



FOREIGN POLICY ANUPOLL SEPTEMBER 2014

ANUPOLL

Foreign policy

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About the survey

The ANUpoll is conducted for The Australian National University (ANU) by the Social Research Centre, Melbourne. The survey is a national random sample of the adult population aged 18 years and over conducted by telephone. In this survey, 1,204 people were interviewed between 12 and 25 May 2014, with a response rate of 56 per cent. The results have been weighted to represent the national population. The survey's margin of error is \pm 2.5 per cent. Full details of the survey can be found at http://www.anu.edu.au/ANUpoll/.

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VICE-CHANCELLOR'S MESSAGE



Foreign policy rarely becomes an issue in election campaigns or figures prominently in general political debate. Nevertheless, the depth and quality of Australia's relations with other countries helps to shape the level of trade and indirectly affects our economic prosperity. The aim of this ANUpoll, the 16th in the series, is to evaluate what the public thinks about foreign affairs and what it sees as the main priorities for Australia's foreign policy.

Public opinion on foreign affairs has less direct impact on public policy when compared to many other areas of government responsibility. However, public opinion across the broad spectrum of foreign policy—from relations with other countries to globalisation and levels of foreign aid—sets broad parameters on what policies are acceptable and what are not. Not least, it can identify the areas where government must provide leadership to the public.

The results of this ANUpoll suggest that the public is broadly comfortable with Australia's foreign aid program and most believe that aid should be allocated based on humanitarian need. The public is also comfortable with the concept of globalisation, although slightly less so with its impact on their own economic circumstances.

The economic rise of China has not undermined public support for Australia's long-standing defence links with the United States of America (USA). Nevertheless, a majority see China as a potential economic threat to Australia. In addition, there is a degree of wariness among the public about our relations with Indonesia. The public's perceptions of these issues accurately reflect the dilemmas that face contemporary Australian foreign policy.

ANUpoll was designed to inform public and policy debate as well as to assist in scholarly research. It builds on The Australian National University's long tradition of social survey research, which began in the 1960s. Today, it fulfils the University's mission of addressing topics of national importance.

I hope the release of this poll's findings contributes to a greater understanding of the nation's attitudes towards foreign policy.

Professor Ian Young AO
Vice-Chancellor and President

Foreign policy

SUPPORT FOR FOREIGN AID

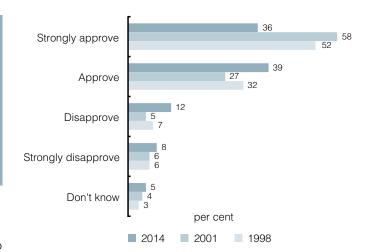
Key points

- > There is broad public support for foreign aid
- There has been a slight decline in overall public support for foreign aid, as well as in the strength of the public's commitment to it, compared to surveys conducted in the late 1990s and early 2000s.
- There is strong public support for allocating foreign aid based on humanitarian need rather than on commercial or political interests.

The appropriate level of foreign aid is often a contentious issue, but especially during periods of weak economic performance. In 2000 all United Nations member states committed themselves to the Millennium Development Goals, a set of eight development goals ranging from eradicating poverty and hunger to ensuring environmental sustainability. However, progress towards the goals have been uneven, due to the changing financial contributions of the major donor nations.

Between 1974 and its absorption into the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in October 2013, Australia's aid program was managed by the Australian Agency for International Development, or AusAID, and its predecessor agencies. The budget for overseas aid has varied as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product, depending on economic circumstances. The absorption of AusAID into the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade is intended to more directly align aid priorities with Australia's national interests.

