



**AMERICANS ON GLOBALIZATION:  
A Study of US Public Attitudes  
March 28, 2000  
(Appendix A updated 3/9/00)**

**Appendix A: Americans on US-China Trade**

US-China trade has been controversial since the thawing of Sino-American relations in the 1970s. However, the debate over how open this trade relationship should be has greatly intensified since the Tiananmen Square crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators in 1989.

Throughout the 1990s, Congress continued to grant yearly extensions of normal trade relations (or most favored nation) status, which guaranteed China the same treatment as all other major US trading partners. The Bush and Clinton Administrations, backed by business and pro-trade forces, have favored this course of action, arguing that maintaining constructive trade and diplomatic relations with China was the best way to encourage reforms in Beijing. Others on both the right and the left have favored tying normalized US-China trade to improvements in China's human rights record, to greater economic and political freedom in China and to an end to Chinese proliferation of nuclear and missile technology in violation of international agreements. Organized labor also has voiced concern about Chinese labor standards, Beijing's ballooning trade surplus with the US and competition with low-wage Chinese workers.

In late 1999, the Clinton Administration reached an agreement with Chinese officials to bring China into the World Trade Organization. Since then, President Clinton has pledged to ask Congress to grant permanent NTR status to China, as requested by Beijing in the December 1999 US-China trade deal. With business and labor groups, among others, poised to do battle on this question, understanding the public's attitudes has never been more important.

**Summary**

**It is unlikely that a majority of Americans would favor either the US Congress granting China permanent normal trading relations or the World Trade Organization extending membership to China. In numerous polls conducted during the last few years, a strong majority has said the US should limit its trade with China to pressure China to improve its human rights record and to stop selling nuclear weapons technology. A modest majority also has opposed granting China most favored nation status or normal trade relations. Polls which clarify that China's joining the WTO would result in greater trade without concessions from China on human rights elicit opposition ranging from a strong plurality to a strong majority. The argument that trade promotes political and economic reform in China is not highly persuasive. At the same time, a strong majority of Americans does want to continue to trade with China and does not want to behave in a punitive fashion toward China.**

**Support for Limiting Trade Based on Concerns for Human Rights, Proliferation**

For many years, a strong majority of Americans has said it wants the US to limit trade with China

counter-arguments that trade actually promotes human rights and that limiting trade could have economic costs.

- In a November 1999 Gallup poll, respondents were offered two statements, one of which made the case that "the US should increase trade with China now, because doing so will promote economic, political and religious freedoms in that country." However, only 35% agreed with this statement, while 61% agreed with the statement that "the US should not increase trade with China until the Chinese government gives more economic, political and religious freedoms to citizens."<sup>1</sup>
- In an October 1999 PIPA poll, respondents were presented the argument that limiting trade with China may not be effective and could cost US jobs. Nonetheless, 75% said the US should limit its trade with China because China "violates a number of international standards for human rights."<sup>2</sup>
- A June 1999 Zogby poll of likely voters found 65% agreed that China's human rights abuses "should cause the US to put increased restrictions on trade with China."<sup>3</sup>
- Four times since 1996, *Time/CNN* has asked respondents to choose between two arguments: that it would be better to "establish strong diplomatic and trade relations with China, even if this requires overlooking some of China's human rights violations;" and that the US should "take a strong stand on human rights, even if this might jeopardize our diplomatic and trade relations with China." The latter argument always has received majority support, most recently 57% in May 1999 (28% the former argument).<sup>4</sup>
- Between 1995 and 1997, NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* polls found that at least 3 in 5 Americans wanted to "demand that China improve its human rights policies if China wants to continue to enjoy its current trade status with the United States." Only about one-third preferred the opposing argument that "we should maintain good trade relations with China, despite disagreements we might have with its human rights policies."<sup>5</sup>
- Another NBC/*WSJ* question in 1997 found 57% wanted to "limit our trade with China until it improves its record on human rights," while just 33% thought, "China is too important, and there are other ways to pressure China on its human rights record."<sup>6</sup>

