Global Supply Chains and National Security topic</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have or had a job related to global trade</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of the above</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. How interested would you say you are in issues related to the “Global Supply Chains and National Security” topic?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very interested</td>
<td>63.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat interested</td>
<td>34.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too interested</td>
<td>2.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all interested</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. How concerned were you regarding Global supply chains before the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concern Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very concerned</td>
<td>18.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat concerned</td>
<td>45.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not that concerned</td>
<td>31.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not concerned at all</td>
<td>4.67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. How concerned are you post-outbreak?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concern Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More concerned than before</td>
<td>85.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less concerned than before</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the same</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. In your opinion, which of the following industries is the most important for the U.S. to gain control over the global supply chain in...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rare Earth Elements (REE)</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceuticals</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power supply equipment</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveillance Technology (cameras, drones etc.)</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F. In your opinion, can the United States compete against China economically without a more cooperative relationship between the public and private sectors?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cooperation Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The U.S. needs more government/private sector cooperation to compete</td>
<td>85.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The U.S. can compete without strong government/private sector cooperation</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The U.S. cannot compete with China economically</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsure</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G. Would you want to see the U.S. make a concentrated effort to build factories in order to increase manufacturing jobs?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Restriction</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, with little restriction</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, with some restrictions (i.e. Green power, increase minimum wage, etc.)</td>
<td>73.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H. Of the three policy options the author provides, which one would you like to see applied by the current administration?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Renewed engagement</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decouplement</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry policy adoption</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tensions in the Persian Gulf remain high as the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran continues on. The decision by then President Trump to launch an airstrike, which killed two Iranian military commanders, further escalated relations. What role, if any, should the United States play when it comes to Persian Gulf security?

The Persian Gulf Security topic yielded a variety of responses when it came to the NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT but a few opinions did come through clearly. 63% of participants disagreed, either somewhat or strongly, with President Trump’s decision to strengthen U.S. ties to Saudi Arabia. This reflects a broad agreement that the United States is still too deeply involved in the region. The other opinion that was quite clear was that a vast majority of participants felt it best for the United States to utilize a coalition of partners when dealing with Iran. Once again, this response reflects the belief that the United States is still too deeply involved in the region and cannot act alone, without support of allies.

### A. Have you engaged in any of the following activities related to the Persian Gulf Security topic?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Read the article on the Persian Gulf Security topic in the 2021 Great Decisions briefing book</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed the article on the Persian Gulf Security topic with a Great Decisions discussion group</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed the article on the Persian Gulf Security topic with friends or family</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watched the GDTV episode on Persian Gulf Security</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Followed news related to the Persian Gulf Security topic</td>
<td>67.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taken a class in which you learned about issues related to the Persian Gulf Security topic</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have or had a job related to the Persian Gulf Security topic</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traveled to the Persian Gulf</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of the above</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### B. How interested would you say you are in issues related to the Persian Gulf Security topic?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very interested</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat interested</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too interested</td>
<td>5.35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The views expressed in the comments are those of the individual respondents and not those of the Foreign Policy Association.

### C. Do you agree with President Trump’s decisions to strengthen ties with the Saudi regime?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### D. In your opinion, which is the biggest threat to Persian Gulf security? (Please select one)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iran/Saudi rivalry</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC instability</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia itself</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran itself</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious tension</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside intervention</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### E. In your opinion, should the U.S. cede economic authority in the Persian Gulf region to another country?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, the U.S. should completely remove itself from the region</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but the U.S. should keep some ties in the region</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but only if it is on “U.S. terms”</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, the U.S. should not cede economic authority in the Persian Gulf region</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### F. Which of the two options do you think is best for the U.S. to use when dealing with Iran?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus on handling Iran alone</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus efforts on a coalition of partners</td>
<td>94.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### G. In your opinion, what should be the U.S. number one priority in the region?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protecting trade (specifically oil)</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Containing Iran</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Containing Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combating terrorism</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensuring peace between the Arab world and Israel</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### H. In your opinion, how important are the “Abraham Accords” to future Arab/Israeli peace negotiations?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Especially important</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
<td>54.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too important</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all important</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TOPIC 3/BREXIT AND THE EU

The United Kingdom formally left the European Union at the start of 2021. What will the future of the UK and the EU look like now that they are separated? What stance should the United States take, if any, regarding the UK’s decision to leave the European Union?