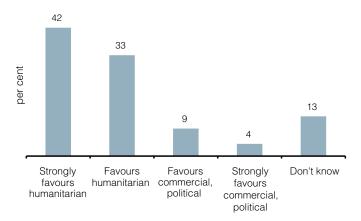
Public opinion is broadly supportive of foreign aid. In the 2014 ANUpoll, 75 per cent of the respondents "approved" of the government's aid program, and just 20 per cent "disapproved". However, this represents a decline in approval of 10 percentage points compared to 2001.¹ Moreover, in the earlier survey, 58 per cent 'strongly approved' of foreign aid, while the same figure in 2014 was substantially less, at 36 per cent. There has, therefore, been some weakening in public support for foreign aid, both in absolute terms and in the strength of the commitment.



"Do you generally approve or disapprove of the Australian Government providing aid to poorer countries around the world?"

Sources ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014; AusAID, Monitoring Public Opinion Towards Foreign Aid: Wave 2, 2001.

A large majority of the public believes that foreign aid should be allocated primarily on the basis of humanitarian need. Three in every four respondents took this view in the 2014 ANUpoll, compared to just 13 per cent who believed that the allocation of aid should take into account commercial and political interests. A relatively large proportion of respondents—13 per cent—had no view on the question.



"Do you think Australian government aid should be given primarily on humanitarian grounds, or do you think Australia's commercial and political interests should play a significant part?"

Sources ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

The public's current support for foreign aid, while representing a decline from figures recorded more than a decade ago, remains high by international standards. For example, in New Zealand the same question asked in 2004 elicited 76 per cent support for foreign aid. In the USA, surveys consistently show that around half of respondents want the level of foreign aid to be reduced.

Monitoring Public Opinion Towards Overseas Aid: Wave 2, 2001. http://aid.dfat.gov.au/Pages/home.aspx.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

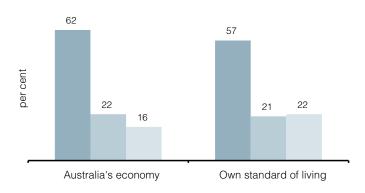
Key points

- Around two-thirds of the survey respondents believe that globalisation is good for the Australian economy, although slightly less see it as good for their own standard of living.
- The United Nations (UN) is viewed favourably by a large majority of the public.
- With the exception of the World Health Organization, there is much less confidence in other international institutions.

Globalisation is often characterised as representing an economic opportunity for nations, insofar as it encourages trade and investment across national boundaries. For individuals, particularly in the developed world, it can often represent a threat to their economic security, through greater international competition and lower labour costs.

The Australian public has always been alert to both the risks and the opportunities of globalisation. In general, the public's views on globalisation are shaped by perceptions of their own economic security.

In the 2014 ANUpoll, almost two-thirds of the respondents believed that globalisation was "mostly good" for the economy, with just under one in four believing that it was bad. There is slightly less support for globalisation having a positive effect on the respondent's own standard of living; 57 per cent thought that it was "mostly good", and 21 per cent that it was "mostly bad". A relatively large proportion—16 per cent for the first question and 22 per cent for the second question—answered "don't know" to the question, reflecting a relative lack of discussion about the topic in general political debate.



■ Good ■ Bad ■ Don't know

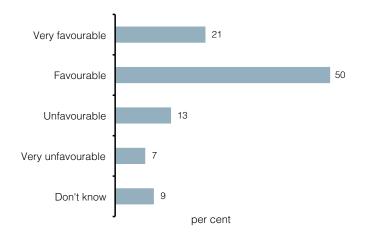
"Do you believe that globalisation is mostly good or mostly bad for Australia's economy?" and "Do you believe that globalisation has a mostly good or mostly bad effect on your own standard of living?"

Source ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

These figures are broadly in line with those found in other international surveys. For example, in the USA a 2004 survey found that 64 per cent thought that globalisation was "mostly good" for the USA economy, and 31 per cent thought that it was "mostly bad". This in itself represents a significant increase over figures recorded in 1998 and 2002, suggesting that the USA public is becoming more comfortable with the economic effects of globalisation.