Americans clearly view China as having a poor human rights record. According to a January 2000 Hart Research poll, an overwhelming 81% of Americans said that "compared with other countries the US trades with" China is "below average" (49% "far below") when it comes to "respecting human rights." Only 10% said it was average (7%) or above average (3%).<sup>7</sup>

An even stronger majority has supported limiting trade with China as a way of opposing China's sale of nuclear weapons technology. In an October 1999 PIPA poll, 83% favored limiting trade with China because it "has sold components for nuclear weapons and missiles to other countries."<sup>8</sup> Also, a 1997 Gallup poll found 72% believed it important for the US to "take a strong stand" on "China's sale of nuclear weapons technology internationally."<sup>9</sup>

However, only a bare plurality favors limiting trade for other security-related concerns. When a March 1999 Pew poll asked respondents to weigh containment of China's military against the economic benefits of US-China trade, a plurality (47%) thought it was "more important to contain China's growth as a military power." Forty-two percent thought it was more important to "maintain normal relations with China as a trading partner."<sup>10</sup> In a March 1999 *Time/CNN* poll just 50% wanted the US to "cut back its trade relations with China" because of Chinese spying in the United States (41% were opposed).<sup>11</sup>

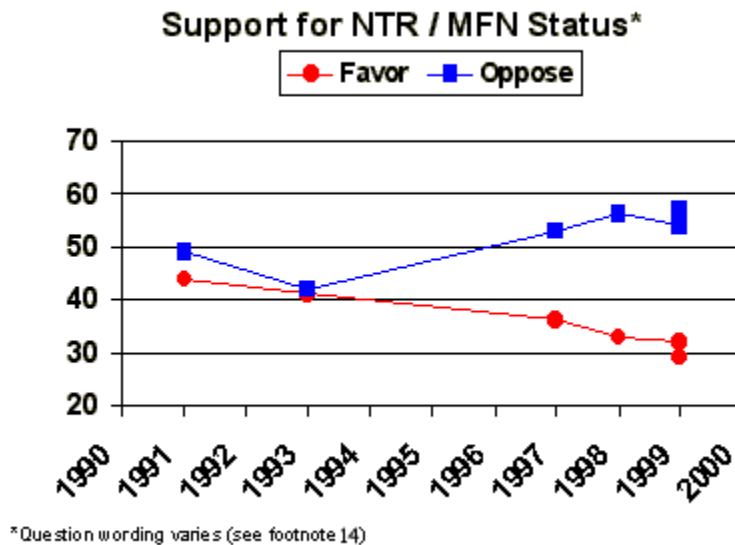
Support for limiting trade also may be enhanced by the belief that China is an unfair trader. A January

2000 Hart Research poll found 61% of Americans think China has "unfair trade policies that make it difficult for American companies to sell products [there]." This is up sharply from a 1994 NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll in which 48% thought China had "unfair policies toward the United States."<sup>12</sup> In the January 2000 Hart poll, 60% said that "compared to other countries the US trades with," China was "below average" in "allowing the US equal access to its market." Just 23% thought access to Chinese markets was average (21%) or above average (2%).<sup>13</sup> However, it is possible that such perspectives could be mobilized to support liberalized trade as a way to force China to allow more access.

### Majority Has Opposed Normal Trading Relations Status

During the past few years, a modest majority of Americans repeatedly has expressed opposition to the current policy of granting China normal trade relations or most favored nation status. This is true even when questions indicated this would give China simply the same trading status as most other US trading partners. The effort to change the term from most favored status to normal trade relations failed to elicit any improvement in support.

Moreover, public attitudes have been trending against the idea of normal trading status for China (see chart below). In the latest poll, taken in June 1999 by the Pew Research Center, just 32% of Americans thought the US "should grant China" the same trade status as "most nations it trades with, known as normal trade relations." A majority (54%) opposed doing so. This is in contrast to polls from the early 1990s, which showed the public as very divided on the issue, with neither supporters nor opponents in the majority.<sup>14</sup>



It also appears the change in terminology -- from MFN to NTR -- has made no difference in public support. In June 1999, the Pew Research Center asked the same question to different samples using the different terms, with virtually no change in the outcome. Support for normal trading relations was 32% (with 54% opposed), while support for most favored nation status was 29% (with 57% opposed).