The results of the NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT focused on Brexit and the EU make it clear that a large majority of participants, 76%, do not have a positive opinion of Brexit. Reflected by this high level of disapproval, around 61% of participants reported some level of concern that other nations may follow suit and leave the EU as well. Despite a demonstrated opposition to the Brexit vote, participants also showed an unwillingness to abandon the UK. Some 93% reported that the United States should work with both the UK and the EU in the aftermath of the UK’s departure from the EU.

A. Have you engaged in any of the following activities related to the Brexit and the EU topic?

Read the article on the Brexit and the EU topic in the 2021 Great Decisions briefing book 95.61%
Discussed the article on the Brexit and the EU topic with a Great Decisions discussion group 93.81%
Discussed the article on the Brexit and the EU topic with friends or family 62.89%
Watched the GDTV episode on “Brexit and the EU” 75.00%
Followed news related to the Brexit and the EU topic 82.47%
Taken a class in which you learned about issues related to the Brexit and the EU topic 8.50%
Have or had a job related to the Brexit and the EU topic 3.09%
Traveled to Britain in last 4 years 23.20%
None of the above 0.01%

B. How interested would you say you are in issues related to the Brexit and the EU topic?

Very interested 61%
Somewhat interested 35.82%
Not too interested 2.84%
Not at all interested 0.26%

C. Are you concerned that other nations that have threatened to leave the EU (Hungary, Italy) will do so after Brexit?

Very concerned 15.80%
Somewhat concerned 46.63%
Not too concerned 33.42%
Not at all concerned 4.15%

D. Do you think the U.S. should “pick a side” in the Brexit/EU debate, or try and work with both sides?

The U.S. should side with the EU 5.15%
The U.S. should side with the UK 1.80%
The U.S. should try and work with both 93.04%

E. In your opinion, should the UK have held a second referendum on the Brexit vote?

Yes, there should have been a second referendum 68.48%
No, the first vote was sufficient 14.73%
Not sure 16.80%

F. How would you evaluate the ability of the European Union to react and respond to crises (i.e. Migration Crisis, Euro Crisis, Covid pandemic)?

Excellent 0.78%
Good 28.68%
Fine 25.32%
Not good 34.11%
Awful 3.10%
Not sure 8.01%

G. Do you have a positive opinion of Brexit?

Yes 6.20%
Somewhat 10.59%
No 75.71%
Unsure 7.49%

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‘I think England will be weakened financially by not being part of the EU. May lead to Scotland leaving Great Britain’
As climate change alters the landscape of the Arctic, nations are scrambling to gain a greater presence in the region, especially as new reserves of natural gas and oil become exposed. Russia and China already have defined Arctic strategies. What sort of policy platform should the United States take toward the Arctic? What should the main U.S. priority in the region be?

After the end of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Arctic lost its strategic significance for a number of years. However, since the mid-2000s, the Arctic has made a return as a region of strategic importance largely due to the changes inflicted by climate change. Both Russia and China have noted the potential benefits of these changes and have accordingly increased their presences in the region. In the NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT, participants expressed their opposition to this geopolitical change. Just over 50% stated that the United States should take the risk of antagonizing Russia and China and increase its naval/military presence in the region. This reflects the belief that the Arctic is a region of increased importance.

While it was clear that a majority of participants wanted to see an increased U.S. presence in the Arctic, two main goals were cited as the reason. Fifty-seven percent reported that environmental protection should be the main U.S. priority in the arctic region, followed up by 38% stating that ensuring freedom of transportation should be the main priority.

A. Have you engaged in any of the following activities related to the Struggles over the melting Arctic topic?
   - Read the article on the Struggles over the melting Arctic topic in the 2021 Great Decisions briefing book 94.39%
   - Discussed the article on the Struggles over the melting Arctic topic with a Great Decisions discussion group 91.71%
   - Discussed the article on the Struggles over the melting Arctic topic with friends or family 55.08%
   - Watched the GDTV episode on the Arctic 74.87%
   - Followed news related to the Struggles over the melting Arctic topic 58.02%
   - Taken a class in which you learned about issues related to the Struggles over the melting Arctic topic 7.21%
   - Have or had a job related to the Struggles over the melting Arctic topic 1.87%
   - Traveled to the Arctic 14.17%
   - None of the above 0.01%

B. How interested would you say you are in issues related to the Arctic?
   - Very interested 49.47%
   - Somewhat interested 43.05%
   - Not too interested 6.95%
   - Not at all interested 0.53%

C. How important do you view the Arctic to U.S. national security?
   - Extremely important 43.43%
   - Somewhat important 48.26%
   - Not too important 8.31%
   - Not at all important 0.00%