Globalisation has also given international institutions a greater public profile, through perceptions of their ability to regulate international affairs. The UN has gained greater prominence through its mediation of international conflicts, while international economic institutions such as the World Bank have gained greater prominence, particularly since the 2007-2009 Global Financial Crisis.

² http://americans-world.org/digest/global_issues/globalization/data_general_new.cfm.

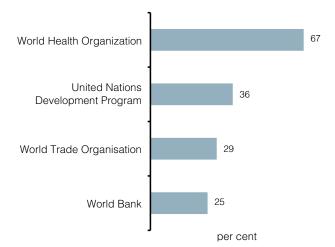




Source ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

The Australian public has very positive views of the UN. The 2014 ANUpoll found that around seven in every 10 respondents had a favourable view of the UN, one in five holding that view strongly. Just one in five had an unfavourable view. These are some of the strongest public endorsements of the UN found in any of the established democracies, based on a 2013 survey conducted by PewResearch.³ Australian support for the UN, at 71 per cent, is, for example, higher than the USA (58 per cent), Great Britain (64 per cent) and Germany (65 per cent).

The public is generally less supportive of other international institutions, with the exception of the World Health Organization, which attracts confidence from 67 per cent of the respondents. By contrast, the United Nations Development Program has the support of just one in three respondents, and the World Trade Organization and the World Bank, around one in four. However, for these institutions, the proportions of respondents who gave a "don't know" response is high, ranging from 23 per cent for the World Bank, to 36 per cent for the United Nations Development Program.



"I'm going to list some other international institutions. For each one, please say if you have a great deal of confidence in them, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or none at all." Figures combine "great deal" and "quite a lot".

Source ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

The public is therefore strongly supportive of the UN, but less so of other international institutions. In part, this may be a consequence of the lower public profile of these other institutions. In part, too, it reflects Australia's successful bid in late 2012 for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council. This gained considerable publicity at the time and heightened public awareness of the role of the UN.

³ http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/09/17/united-nations-retains-strong-global-image/

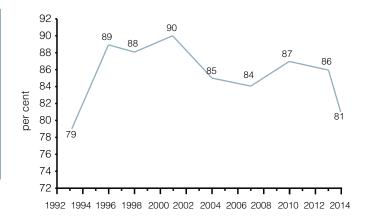
RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CHINA

Key points

- Public support for the security link with the USA remains strong, and has varied little over the pasi two decades.
- A minority of the public see China as representing a military threat to Australia, but just over half see China as an economic threat.
- Opinions are evenly divided on whether the USA or China is more important to Australia's foreign relations.

Maintaining the delicate balance between Australia's long-term security alliance with the USA and Australia's trade links with China is perhaps the greatest foreign policy challenge for any Australian government. The security alliance with the USA has formed the basis of Australia's defence policy since the 1950s. By contrast, the fact that Australia avoided a recession during the global financial crisis is largely attributable to its close trading ties with China during a period of unprecedented economic growth.

Public support for the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security (ANZUS) Treaty with the USA remains strong, and has varied relatively little since the early 1990s. It peaked at 90 per cent in 2001, just after the 9/11 attacks in the USA, when the ANZUS Treaty was invoked for the first time. In the 2014 ANUpoll, 81 per cent saw the ANZUS Treaty as important, 45 per cent of the respondents seeing it as "very important". This represents a modest decline of five percentage points on the same question in 2013.



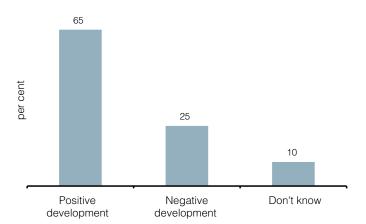
ANZUS important for Australia's security

"How important do you think the Australian alliance is with the United States under the ANZUS treaty for protecting Australia's security?" Figures combine "very important" and "fairly important".