A June 1998 ABC News poll did find somewhat-stronger support when it asked if the US "should have

free trade with China on the same terms it (the US) gives its main trading partners"; 44% supported that idea, with 46% opposed. This is the only result since 1997 in which support for more open trade with China rose above 36%.<sup>15</sup> This likely is due to the use of the term "free trade," which resonates positively with some sectors of the public. Also, other polls used the words "grant" or "give" when referring to the extension of NTR or MFN status, indicating the possibility of using trade as leverage against the Chinese on other issues, which the public clearly wants to do.

### **When Given Information, Majority Opposes China's Entry into WTO**

Given the readiness to limit trade and the lack of support for NTR extension, the prospect of American public support for China's admission to the WTO is not good. The few poll questions that have asked about Chinese accession suggest that the more information respondents are given, the more likely they are to oppose the idea. When it is made clear that joining the WTO means removing trade limits on China -- without prior concessions on democracy and human rights from Beijing -- a clear majority is opposed.

The only poll question that found a majority in favor of admitting China to the WTO provided no information about the meaning of such membership and also presented it as an already existing decision (which tends to raise support). A November 1999 Gallup poll simply asked respondents whether they favored "the recent agreement between China and the United States that would allow China to join the World Trade Organization." Fifty-four percent expressed support, while just 33% opposed it, and 13% had no opinion.<sup>16</sup> Without information clarifying the meaning of membership, some respondents may have simply thought it meant joining an organization in which trade issues are merely discussed. As a general rule, Americans tend to favor multilateral organizations; in the current PIPA poll, 60% said they supported strengthening the WTO.

Poll questions which offer no information about the meaning of the WTO membership but do not indicate the existence of a preliminary agreement do not show majority support. In a June 1999 Fox News poll, 44% were in favor when asked simply how they felt about "allowing China to join the World Trade Organization," while 36% were opposed and 20% were not sure.<sup>17</sup> A January 2000 Hart Research poll found only 36% favored "a proposal to admit China to the WTO," while 48% were opposed.<sup>18</sup>

Questions that present China's admission to the WTO as a way to open Chinese markets tend to do a bit better. In a January 2000 NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll, 51% said Congress should approve "a trade agreement that would allow China's entry into the World Trade Organization, the main international trading organization, in exchange for making Chinese markets more open and treating US products the same as those from other countries." Thirty-five percent opposed approval. The same question produced nearly identical results in December 1999.<sup>19</sup>

However, when a contrasting argument emphasizing China's unfair trade policies is offered in addition to the argument that WTO membership would open up China, a plurality rejected China's accession to the WTO. For example, a September 1999 NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* question included the statement, "Those in favor say that membership will encourage China to open its markets to more products, including American ones. Opponents say that China's trade practices aren't fair enough to allow it to be part of the world trading body." In this case, 47% said they opposed having China join the WTO, while just 38% favored it.<sup>21</sup> This suggests some people feel China cannot be trusted to follow through on the commitments related to WTO membership. Indeed, in the January 2000 Hart poll, nearly half (48%) said that "compared with other countries that the US trades with," China was below average

(24% "far below average") in "living up to the agreements it makes with the United States." Just 32% thought China was average (25%) or above average (7%) in this regard.<sup>22</sup>

Several other polls, while not mentioning the WTO by name, have described the meaning of including China in the WTO. When such information is given, a majority or plurality is opposed to China's joining the world trade body. For example, a February 2000 Pew poll informed respondents that the United States "grants a trade status to most nations it trades with known as normal trade relations" and asked if the US should "permanently grant this status to China, or not?" A solid 56% majority thought the US should not, while only 28% felt it should (16% didn't know).<sup>23</sup> The January 2000 Hart poll stated that "this year Congress will consider legislation that would permanently establish free trade relations between the US and China," and asked whether respondents favored or opposed "permanent free trade relations with China." Forty-nine percent said they opposed the idea (25% strongly), while 41% favored it.<sup>24</sup>