D. In your opinion, should the U.S. risk antagonizing Russia and China by increasing their naval/military presence in the Arctic?
   - Yes 53.35%
   - No 22.79%
   - Unsure 23.86%

E. In your opinion, what should the U.S. main priority in the Arctic be?
   - Environmental protection 57.10%
   - Ensure freedom of navigation 37.80%
   - Compete for territory with China and Russia 2.14%
   - Harvest as much natural resources as possible 1.88%
   - Unsure 1.07%

F. Are you concerned with the actions of China and Russia in the Arctic?
   - Very concerned 44.89%
   - Somewhat concerned 45.70%
   - Not too concerned 8.87%
   - Not at all concerned 0.54%

G. How likely do you think it is that the U.S. will have a sizable foothold in the Arctic region in the next 5 years?
   - Very likely 15.32%
   - Somewhat likely 44.89%
   - Not too likely 38.98%
   - Not at all likely 0.81%

‘U.S. should fund updated icebreakers for the Coast Guard and perhaps for other uses’
As President Xi Jinping’s “Belt and Road Initiative” continues to expand Chinese economic ties to Africa, there are mixed responses from the United States regarding the growing Chinese presence in the region. What are the concerns that people had when it comes to “BRI” and will the United States act on them?

Many consider China’s “Belt and Road Initiative” as a means for Beijing to spread its ideology and influence politics around the world. NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT respondents agreed, with 78% reporting that China will likely leverage its relationships to affect some African countries’ domestic policies. In response to this, NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT respondents were fairly split as to how the United States should respond to growing Chinese influence in Africa, with no single answer getting more than 50%. However, “Increasing foreign aid to Africa” did get the most at 47.1%, showing that nearly half the respondents feel that Washington should send more financial aid to Africa in order to curb China’s influence.

A. Have you engaged in any of the following activities related to the China in Africa topic?

- Read the article on the China in Africa topic in the 2021 Great Decisions briefing book 94.94%
- Discussed the article on the China in Africa topic with a Great Decisions discussion group 93.61%
- Discussed the article on the China in Africa topic with friends or family 58.78%
- Watched the GDTV episode on China in Africa 75.53%
- Followed news related to the China in Africa topic 57.45%
- Taken a class in which you learned about issues related to the China in Africa topic 7.18%
- Traveled to Africa before 2020 29.79%
- None of the above 0.80%

B. How interested would you say you are in issues related to the China in Africa topic?

- Very interested 48.48%
- Somewhat interested 51.06%
- Not too interested 3.46%

C. In your opinion, what is the most important concern facing the U.S. regarding China in Africa?

- China, as a supplier of weapons to African nations 5.35%
- China’s growing military presence in Africa 9.63%
- China spreading communism to Africa 7.22%
- China’s growing economic presence in Africa 77.81%

D. Should the U.S. do more to combat China’s growing influence in Africa, and if so how?

- Increasing foreign aid to Africa 56.91%
- Increasing campaigns for democratization 23.67%
- Stepping up military presence in Africa 2.66%
- Economic sanctions against African countries that support China 2.13%
- Funding Human rights campaigns 27.39%
- The U.S. should not do anything to combat China 7.98%

E. Do you view China’s growing relationship with Africa as a ‘win-win’ for both parties?

- Yes, the current relationship will benefit both parties 57.26%
- No, I think only China will benefit 41.13%
- No, I think only African nations will benefit 1.08%
- No, I don’t think it will benefit either party 0.54%

F. Do you think that China will leverage its relationship with African nations in order to affect some African countries’ domestic policies?

- Yes 78.40%
- No 6.40%
- Unsure 15.20%

G. Do you think the Covid-19 pandemic will hurt China’s momentum in Africa?

- Yes 34.67%
- No 40.80%
- Unsure 24.53%
The Korean Peninsula is facing a defining era. Attempts by South Korean President Moon Jae-in and U.S. President Donald Trump to repair the rift between North and South have lost any momentum as Pyongyang continues to test long-range missiles for its nuclear weapons program. As the rift between the United States and China grows wider, South Korea may end up in the middle of the two superpowers. What does the future hold for the U.S. relationship with the ROK?

The relationship between North and South Korea remains tense, and NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT respondents appeared to think that there is little hope for the status to change soon with 89.8% reporting they think that the most likely future for the Korean peninsula will be that tensions remain the same. The majority of respondents also believe that it is highly unlikely that Kim Jong-un will give up his nuclear weapons, with 71.8% stating they thought it unlikely this would occur. This shows that many think it unlikely that the tension on the Korean peninsula will ever go away. As far as U.S. policy toward the peninsula is concerned, many respondents disapproved of the work that President Trump carried out, with about 50% stating they disapproved of Trump’s work trying to combat North Korea’s nuclear program.