Source Australian Election Study, 1993-2013; ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

In general, the growth of the Chinese economy is seen as a positive development for Australia. Around two-thirds of the respondents in the 2014 ANUpoll took this view, compared to just one in four who saw it as a negative development. These favourable views of China's economic development are higher than those found in the USA, where opinion is evenly divided over whether the rise of China is a positive or a negative development.⁴

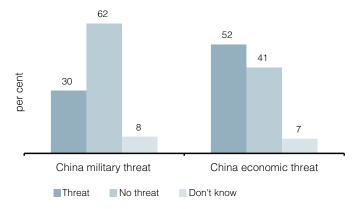
⁴ http://www.pollingreport.com/china.htm





Source ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

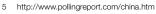
While China is not regarded as representing a military threat to Australia, a majority of the public see China as a potential economic threat. Three in every 10 respondents see China as a military threat, but 52 per cent see it as an economic threat. In general, the Australian public views China more benignly than their USA counterparts, where around half see China as a military threat and almost three quarters see it as an economic threat.⁵



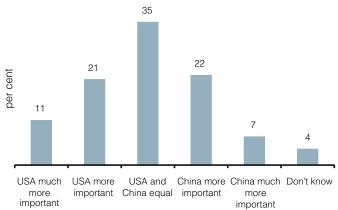
"Do you consider China to be a military threat to Australia, or not?" "Do you consider China to be an economic threat to Australia, or not?"

Source ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

Finally, if the public had to choose between the USA and China, which country does it regard as a more important priority for Australian foreign policy? There is a slight bias towards the USA, with 32 per cent seeing the USA as important compared to 29 per cent who opt for China. However, opinions are very much divided, with just over one in three seeing both as equally important. These figures are broadly in line with the 2013 Lowy poll which found more support for Australia's relationship with the USA than its relationship with China.⁶



⁶ http://www.lowyinstitute.org



"Which relationship do you think is more important to Australia? Australia's relationship with the United States or Australia's relationship with China?"

Source ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

In principle, Australia's long-standing defence alignment with the USA and its more recent economic links with China should not create tensions. In practice, maintaining the balance between the two creates considerable potential for difficulties. The public understands the dilemma and this is reflected in the division of opinions over which of the relationships is more important for Australian foreign policy.

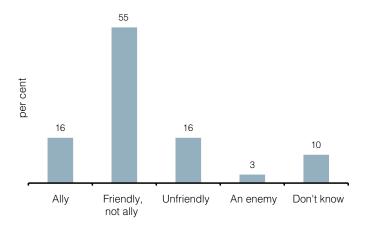
RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA

Key points

- A majority of the public regard Indonesia as a friend of Australia but not an ally.
- The public's wariness towards Indonesia is partly based on the perception that Indonesia has not assisted Australia on reducing terrorism and in combating people smuggling.

While much less economically important to Australia than China, relations with Indonesia are at least as delicate due to its close proximity. Over the past decade, there have been tensions with Indonesia with respect to Islamic terrorism and people smuggling. In 2001, following the Bali bombings, a significant minority of the public viewed Indonesia as a potential threat to Australia's security. However, in recent years that proportion has declined significantly, in line with closer political and strategic ties.

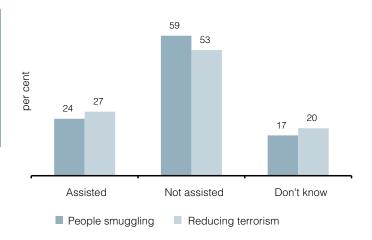
A majority of the respondents in the 2014 ANUpoll viewed Indonesia as friendly to Australia but not an ally. A further 16 per cent regarded Indonesia as an ally and the same proportion saw the country as friendly. Virtually no-one regarded Indonesia as an enemy. These figures largely reflect the wariness with which the public views Indonesia, and more generally Australia's relations with Asia as a whole, which has been recorded in successive Lowy polls, as well as in the Australian Election Study surveys.^{7,8}



"Do you consider Indonesia an ally of Australia?"