Opposition to admitting China to the WTO rose higher when it was made clear this meant there would be no more annual review of China's trade status, and thus no opportunity to tie improvement in China's human rights practices to expanded US-China trade. In the same Hart Research poll, 65% of respondents opposed (41% strongly) legislation "granting permanent trade access to the US market, with no more annual review of China's human rights and trade record by Congress." Just 18% favored such legislation and 17 percent were not sure.<sup>25</sup>

Using a similar formulation, the same poll found that members of Congress who vote in favor of freer trade with China could be hurt in the 2000 elections. It asked:

If your member of Congress voted in favor of permanent free trade relations with China, eliminating the current requirement for annual reviews of China's human rights record, would you be more likely to vote for that candidate, less likely to vote for that candidate, or would it not affect your vote either way?

About half of respondents (49%) said they would be less likely to vote for such a candidate (28% much less likely). Thirty-two percent said a candidate's stance on China trade vote would not affect their vote either way. Only 12% said they would be more likely to vote for the candidate.<sup>26</sup>

A November 1999 Zogby poll asked:

Should the US have a permanent open market with China and admit the country to the global trade system, or should the US insist on better human rights and freedom of religion in China before we establish a permanent open market?

Posed as a choice between pressing for human rights improvements and irreversibly opening trade with China without any conditions, a strong 67% wanted to insist on reforms first, while just 21% wanted to admit China to the WTO. Ten percent were not sure.<sup>27</sup>

When respondents are given full arguments on both sides of the debate a very strong majority is opposed to the China-WTO deal. The January 2000 Hart poll posed a question that laid out all of the key arguments related to trade and human rights:

Let me read you statements made by people on both sides of the debate over trade relations with China, and then get your reaction. **Supporters** of permanent free trade relations with China say that this agreement will eliminate barriers to U.S. products, expanding our exports and creating good jobs in

America. They say that American business will be hurt if other countries have access to the Chinese market and we don't. They also say that the best way to improve human rights in China is not to restrict trade, but to engage China and include it in important international bodies, such as the World Trade Organization. **Opponents** say that China's record of human rights abuses, use of forced labor, and violations of past trade agreements means that it has not yet earned permanent free trade relations. They say that Congress should continue to have annual reviews, to make sure that China keeps its promises to open its market to U.S. products and improve human rights. They also say that Congress should only give China permanent access to our market when it agrees to meet real human rights and labor standards. Do you agree more with the supporters or the opponents of permanent free trade relations with China?

In this case, 70% said they agreed more with the opponents of permanent free trade relations, while just 21% agreed more with the supporters' argument.<sup>28</sup>

### **Economic Engagement Argument Unpersuasive**

A key argument presented to Americans in support of including China in the WTO is that engaging China in open trade will promote reform there. This argument is not found to be very persuasive. As noted above, in a November 1999 Gallup poll that presented two arguments, only 35% agreed with the statement that the "US should increase trade with China now, because doing so will promote economic, political and religious freedoms in that country." Sixty-one percent preferred making increased trade contingent on China first making the reforms.<sup>30</sup>

When the argument in favor of engagement is presented by itself, it fares slightly better but still does not garner even plurality support. In a June 1999 Zogby poll, just 39% agreed that increased trade would be an effective way to "insure [sic] improvements" in China's human rights policies. Forty-three percent disagreed, and 18% were not sure.<sup>31</sup> A Pew Research Center poll taken the same month also found 39% thought that "trade between China and Western nations" would lead to China "becoming more democratic." Forty-seven percent disagreed, with 14% not sure.<sup>32</sup>

A majority of Americans also sees little evidence that the current trade policy of annually renewing MFN/NTR status has produced much in the way of favorable results. With regard to democratic reform, Gallup and Pew polls taken since 1997 have shown that only about 1 in 4 Americans thought China is becoming more democratic and allowing its citizens more freedoms. About 3 in 5 thought this was not happening, and about 10% were not sure.<sup>33</sup> A May 1998 Harris poll showed a slim majority of Americans (51%) said there had been no change in the level of democratization since 1989.<sup>34</sup> The story is similar for economic reform. Pew and Gallup polls have found that a plurality rejects the idea that China's economy is "becoming more like the kind of free-market system found in the United States and other Western countries." In March 1999, just 34% thought this was happening, while 47% believed it was not. Nineteen percent did not know.<sup>35</sup>

