The Centre for Political Studies and Public Opinion Research of the Institute of Social Sciences is conducting a public opinion poll. We examine the opinions of citizens about political and economic problems and issues, in particular about elections. The identification of public attitudes helps the problems to be solved more successfully and enables the citizens to get to know the public opinion in particular regions and social groups. You were chosen to be a part of the citizens’ sample, representing the population of Serbia. You were drawn by lot, but it is important for us that you personally answer the questions I’ll ask. The participation in this survey is voluntary and anonymous. We expect you to answer the questions freely and truthfully and thus contribute to the success of this survey. Thank you for your cooperation.

7. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female

Before we start the conversation, please tell me some of your personal data that we need for statistical processing.

8. How old are you? 1. 18-29 2. 30-39 3. 40-49 4. 50-59 5. 60 and over

9. What is the highest level of education you have attained?
   1. No school or incomplete primary 4. High school
   2. Primary school (8 grades) 5. Junior college
   3. Vocational training school 6. University or academy

10 - 11. What is your occupation?
   01. Farmer or housewife in a farmer’s household 06. Pupil, student
   02. Unskilled or half-skilled worker 07. Housewife
   03. Skilled or highly-skilled worker 08. Private entrepreneur-owner
   04. Clerk or a technician with high school 09. Retired
   05. Clerk or an expert with college or university degree 10. Unemployed
   11. Other

12. What is your ethnic background/nationality?
   1. Serb 5. Yugoslav
   2. Montenegrin 6. Hungarian
   3. Muslim 7. Slovak
   4. Croat 8. Roma
   9. Other nationality: _______________

13. Do you have children of school age? 1. Yes 2. No

14. How many members does your household have, including you? ___________ members

15. How much is the average monthly income of your household, including the salaries, pensions, maternity and child allowances, honorary and other jobs, income gained from agriculture etc.? ______________ dinars 9. Does not know

16. Are you registered into the voters’ list?
   1. Yes ---------> Q18 2. No ---------> Q17 9. Does not know ---------> Q18

17. Are you going to vote in the next republican or federal elections? Would you say that your participation in these elections is...
   1. Absolutely certain ---------> Q18 2. Very likely ---------> Q18
   3. Possible (Stop the conversation) 4. Not very likely (Stop the conversation)
   5. Not at all likely (Stop the conversation) 9. Does not know (Stop the conversation) 0.QNA

18. Did you vote in the first round of the elections for Serbian President in 1997? Who did you vote for?
   5. Vuk Draskovic 6. Other candidate (Write down): ______________ 9. Does not know

19. And did you vote in the run-off of the elections for Serbian President in 1997? Who did you vote for?
5. Other candidate mentioned
9. Does not know

In your opinion, what is the most important problem Serbia is facing today? And what is the next most important problem Serbia is facing today?


24. Do you expect that the conditions in Serbia will get better, get worse or remain the same in the next few years?
1. Get better
2. Get worse
3. Remain the same
4. Does not know

25-26. In your opinion, who is to blame for the poor economic situation in Serbia? (Only one answer)

27-28. In your opinion, what is the most important thing to be done in order to improve the situation in Serbia?

29. The next regular republic elections should be held as early as 2001. Are you pro or against holding the early elections on a federal, republic and local level by the end of this year?
1. Pro
2. Against
9. Does not know

30. What is the likelihood of you voting in the next republic elections - very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely or not at all likely?
1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
9. Does not know

31-32. Why are you not going to vote? __________________________________________
99. Does not know
00. QNA

33. If you think that there would be a great chance for SPS and Slobodan Milosevic to lose these elections, what would be the likelihood of you voting - much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?
1. Much more likely
2. Somewhat more likely
3. Somewhat less likely
4. Much less likely
9. Does not know

34. Some people think that there should be a boycott of next elections because they will not be free and fair if SPS and Slobodan Milosevic still hold power?
1. We should boycott the next round of elections
2. It is important to vote to express our feelings
9. Does not know

35. If the SPS, YUL and the Serbian Radical Party took part in the elections, and none of the opposition parties or coalitions participated, would you vote or boycott the elections?
1. Vote
2. Boycott
3. Does not know

36. And if the SPS, YUL, Serbian Radical Party and the Serbian Renewal Movement took part in the elections, and none of the other opposition parties or coalitions participated, would you vote or boycott the elections?
1. Vote
2. Boycott
3. Does not know

We would like to know your opinion about the people who are active in politics and public matters. For each person please tell me whether you have heard of him and whether your opinion of him is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable. Let’s start with … (Change the order of names)

Has not heard Very favourable Somewhat favourable Somewhat unfavourable Very unfavourable Does not know