A. Have you engaged in any of the following activities related to the “The two Koreas” topic?
   - Read the article on the “The two Koreas” topic in the 2021 Great Decisions briefing book 94.49%
   - Discussed the article on the “The two Koreas” topic with a Great Decisions discussion group 92.75%
   - Discussed the article on the “The two Koreas” topic with friends or family 51.01%
   - Watched the GDTV episode on “The two Koreas” 75.94%
   - Followed news related to the “The two Koreas” topic 67.54%
   - Taken a class in which you learned about issues related to the “The two Koreas” topic 7.25%
   - Have or had a job related to the “The two Koreas” 4.92%
   - Traveled to the Korean peninsula 15.07%
   - None of the above 0.87%

B. How interested would you say you are in issues related to the “The two Koreas” topic?
   - Very interested 51.01%
   - Somewhat interested 45.80%
   - Not too interested 2.61%
   - Not at all interested 0.58%

C. Do you approve of the job President Trump has done with regards to combating North Korea’s nuclear program?
   - Approve 8.12%
   - Somewhat approve 8.70%
   - Neither approve nor disapprove 11.88%
   - Somewhat disapprove 21.45%
   - Disapprove 49.86%

D. Do you think that North Korean leader Kim Jong-un would launch a nuclear attack preemptively?
   - Very much so 7.85%
   - Somewhat 35.76%
   - Not so much 44.48%
   - Not at all 11.92%

E. In your opinion, do you foresee a scenario where the North Korean government gives up on its nuclear weapons program?
   - Yes, but only after pressure from China 13.08%
   - Yes, but only after lifting of all sanctions from the global community 5.81%
   - Yes, but only as part of a global denuclearization program 5.52%
   - Yes, but only as part of unifying Korea 3.78%
   - No, I don’t foresee any scenario where N.K gives up its nuclear weapons 71.80%

F. Which of these factors do you believe benefited South Korea the most when combatting the spread of Covid-19 in the country?
   - Ease of testing 7.56%
   - Culture of mask wearing 32.85%
   - Public-private cooperation 23.84%
   - Treatment practices 1.16%
   - Faith in government officials/information 34.59%

G. Of these options, which do you think is the most likely scenario for the future of the Korean peninsula?
   - Reignition of the Korean War 1.45%
   - Unification under a democratic government 6.10%
   - Unification under authoritarian regime 2.62%
   - Remains the same 89.83%

‘What’s needed is a good old revolution by North Korea citizens’

‘I think cultural exchange of the two Koreas is the most promising way to start’
The Covid-19 pandemic has thrust the World Health Organization (WHO) into the limelight, for better and for worse. While some of the Trump administration’s criticism of the organization is unfair, its response to the early stages of the pandemic left many experts wanting more from the WHO. What is the WHO’s role in responding to international pandemics? What can be done to improve the WHO’s response to future global-health crises?

The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic and the response by the World Health Organization (WHO) has yielded mixed reviews, from praise to condemnation. President Trump was one of the stronger critics, demonstrated by his decision in July 2020 to withdraw the United States from the WHO. While NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT respondents did not demonstrate particularly strong approval of the WHO’s performance, they did demonstrate strong disapproval of President Trump’s decision to withdraw from the WHO with 82.5% of participants stating that they “strongly oppose” his decision to leave the WHO, and 88% stating they would like a stronger U.S. presence in the WHO. Respondents clearly see the merit in the United States remaining part of the WHO as we weather this pandemic and for the future.

A. Have you engaged in any of the following activities related to the Role of the WHO topic?

- Read the article on the Role of the WHO topic in the 2021 Great Decisions briefing book 94.77%
- Discussed the article on the Role of the WHO topic with a Great Decisions discussion group 92.62%
- Discussed the article on the Role of the WHO topic with friends or family 59.38%
- Watched the GDTV episode on the Role of the WHO 73.23%
- Followed news related to the Role of the WHO topic 68.61%
- Taken a class in which you learned about issues related to the Role of the WHO topic 6.46%
- Have or had a job related to healthcare 15.89%
- None of the above 0.31%

B. How interested would you say you are in issues related to the Role of the WHO topic?

- Very interested 56.92%
- Somewhat interested 40.00%
- Not too interested 3.08%

C. In your opinion, how did the World Health Organization do in managing the early stages of the Covid-19 outbreak?

- Excellent job 1.23%
- Good job 18.83%
- Adequate job 42.90%
- Bad job 32.72%
- Awful job 4.32%

D. Would you support President Donald Trump’s decision to withdraw the U.S. from the World Health Organization?

- Strongly support 4.62%
- Somewhat support 5.54%
- Somewhat oppose 6.77%
- Strongly oppose 82.46%
- Unsure 0.62%

E. In your opinion, would the WHO have had a better response to the pandemic if it had more monetary support from the U.S.?