It is likely that the disapproval of renewing MFN/NTR for China coupled with the perception that the policy has not produced positive change in China has played a key role in the public's rating of President Clinton's handling of US-China relations. In May 1999, just 36% approved and 46% disapproved, with 18% not sure.<sup>36</sup> This is consistent with results from the past three years, during which MFN status has been renewed annually. Approval of the president's overall performance during this period has been around 60%.

### **But Public Still Wants Trade with China and Opposes Punitive Stance**

Even though a majority opposes NTR and is likely to oppose WTO admission, a majority does believe that some trade with China is important and good for the US. In a May 1999 *Newsweek* poll, an overwhelming 80% agreed, "China is an important market and trading partner for the US."<sup>37</sup> Also, twice as many Americans said they thought trade with China is good for the US economy than said they thought it is bad for the economy (50% to 23%) in a June 1998 CBS/*New York Times* poll.<sup>38</sup>

While, as discussed, a majority tends to put a higher priority on pressing for human rights over promoting trade, there are some limits to how much economic cost this majority will bear. When a May 1999 CNN/*USA Today* poll posed two arguments, the one that said the US "should link human rights issues in China with US-China trade policy, *even if doing so hurts US economic interests*" (emphasis added) elicited just 46% support. Nearly as many, 45%, said they would prefer to not link human rights and trade "because doing so might hurt US economic interests."<sup>39</sup> Similarly, a May 1997 Fox News poll asked whether China's human rights record or the economic benefits of US-China trade should determine whether the US should renew China's MFN status. Forty-three percent chose the economic benefits, while 41% chose human rights.<sup>40</sup>

Also, while Americans do want to take a clear stand against China's human rights violations, they do not want to behave in a punitive or antagonizing fashion and do not want to go so far as to cut off all trade. For example, a September 1999 poll by Mark Penn, one of President Clinton's pollsters, found that to encourage change in China, just 29% wanted to "cut off trade with China to punish it for its crackdown on Democracy." Nearly two-thirds preferred to "constructively engage with China to keep it moving toward greater economic and political freedom."<sup>41</sup> Also in 1999, a *Newsweek* poll found only 37% thought the best way to "bring more democracy, human rights, and economic reform to China" was by "imposing greater penalties on China and limits on US-China relations." By contrast, 51% wanted to "continue the current policy of commercial dealings and other engagement."<sup>42</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Question: Which of the following statements comes closer to your view? The US (United States) should increase trade with China now, because doing so will promote more economic, political, and religious freedoms in that country. The US should not increase trade with China until the Chinese government gives more economic, political, and religious freedom to citizens.

Increase trade with China now	35%
Wait for Chinese reforms	61
No opinion	4

Organization: Gallup  
 Population Size: approx. 500  
 Date: Nov. 21, 1999

<sup>2</sup> Question: A major controversy in the area of international trade is whether the US should limit its trade with countries that are behaving in ways that do not live up to certain international standards. Some people say that the US should not limit trade with countries on the basis of these issues. They say that it is not the US's right to make these judgments, that international trade should not be saddled with these other issues, that such limits are rarely effective and that they cost the US business and thus jobs. Others say that there are concerns that are more important than trade. I am now going to tell you about a few cases in which some people say the US should limit its trade because of a country's behavior. Here's

the first one.

Should limit trade	74.6
Should not limit trade	21.2
Don't Know	3.7
Refused	.5

Organization: PIPA  
 Population Size: approx. 600  
 Date: Oct. 29, 1999

<sup>3</sup> Question: Do you agree or disagree that human rights abuses in China should cause the US (United States) to put increased restrictions on trade with China?

