THE WORLDPUBLICOPINION.ORG/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Americans on
International Courts
and their Jurisdiction over the US

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: April 18-24, 2006
Sample Size: 1023

Margin of Error: +/- 3.1 % [full sample]
+/- 3.6 % [3/4 sample]

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: As you may know, the US has many formal agreements and treaties with other countries governing a wide range of areas such as trade, maritime law, and cross-border environmental issues.

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q1. As a general rule, when the US enters into international agreements, do you think there should or should not be an independent international body, such as a court, to judge whether the parties are complying with the agreement?

Should .......................................................... 76%
- Republicans ................................................. 66
- Democrats ................................................... 88
- Independents ............................................. 70

Should not ..................................................... 21
- Republicans ................................................. 33
- Democrats ................................................... 11
- Independents ............................................. 22

(No Answer) .................................................. 3

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: There is controversy about whether as a general rule, when the US enters into such agreements there should be an independent international body, such as a court, to judge whether the parties are complying with the agreement. Here are some arguments for and against this idea. For each one please select how convincing you find it.

[RANDOMIZE PRESENTATION—ALTERNATING PROS (Q2-Q5) AND CONS (Q6-Q9)]
[RESPONDENTS SHOULD ULTIMATELY GET 6 OF 8 QUESTIONS FROM Q2-Q9]
[PROS—RANDOMLY PRESENT 3 OUT OF 4]
Q2. Even if the US loses a case from time to time, it is better for the US to generally use international courts to resolve its disputes with other countries than to allow some disputes to escalate to destructive levels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Convincing</th>
<th>33%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat convincing</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat unconvincing</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unconvincing</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No Answer)</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Convincing
- Republicans: 67%
- Democrats: 89%
- Independents: 74%

Unconvincing
- Republicans: 33%
- Democrats: 88%
- Independents: 70%

Q3. It is much easier for the US to pursue its interests if the world is a place where countries are resolving disputes peacefully in accordance with international law.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Convincing</th>
<th>41%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat convincing</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat unconvincing</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unconvincing</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No Answer)</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Convincing
- Republicans: 81%
- Democrats: 91%
- Independents: 79%

Unconvincing
- Republicans: 18%
- Democrats: 9%
- Independents: 15%

Q4. Because we use courts to resolve our disputes, the US is a much better place to live than countries where the rule of law is weak. Since this works for us at home, we should generally try to resolve our international disputes in the same way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Convincing</th>
<th>22%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat convincing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat unconvincing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unconvincing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No Answer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Somewhat convincing ................................................................. 47
Somewhat unconvincing ............................................................. 20
Very unconvincing ................................................................. 8
(No Answer) ................................................................................. 2

Convincing
Republicans ................................................................. 66%
Democrats ................................................................. 75
Independents ................................................................. 65

Unconvincing
Republicans ................................................................. 34%
Democrats ................................................................. 24
Independents ................................................................. 28

Q5. We cannot simply let countries decide if they are in compliance with an agreement.
Otherwise they will find excuses for not really complying. We need an objective party to judge
whether they are complying.

Very convincing ................................................................. 35%
Somewhat convincing ............................................................. 49
Somewhat unconvincing ............................................................. 11
Very unconvincing ................................................................. 4
(No Answer) ................................................................................. 1

Convincing
Republicans ................................................................. 82%
Democrats ................................................................. 87
Independents ................................................................. 81

Unconvincing
Republicans ................................................................. 17%
Democrats ................................................................. 14
Independents ................................................................. 14

[CONS—RANDOMLY PRESENT 3 OUT OF 4]
Q6. Because there are so many people in the world who are looking for opportunities to try to
undermine the US, judges from other countries cannot be trusted to be impartial.

Very convincing ................................................................. 20%
Somewhat convincing ............................................................. 45
Somewhat unconvincing ............................................................. 22
Very unconvincing ................................................................. 10
(No Answer) ................................................................................. 3
Q7. The United States uses its power in the world to do the right thing. Sometimes that means the US must make the hard decisions that are not popular, but necessary for peace. Being subject to international courts would tie America’s hands and undermine its ability to make the tough but necessary decisions.

Very convincing......................................................................... 23%
Somewhat convincing.................................................................39
Somewhat unconvincing.............................................................24
Very unconvincing......................................................................12
(No Answer)..................................................................................3

Q8. Submitting to international courts would violate the United States’ sovereign right to protect its citizens and its interests.