Source ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

The causes of this wariness towards Indonesia can be traced to the proportions who believe that Indonesia has not assisted with the two major issues of contention between the two countries, reducing terrorism and people smuggling. In each case, but especially with regard to people smuggling, a majority of the public take the view that Indonesia has not assisted Australia. Once again, these estimates are close to those recorded in the 2013 Lowy Poll, using similar questions.



"Do you think that Indonesia has assisted or not assisted Australia in combating people smuggling?" "And do you think that Indonesia has assisted or not assisted Australia in reducing the threat of terrorism?"

Source ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

The public's views of relations with Indonesia reflect the evolution of the bilateral relationship over the past decade, with a degree of friendship overlying tensions over terrorism and the problem of combatting people smugglers. Thus a large majority see Indonesia as either an ally or a friend, but equally recognise that more could be done on the issues that divide the two countries.

⁷ http://www.lowyinstitute.org/.

⁸ http://aes.anu.edu.au/.

KEY TRENDS: MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS AND POLITICAL MOOD

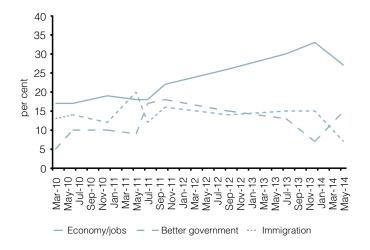
Key points

- The economy remains the most important problem facing Australia for respondents, followed by better government.
- Concerns about better government more than doubled compared to the previous ANUpoll, reflecting dissatisfaction with the May 2014 budget.
- The political mood is generally positive, but has suffered a 10 percentage point decline, largely as a result of the unpopular budget.

Since 2011 the economy and jobs have been the problems most frequently mentioned by the public. When asked in an openformat question to nominate the most important problem facing Australia, just over one in four mentioned the economy and jobs, a decline of six percentage points compared to the last poll conducted at the end of 2013.

The second ranked concern was better government, which jumped from seven per cent to 15 per cent, returning to the levels recorded in 2011 and 2012. The current ANUpoll was conducted between 12 and 24 May 2014 and responses were undoubtedly influenced by the unpopular budget, delivered on 13 May 2014. Indeed, seven per cent of the respondents mentioned the budget itself as the main issue facing Australia.

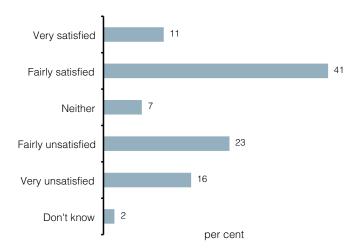
The third ranked concern is immigration (which includes asylum seekers), and was mentioned by seven per cent of the respondents as the most important problem facing the country. This is less than half the proportion who mentioned immigration at the end of 2013, and reflects the absence of refugee boat arrivals since the election of the Abbott Government in September 2013. The fourth ranked issue was education, mentioned by five per cent. No other issue was mentioned by five per cent or more of the respondents.



"What do you think is the most important problem facing Australia today?"

Sources ANUpolls, March 2010-June 2014.

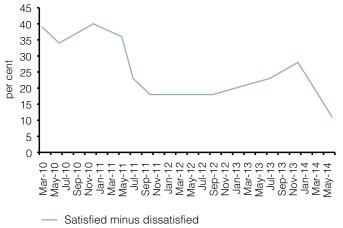
Since the December 2013 ANUpoll the political mood has become less positive. In the current survey, a total of 52 per cent said that they were satisfied with the way the country was heading, compared to 61 per cent in the earlier survey. Around four in 10 said that they were dissatisfied. Just seven per cent of the respondents took an intermediate view and only two per cent had no opinion.



"All things considered, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the country is heading?"

Source ANUpoll on Foreign Policy, 2014.

The long-term trend for the political mood shows the extent of the collapse in optimism following the August 2010 election, followed by a slow recovery during 2012 and 2013. However, the current ANUpoll shows a sharp decline, which can again be substantially traced back to the unpopular budget.