Increase restrictions	65%
Don't increase restrictions	22
Not sure	13

Organization: Zogby International  
 Population Size: 1001  
 Date: JUN 1999

<sup>4</sup> Question: Thinking about China, which of these two approaches do you think the United States should take in its policies toward China...take a strong stand on human rights even if this might jeopardize our diplomatic and trade relations with China, or establish strong diplomatic and trade relations with China, even if this requires overlooking some of China's human rights violations?

	05/27/99	10/27/97	2/06/97	05/09/96
Take strong stand on human rights	57	59	54	56
Establish strong diplomatic/trade relations	28	37	32	30
Neither/Both equally (vol.)	4	n/a	6	5
Not sure	11	4	8	9

Organization: Yankelovich Partners Inc./ Time, Cable News Network  
 Population Size: varies  
 Date: as noted above

<sup>5</sup> Question: Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view on our relationship with China? Statement A: We should maintain good trade relations with China, despite disagreements we might have with its human rights policies. Statement B: We should demand that China improve its human rights policies if China wants to continue to enjoy its current trade status with the United States.

	04/28/97	05/14/96	09/19/95
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Maintain good trade relations	27	30	33
Demand improved human rights policies	67	60	60
Neither (vol.)	3	5	4
Not sure	3	5	3

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal

Population Size: varies

Date: as noted above

<sup>6</sup> Question: Which one of the following statements best describes your position on trade with China?

Statement A: We should limit our trade with China until it improves its record on human rights.

Statement B: Trade with China is too important, and there are other ways to pressure China on its human rights record.

Limit trade with China	57%
Trade with China too important	33
Depends (vol.)	2
Not sure	8

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal

Population Size: approx. 500

Date: OCT 28, 1997

<sup>7</sup> Question: A major controversy in the area of international trade is whether the US should limit its trade with countries that are behaving in ways that do not live up to certain international standards. Some people say that the US should not limit trade with countries on the basis of these issues. They say that it is not the US's right to make these judgments, that international trade should not be saddled with these other issues, that such limits are rarely effective and that they cost the US business and thus jobs. Others say that there are concerns that are more important than trade. I am now going to tell you about a few cases in which some people say the US should limit its trade because of a country's behavior. Here's the (first/next) one.

The US says China has sold components for nuclear weapons and missiles to other countries, in violation of an international treaty. Do you think the US should or should not limit its trade with China for this reason?

Should limit trade	82.7
Should not limit trade	17.0
Don't Know	.4
Refused	-

Organization: PIPA

Population Size: approx. 600

Date: OCT 29, 1999

<sup>8</sup> Question: Indicate whether you think it is more important for the United States to take a strong stand on that issue, or whether it is more important for the US to maintain good diplomatic and economic relations with China.) Which is more important...for the US to take a strong stand on China's sale of nuclear weapons technology internationally, or for the US to maintain good relations with China?

Strong stand	72%
Maintain good relations	26
Don't know/Refused	4

Organization: Gallup Organization /Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today

Population Size: 631

Date: OCT 27, 1997

<sup>9</sup> Question: In response to these actions (classified information obtained by China), do you think the US (United States) should cut back its trade relations with China, or don't you think so? Yes 50% No 41 Not sure 9 Organization: Yankelovich Partners, Inc. / Time, Cable News Network Population Size: 1017 Date: MAY 27, 1999

Yes	50%
No	41
Not sure	9

Organization: Yankelovich Partners, Inc. / Time, Cable News Network

Population Size: 1017

Date: MAY 27, 1999

<sup>10</sup> **QUESTIONS ON NTR/MFN STATUS**

Question: Do you think we should grant China normal trade relations, the same status as most of our trading partners, or not?

Should	33%
Should not	56
DK	11

Organization: Penn, Schoen and Berland

Population Size: 1400

Date: AUG 2, 1998

Question: As you may know, the United States grants a trade status to most nations it trades with known as Most Favored Nation status. In your opinion, should the US grant this same status to China?

Should	36%
Should not	53
DK	12

Survey Organization: Gallup  
 Population Size: 935  
 Date: June 1, 1997

Question: As you may know, the United States grants a trade status to most nations it trades with known as (normal trade relations/most favored nation) treatment. In your opinion, should the US grant this same status to China?