Very convincing......................................................................... 23%
Somewhat convincing.................................................................35
Somewhat unconvincing.............................................................28
Very unconvincing......................................................................11
(No Answer)..................................................................................3

Convincing
Republicans.............................................................................78%
Democrats ................................................................................54
Independents ..............................................................................50

Unconvincing
Republicans.............................................................................19%
Democrats ................................................................................26
Independents ..............................................................................42
Unconvincing
Republicans..........................25%
Democrats..........................51
Independents.......................37

Q9. Because the US is the most powerful country in the world, it has the means to get its way in international disputes. It has nothing to gain from submitting to the jurisdiction of international courts, where its arguments are put on the same footing as those of weaker countries.

Very convincing.................................15%
Somewhat convincing..........................33
Somewhat unconvincing.........................34
Very unconvincing...............................17
(No Answer).................................2

Convincing
Republicans..........................51%
Democrats..........................42
Independents.......................54

Unconvincing
Republicans..........................48%
Democrats..........................58
Independents.......................40

[FULL SAMPLE]
Q10. So now having heard these arguments, as a general rule, when the US enters into international agreements, do you think there should or should not be an independent international body, such as a court, to judge whether the parties are complying with the agreement?

Should ..........................................................71%
Republicans..........................54
Democrats..........................87
Independents.......................69

Should not ..................................................25
Republicans..........................43
Democrats..........................13
Independents.......................20

(No Answer).............................................4

STATEMENT: Below are some issues that are governed by treaties the US has signed together with other countries. For each one please select whether the US should or should not agree to
have an international body, such as a court, to judge disputes that may arise about how the treaty applies to specific instances.

[PRESENT Q11a-Q11f ON ONE SCREEN AS A GRID]
[RANDOMIZE PRESENTATION]

Q11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Should agree</th>
<th>Should not agree</th>
<th>(No Answer)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Which countries have the right to fish in certain waters</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. When a country can give preferential trade treatment to another country</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Where the exact the border is between two countries</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Whether countries are enforcing their labor laws</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Whether countries are enforcing their environmental laws</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. What rights countries give to foreigners who are arrested and charged with a crime</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,C]

Q12. In most cases, the actions of individuals are simply governed by the laws of the country they live in. Do you think that:
In some cases there are individual actions that are of such significance, such as acts of torture or genocide, that there should be international laws governing these actions that are applied by an international court or tribunal if a nation does not enforce them. .............................................................. 60%
  Republicans.......................................................... 60
  Democrats ............................................................ 68
  Independents ...................................................... 44

Only individual nations should make laws governing the acts of individuals, because having such international laws and giving international courts and tribunals the power to apply them would violate the sovereignty of nations .......................................................... 36%
  Republicans......................................................... 37
  Democrats ............................................................ 31
  Independents ...................................................... 42

(No Answer)................................................................................. 5%

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,C]
Q13. As you may know, the United States has signed a number of treaties that prohibit the use of torture. Do you approve or disapprove of the United States signing these treaties?

Approve...................................................................................... 82%
  Republicans.......................................................... 81
  Democrats ............................................................ 90
  Independents ...................................................... 68

Disapprove .................................................................................. 15
  Republicans......................................................... 18
  Democrats ............................................................ 9
  Independents ...................................................... 20

(No Answer)................................................................................. 3

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]
Q14. Do you think that states should or should not agree that if someone is tortured and no one is charged for it, that an international court should have the right to investigate to determine if someone should be charged?

Should agree.................................................................................. 70%
  Republicans.......................................................... 57
  Democrats ............................................................ 86
  Independents ...................................................... 62
Q15. When acts of torture have been committed, who do you think should be held responsible?

Only persons who committed the acts of torture ......................... 4%
  Republicans..................................................5
  Democrats ....................................................4
  Independents ............................................4

Only the person who gave the orders to use torture .............. 12
  Republicans..................................................15
  Democrats ....................................................11
  Independents .............................................11

Both ..............................................................................77
  Republicans..................................................75
  Democrats ....................................................84
  Independents .............................................67

Neither ............................................................................3
  Republicans..................................................3
  Democrats ....................................................2
  Independents ...............................................8

(No Answer)...........................................................................3

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q16. A permanent International Criminal Court has been established by the UN (United Nations) to try individuals suspected of war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. Some say the U.S. (United States) should not support the Court because trumped-up charges may be brought against Americans, for example, US soldiers who use force in the course of a peacekeeping operation. Others say that the U.S. should support the court because the world needs a better way to prosecute war criminals, many of whom go unpunished today. Do you think the U.S. should or should not support the permanent international criminal court?

Should ..................................................................................68%
  Republicans..................................................65%
  Democrats ....................................................85
  Independents .............................................70
Americans on International Courts

April 18-24, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4/06</th>
<th>CCFR '04</th>
<th>CCFR '02</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Should not</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No Answer)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q17. Do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the International Criminal Court that can try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them?