Sources ANUpolls, March 2010-June 2014.

ANUPOLL QUESTIONS

All things considered, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the country is heading?

	Frequency	Per cent
Very satisfied	129	10.7
Satisfied	497	41.3
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	87	7.2
Dissatisfied	278	23.1
Very dissatisfied	190	15.7
Refused	1	0.1
Don't know/not sure	23	1.9
Total	1,204	100

What do you think is the most important problem facing Australia today?

	Frequency	Per cent
Economy/jobs	323	26.8
Industrial relations	14	1.2
Interest rates	2	0.2
Housing affordability	12	1
Health care	52	4.4
Education	61	5.1
Defence/national security	4	0.3
Environment/global warming	47	3.9
Water management	2	0.1
Immigration	80	6.6
Indigenous affairs	1	0.1
Taxation	20	1.7
Better government	174	14.5
Law and order/crime/justice system	13	1.1
Ageing population	31	2.5
Values/morals/respect for others	31	2.6
Poverty/Social exclusion/inequality	45	3.7
The budget	81	6.8
Other (Specify)	11	0.9
(None/no other)	11	0.9
Trade balance/loss of jobs to overseas	4	0.3
Rural/farming issues	3	0.2
Social services (including aged care, the disabled, etc)	30	2.5
Infrastructure/ Planning/ Innovation	9	0.7
Alcohol and Drug use	8	0.6
Young people's behaviour/attitudes	9	0.7
Foreign influence/Australia's position in world	20	1.7
Family/community/societal breakdown	5	0.4
Refused	1	0.1
Don't know/can't say	101	8.4
Total	1,204	100

And what do you think is the second most important problem facing Australia today?

	Frequency	Per cent
Economy/jobs	218	20
Industrial relations	15	1.4
Interest rates	7	0.7
Housing affordability	19	1.7
Health care	91	8.3
Education	97	8.9
Defence/national security	4	0.3
Terrorism	1	0.1
Environment/global warming	61	5.6
Water management	6	0.5
Immigration	97	8.9
Indigenous affairs	2	0.2
Taxation	9	0.8
Better government	49	4.5
Law and order/ crime/ justice system	17	1.6
Ageing population	23	2.1
Values/ morals/ respect for others	32	3
Poverty/ Social exclusion/ inequality	62	5.7
Carbon Tax	1	0.1
The budget	35	3.2
Other (Specify)	13	1.2
(None/ no other)	19	1.7
Trade balance/loss of jobs to overseas	8	0.7
Rural/farming issues	4	0.3
Social services (including aged care, the disabled, etc.)	18	1.6
Infrastructure/ Planning/ Innovation	17	1.5
Alcohol and Drug use	9	0.8
Young people's behaviour/attitudes	3	0.3
Foreign influence/Australia's position in world	27	2.4
Family/community/societal breakdown	7	0.7
Refused	1	0.1
Don't know/can't say	122	11.2
Total	1,091	100

Thinking now about the issue of foreign aid, do you generally approve or disapprove of the Australian Government providing aid to poorer countries around the world?

	Frequency	Per cent
Strongly approve	440	36.5
Approve	469	39
Disapprove	142	11.8
Strongly disapprove	96	8
Refused	1	0.1
Don't know	57	4.7
Total	1,204	100

Do you think Australian government aid should be given primarily on humanitarian grounds, or do you think Australia's commercial and political interests should play a significant part?

	Frequency	Per cent
Strongly favour humanitarian grounds	505	41.9
Favour humanitarian grounds	393	32.6
Favour commercial and political interests	106	8.8
Strongly favour commercial and political interests	47	3.9
Refused	5	0.4
Don't know	148	12.3
Total	1,204	100

Do you believe that globalisation is mostly good or mostly bad for Australia's economy?