	MFN	NTR
Should	29	32
Should not	57	54
DK	14	14

Organization: Pew Research Center  
 Population Size: approx. 600  
 Date: June 13, 1999

Question: Do you think we should or should not give China 'most favored nation' trading status--that is, allow them the same privileges and ability to trade with the United States that most other countries have?

Should	44%
Should not	49
DK	6

Organization: NBC News/Wall Street Journal  
 Population Size: 1006  
 Date: June 25, 1991

Question: Recently, President (Bill) Clinton approved a one-year renewal of Most Favored Nation status for China, which is the standard protection against trade restrictions that the U.S. (United States) gives to most of its trading partners. Do you favor or oppose the decision to give this status to our trade relations with China?

Favor	41%
Oppose	42
DK	17

Organization: NBC News/Wall Street Journal  
 Population Size: 1502  
 Date: June 8, 1993

Question: (With most countries in the world, we have an arrangement on trade under which we agree not to put any special tariffs or restrictions on goods from those countries. In return they do the same for

goods from the U.S. that go into their countries. This is called the 'most favored nation' treatment.)  
 Now, as far as China is concerned, would you like to see the U.S. and China give each other this 'most favored nation' treatment, or not?

Yes	53%
No	34
DK	13

Organization: ABC News/Harris  
 Population Size: 1500  
 Date: March 12, 1979

<sup>11</sup> Question: Do you think the United States should have free trade with China on the same terms the US gives its main trading partners or not? (ABC News)

Yes	44%
No	46
Not sure	10

Organization: ABC News  
 Population Size: unknown  
 Date: MAY 26, 1999 Ending date: June 2, 1998

<sup>12</sup> Question: Do you favor or oppose the recent agreement between China and the United States that would allow China to join the World Trade Organization?

Favor	54%
Oppose	33
No opinion	13

Organization: Gallup Organization  
 Population Size: approx. 500  
 Date: NOV 21, 1999

<sup>13</sup> Question: Do you favor or oppose allowing China to join the World Trade Organization?

Favor	44%
Oppose	36
Don't know	20

Organization: Opinion Dynamics / Fox News  
 Population Size: approx. 1000  
 Date: JUN 3, 1999

<sup>14</sup> Question: Some people say that the US (United States) should support China joining the World Trade Organization because it will increase cooperation with China and help the American economy. Others say the US should oppose China's membership in the World Trade Organization because that would reward China for spying on the US. Do you favor or oppose allowing china to join in the World Trade Organization?

Favor	33%
Oppose	49
Don't know	18

Organization: Opinion Dynamics / Fox News

Population Size: approx. 500

Date: JUN 3, 1999

<sup>15</sup> Question: China and the US (United States) are negotiating to allow China to join the main international trading organization, known as the World Trade Organization. Those in favor say that membership will encourage China to open its markets to more products, including American ones. Opponents say that China's trade practices aren't fair enough to allow it to be part of the world trading body. Do you favor or oppose allowing China to join the World Trade Organization?

Favor allowing China to join	38%
Oppose allowing China to join	47
Not sure	15

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal

Population Size: approx. 1000

Date: SEP 12, 1999

<sup>16</sup> Question: Which of the following statements comes closer to your view? The US (United States) should increase trade with China now, because doing so will promote more economic, political, and religious freedoms in that country. The US should not increase trade with China until the Chinese government gives more economic, political, and religious freedom to citizens.

Increase trade with China now	35%
Wait for Chinese reforms	61
No opinion	4

Organization: Gallup Organization

Population Size: approx. 500

Date: NOV 21, 1999

<sup>17</sup> Question: Do you agree or disagree that increased trade between the US (United States) and China is an effective way to insure [sic] improvements in China's human rights policies?

Agree	39%
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Disagree	43
Not sure	18

Organization: Zogby International  
Population Size: 800  
Date: JUNE 1999

<sup>18</sup> Question: Do you think that trade between China and Western nations will lead to China becoming more democratic, or don't you think so?

Yes	39%
No	47
Don't know/Refused	14

Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Pew Research Center  
Population Size: 1153  
Date: JUN 13, 1999

<sup>19</sup> Question: From what you know or have read, do you think that China's government is becoming more democratic and is allowing more freedoms for Chinese citizens, or do you think this is not happening?