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Should participate</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should not participate</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No Answer)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q18. As you may know, there is an international law that prohibits a nation from using military force against another nation except in self defense or to defend an ally. Do you approve or disapprove of there being such a law?

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No Answer)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[If “SHOULD” on Q18]

Q18a. Do you think that there should or should not be an international body to determine when a state has violated this law?
Should ................................................................. 64%*
   Republicans .............................................. 52
   Democrats ............................................... 79
   Independents ............................................ 57

Should not .........................................................13
   Republicans .............................................. 19
   Democrats ............................................... 10
   Independents ............................................ 10

(No Answer) ..........................................................1

[FULL SAMPLE]
STATEMENT: As you may know, the US and other countries have signed a number of treaties that establish standards for protecting the human rights of their citizens.

[3/4 SAMPLE A,C,D]
Q19. As a general rule, do you approve or disapprove of the US being part of such treaties?

  Approve ................................................................. 86%
    Republicans .............................................. 87
    Democrats ............................................... 92
    Independents ............................................ 72

  Disapprove .........................................................10
    Republicans .............................................. 11
    Democrats ...............................................  6
    Independents ............................................ 14

(No Answer) ..........................................................4

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,C]
Q20. Do you think there should or should not be an international body, such as a court, to judge whether countries are abiding by the human rights standards of the treaties?

  Should ................................................................. 79%
    Republicans ..............................................  3
    Democrats ...............................................  2
    Independents ............................................  8

  Should not .........................................................17
    Republicans ..............................................  3
    Democrats ...............................................  2
    Independents ............................................  8

* Percent of total
Q21. As a general rule, when the US is part of treaties on human rights, do you think:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The US should claim a special exception,</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so that US compliance with the treaty is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>never subject to the judgment of an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The US should not claim a special exception</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for the US</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q22. The US has signed a number of treaties establishing international laws governing how a country, in the context of armed conflict, must treat an individual it has detained—that is, has captured and is holding. These rules limit what the US can do to detainees and what other countries can do when they detain Americans. Do you approve or disapprove of the US being part of such treaties?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q23. As you may know, the US participates in the UN Commission on Human Rights, which reviews human rights standards in various countries including the US. Recently the Commission evaluated how the US treats detainees at Guantanamo Bay and determined that the US has held certain individuals for interrogation for several years without charging them with a crime,
contrary to international conventions. Do you think that the US should or should not change this practice according to the prescriptions of the UN Commission on Human Rights?

Should ................................................................. 63%
  Republicans ......................................................... 49
  Democrats .......................................................... 76
  Independents ...................................................... 62

Should not .............................................................. 30
  Republicans ......................................................... 47
  Democrats .......................................................... 20
  Independents ...................................................... 23

(No Answer) ............................................................ 7

[FULL SAMPLE]

50. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:

  Republican .......................................................... 29%
  Independent .......................................................... 16
  Democrat .............................................................. 32
  Other ................................................................. 1.5
  No preference ....................................................... 18
  (No answer) .......................................................... 3

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

[FULL SAMPLE]

D1. (Combined Q50 + Q53). Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:

  Republican .......................................................... 36%
  Independent .......................................................... 22
  Democrat .............................................................. 42

D2. Age

  18-29 ................................................................. 22%
  30-44 ................................................................. 29
  45-59 ................................................................. 28
  60+ ................................................................. 22

D3. Education level (categorical)

  Less than High School ........................................... 15%
  High School Graduate .......................................... 32
Americans on International Courts                                                                  April 18-24, 2006

Some College ...........................................................................28
College Graduate ......................................................................26

D4. Race/Ethnicity

White, Non-Hispanic ........................................................ 70%
Black, Non-Hispanic..........................................................11
Other, Non-Hispanic ............................................................5
Hispanic .............................................................................13
2+ Races, Non-Hispanic ......................................................1

D5. Gender

Male .................................................................................. 48%
Female................................................................................52

D6. Region

Northeast........................................................................... 19%
Midwest..............................................................................23
South ..................................................................................36
West ...................................................................................23

METHODOLOGY

The poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks, a polling, social science, and market research firm in Menlo Park, California, with a stratified random sample of its large-scale nationwide research panel. This panel itself has been randomly recruited from the national population of households having telephones; households without internet access are subsequently provided with free web access and an internet appliance. Thus the panel is not limited to those who already have home internet access. The distribution of the sample in the Web-enabled panel closely tracks the distribution of United States Census counts for the US population on age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, geographical region, employment status, income, education, etc. Upon survey completion, the data were weighted by gender, age, education, and ethnicity.

For more information about the methodology, please go to:
www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.