	Frequency	Per cent
Mostly good	742	61.7
Mostly bad	268	22.3
Refused	1	0.1
Don't know	192	15.9
Total	1,204	100

Do you believe that globalisation has a mostly good or mostly bad effect on your own standard of living?

	Frequency	Per cent
Mostly good	690	57.3
Mostly bad	253	21
Refused	5	0.4
Don't know	256	21.2
Total	1,204	100

What is your opinion of the United Nations?

	Frequency	Per cent
Very favourable	249	20.7
Somewhat favourable	604	50.2
Somewhat unfavourable	158	13.1
Very unfavourable	84	7
Refused	3	0.2
Don't know	106	8.8
Total	1,204	100

I'm going to list some other international institutions. For each one, please say if you have a great deal of confidence in them, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or none at all. ...the United Nations Development Program

	Frequency	Per cent
A great deal	124	10.3
Quite a lot	316	26.3
Not very much	251	20.8
None at all	75	6.2
Refused	3	0.2
Don't know	436	36.2
Total	1,204	100

...the World Health Organization

	Frequency	Per cent
A great deal	322	26.7
Quite a lot	482	40.1
Not very much	209	17.4
None at all	44	3.7
Don't know	146	12.1
Total	1,204	100

...the World Bank

	Frequency	Per cent
A great deal	61	5.1
Quite a lot	235	19.5
Not very much	449	37.3
None at all	185	15.4
Refused	2	0.2
Don't know	272	22.6
Total	1,204	100

...the World Trade Organization

	Frequency	Per cent
A great deal	77	6.4
Quite a lot	267	22.2
Not very much	450	37.4
None at all	117	9.7
Refused	2	0.1
Don't know	291	24.2
Total	1,204	100

How important do you think the Australian alliance is with the United States under the ANZUS treaty for protecting Australia's security?

	Frequency	Per cent
Very important	539	44.7
Fairly important	433	35.9
Not very important	128	10.6
Not at all important	51	4.2
Refused	3	0.3
Don't know	51	4.2
Total	1,204	100

Now, turning to China: do you think the growth of China as a major economy is a positive or a negative development for Australia?

	Frequency	Per cent
Positive development	786	65.3
Negative development	295	24.5
Refused	4	0.3
Don't know	119	9.9
Total	1,204	100

Do you consider China to be a military threat to Australia, or not?

	Frequency	Per cent
Yes, consider a threat	364	30.2
No, do not consider a threat	746	62
Refused	3	0.2
Don't know	92	7.6
Total	1,204	100

Do you consider China to be an economic threat to Australia, or not?

	Frequency	Per cent
Yes, consider a threat	628	52.1
No, do not consider a threat	491	40.8
Refused	3	0.3
Don't know	82	6.8
Total	1,204	100

Which relationship do you think is more important to Australia? Australia's relationship with the United States or Australia's relationship with China?

	Frequency	Per cent
Australia's relationship with US much more important	137	11.4
Australia's relationship with US more important	255	21.2
Both equally	424	35.2
Australia's relationship with China more important	260	21.6
Australia's relationship with China much more important	84	7
Refused	5	0.4
Don't know	39	3.2
Total	1,204	100

Do you consider Indonesia an ally of Australia, friendly but not an ally, unfriendly, or an enemy of Australia?

	Frequency	Per cent
Ally	195	16.2
Friendly but not an ally	658	54.7
Unfriendly	198	16.4
An enemy of Australia	32	2.7
Refused	5	0.4
Don't know	115	9.6
Total	1,204	100

Do you think that Indonesia has assisted or not assisted Australia in combating people smuggling?

	Frequency	Per cent
Assisted	286	23.8
Not assisted	713	59.2
Refused	9	0.8
Don't know	195	16.2
Total	1,204	100

And do you think that Indonesia has assisted or not assisted Australia in reducing the threat of terrorism?

	Frequency	Per cent
Assisted	324	26.9
Not assisted	634	52.6
Refused	8	0.7
Don't know	238	19.8
Total	1,204	100

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