	03/30/99+	10/27/97*
Becoming more democratic	23	26
Not happening	65	64
Don't know/Refused	12	10

Organization: +Princeton Survey Research Associates/Pew \*Gallup  
Population Size: varies  
Date: as noted above

<sup>20</sup> Question: Since 1989 do you think that China has become a more democratic country, less democratic, or has it not changed?

More democratic	31%
Less democratic	10
Has not changed	51
Don't know	7

Organization: Louis Harris And Associates  
Population Size: unknown  
Date: MAY 19, 1998

<sup>21</sup> Question: Do you think that China's economy is becoming more like the kind of free-market system found in the United States and other Western countries, or do you think this is not happening?

	3/30/99+	8/02/98+	10/27/97*
More free-market	34	41	34
Not happening	47	44	55
Don't know/Refused	19	15	11

Organization: +Princeton Survey Research Associates/PSRA \*Gallup

Population Size: varies

Date: as noted above

<sup>22</sup> QUESTIONS ON CLINTON HANDLING OF CHINA

	Approve Good Job	Disapprove Poor Job	DK Not sure
05/27/99*	36	46	18
05/14/99+	38	43	19
06/09/98~	35	37	28
06/02/98^	40	39	21
09/11/97#	37	37	26

\* Question: Do you think President (Bill) Clinton is doing a good job or a poor job... handling relations with China? (Time/CNN)

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling relations with China?

+Newsweek ~CBS/NYT ^ABC News

#Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is dealing with China? (Pew)

Population Size: varies Date: as noted above

<sup>23</sup> Question: Please tell me whether you generally agree or disagree with each of the following statements about China. Do you agree or disagree that... China is an important market and trading partner for the United States?

Agree	80%
Disagree	15
Don't know	5

Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Newsweek

Population Size: 405

Date: MAY 14, 1999

<sup>24</sup> Question: On balance, do you think trade with China--both buying and selling products--is good for the United States economy, or is it bad for the United States economy, or does it have no effect?

Good	50%
Bad	23
No effect	14
Don't know/No answer	13

Organization: CBS News/New York Times

Population Size: 1126

Date: JUN 9, 1998

<sup>25</sup> Question: Which of the following statements comes closer to your view...the United States should link human rights issues in China with US-China trade policy, even if doing so hurts US economic interests or the United States should not link human rights issues in China with US-China trade policy because doing so might hurt US economic interests?

	5/23/99	6/23/98	10/27/97
Should	46	47	55
Should not	45	45	36
Don't know/Refused	9	8	9

Organization: Gallup Organization / Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today

Population Size: varies

Date: as noted above

<sup>26</sup> Question: The US (United States) government must decide this year whether or not to renew China's most favored-nation status with the US Which do you think should be the more important factor in this decision: China's human rights record or the economic benefits of the US-China trade?

China's human rights record	41%
Economic benefits	43
Not sure	16

Organization: Opinion Dynamics Poll / Fox News

Population Size: unknown

Date: MAY 16, 1997

<sup>27</sup> Question: Which is the best way to encourage change in China?... By continuing to trade and constructively engage with China to keep it moving toward greater economic and political freedom, to work with our allies to cut off trade with China to punish it for its crackdown on Democracy

By continuing to trade and constructively engage with China to keep it moving toward greater economic and political freedom .	65%
To work with our allies to cut off trade with China to punish it for its crackdown on Democracy	29
Don't know	6

Organization: Mark Penn / Democratic Leadership Council

Population Size: 511

Date: SEP 29, 1999

<sup>28</sup> Question: What do you think is the best way for the United States to help bring more democracy, human rights, and economic reform to China? Is it...continuing the current policy of commercial dealings and other engagement, or imposing greater penalties on China and limits on US-China relations?

Continuing the current policy of commercial dealings and other engagement .	51%
Imposing greater penalties on China and limits limits on US-China relations	37
Don't know	12

Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Newsweek

Population Size: unknown

Date: MAY 14, 1999