- Much better 19.81%
- Somewhat better 38.39%
- Not much better 27.24%
- Not at all better 14.55%

F. How trusting are you of health information coming from the WHO vis-à-vis the Center for Disease Control (CDC)?

- More trusting of WHO 8.63%
- More trusting of CDC 83.07%
- Don’t trust either 8.31%

G. Would you support the U.S. starting a counterpart to the WHO?

- Yes, I would support the U.S. backed org more 8.65%
- No, I would prefer a stronger U.S. presence in the WHO 87.93%
- No, I would prefer the U.S. stays out of global health agencies 3.41%

H. After reading the article, has your opinion on the World Health Organization changed at all?

- Yes, for the better 34.47%
- Yes, for the worse 19.57%
- Only somewhat 35.40%
- Not at all 10.56%
As the United States enters another election season, the merits and drawbacks of globalization are again being debated by the presidential candidates. With the passing of the Brexit vote and Donald Trump’s America First doctrine, protectionist policies have become more prevalent, challenging globalization. What is globalization and how will it be affected by protectionist trade policies? How will the United States and the world be affected by such policies? Is globalization really at an end, or in need of a refresh?

The process of globalization has made the different economies and societies of the world more intertwined than ever. This process of interconnectivity has been hailed by some and denounced by others. President Trump was famously anti-globalization during his time in office. As with the other topics, NATIONAL OPINION BALLOT respondents overwhelmingly showed their opposition to Trump’s stance on this issue. Some 71% of respondents stated that they thought Trump’s “America First” doctrine was “not at all beneficial.” This statistic demonstrates that the majority of respondents look upon globalization in a positive light.

A. Have you engaged in any of the following activities related to the “The end of globalization?” topic?

- Read the article on the “The end of globalization?” topic in the 2021 Great Decisions briefing book 95.30%
- Discussed the article on the “The end of globalization?” topic with a Great Decisions discussion group 90.93%
- Discussed the article on the “The end of globalization?” topic with friends or family 55.37%
- Watched the GDTV episode on the “The end of globalization?” topic 71.14%
- Followed news related to the “The end of globalization?” topic 56.04%
- Taken a class in which you learned about issues related to the “The end of globalization?” topic 7.38%
- Have or had a job related to the “The end of globalization?” topic 9.06%
- None of the above 0.67%
B. How interested would you say you are in issues related to the “The end of globalization?” topic?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very interested</td>
<td>67.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat interested</td>
<td>30.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too interested</td>
<td>1.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all interested</td>
<td>0.34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. In your opinion, do you have a positive opinion, a negative opinion, or no real opinion on globalization?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very positive</td>
<td>38.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat positive</td>
<td>50.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat negative</td>
<td>7.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very negative</td>
<td>1.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>3.04%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. In your opinion, was Donald Trump’s “America First” doctrine more beneficial to the economic health of the U.S. than engaging in globalization efforts?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefit Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Much more beneficial</td>
<td>3.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat more beneficial</td>
<td>8.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too beneficial</td>
<td>17.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all beneficial</td>
<td>70.95%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. Would you like to see future U.S. administrations pull away from globalization in favor of more economic nationalism?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very much so</td>
<td>1.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>12.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much</td>
<td>24.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>62.16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F. Do you trust AI firms with your data?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trust completely</td>
<td>0.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust somewhat</td>
<td>15.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither trust nor distrust</td>
<td>23.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distrust somewhat</td>
<td>42.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distrust completely</td>
<td>17.63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G. Please select the responses that best fits your opinion toward the following statements:

**Globalization is better in theory than in practice**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>8.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>33.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>18.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>26.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>11.86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Isolationism is better for a country’s populace; globalization is better for business**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>1.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>11.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>13.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>30.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>42.91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Economic nationalism is better in theory than in practice**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>24.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>32.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>17.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>15.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>10.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worsen a great deal</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsure</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Globalization requires agreements and many nations in collaboration. Difficult to achieve, but a goal worth the effort.’
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