37. Slobodan Milosevic 1 2 3 4 5 9
38. Vuk Draskovic 1 2 3 4 5 9
39. Zoran Djindjic 1 2 3 4 5 9
40. Vojislav Seselj 1 2 3 4 5 9
41. Vojislav Kostunica 1 2 3 4 5 9
42. Milan Panic 1 2 3 4 5 9
43. Milo Dijukanovic 1 2 3 4 5 9
44. Momcilo Perisic 1 2 3 4 5 9
45. Dragoslav Avramovic 1 2 3 4 5 9
46. Momir Bulatovic 1 2 3 4 5 9
47. Vuk Obradovic 1 2 3 4 5 9
48. Nebojsa Covic 1 2 3 4 5 9
49. Velimir Ilic 1 2 3 4 5 9
50. Vladan Batic 1 2 3 4 5 9
51. Milan St. Protic 1 2 3 4 5 9
52. Goran Svilanovic 1 2 3 4 5 9
Now I shall read to you the names of some political parties and coalitions. Please tell me for each of them whether you have heard of it, and if you have, whether your opinion of it is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party/Coalition</th>
<th>Has not heard</th>
<th>Very favourable</th>
<th>Somewhat favourable</th>
<th>Somewhat unfavourable</th>
<th>Very unfavourable</th>
<th>Does not know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Party of Serbia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Renewal Movement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Radical Party</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance for Change</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now I shall ask you some questions about republic elections.

60-61. If the elections were held tomorrow, which party or a coalition would you vote for?


62. Let us assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL and the opposition coalition Alliance for Change participated. Who would you vote for?


63. Let us assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL and Serbian Radical Party participated. Who would you vote for?


64. Let us assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL, Serbian Radical Party and the Serbian Renewal Movement participated. Who would you vote for?


65. Let us assume that the elections were held today, and that the coalition SPS-YUL, Alliance for Change, Serbian Renewal Movement and Serbian Radical Party participated. Who would you vote for?


66-67. From the following politicians, who would you choose first to be the leader of Yugoslavia?


68-69. And who of the following politicians would be your second choice for the leader of Yugoslavia?


70-71. And who would you never choose as the leader of Yugoslavia?


If you had to decide today who would be the leader of Yugoslavia, would you - definitely support, probably support, probably oppose, or definitely oppose?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Politician</th>
<th>Definitely support</th>
<th>Probably support</th>
<th>Probably oppose</th>
<th>Definitely oppose</th>
<th>Does not know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Milosevic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Draskovic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z. Djindjic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Avramovic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Perisic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Djukanovic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

78. Some people say that the transitional government should be formed made out of experts which would run the country in the transitional period and prepare the new elections. Others say that we do not need the transitional government of experts. Which opinion is the closest to yours?

1. There should be a transitional government of experts  2. We don’t need a transitional government of experts  9. Does not know

79. Is it more likely that you would vote for the candidate who insists upon economic progress or for the candidate who gives priority to the Serbian national question?

1. For candidate emphasizing economic progress  2. For candidate strong on the national question
80. Is it more likely that you would vote for the candidate who insists upon democratic political system progress or for the candidate who gives priority to the Serbian national question?
   1. For candidate emphasizing democratic political system  2. For candidate strong on the national question  9. Does not know
81. The President of Montenegro, Mr. Milo Djukanovic, announced that Montenegro could separate from Yugoslavia. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this decision?
82. If Montenegro separated anyway, would you be in favour of using force in order to keep it in Yugoslavia?
   1. Yes  2. No  9. Does not know
83. Do you believe that Serbia is a democratic country today?  1. Yes  2. No  9. Does not know
   Now I shall read to you some of the most important goals that could be set before the future leaders of Serbia and Yugoslavia. When I read to you each of them, please tell me how important is it to you personally on the scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means not important at all, and 5 extremely important to you. (Switch the order of goals)
84. Boosting of economy and improvement of standard of living of people in Serbia
   Not important at all  1  2  3  4  5 Extremely important  9. Does not know
85. Reintegration of Serbia into Europe and world
   Not important at all  1  2  3  4  5 Extremely important  9. Does not know
86. Regaining Serbian control over Kosovo and Metohija
   Not important at all  1  2  3  4  5 Extremely important  9. Does not know
87. Restoring Serbian dignity and pride
   Not important at all  1  2  3  4  5 Extremely important  9. Does not know
88. Bringing democracy and human rights in Serbia
   Not important at all  1  2  3  4  5 Extremely important  9. Does not know
89. Ending emigration of the young from Serbia into foreign countries
   Not important at all  1  2  3  4  5 Extremely important  9. Does not know
90. Fighting crime and corruption
   Not important at all  1  2  3  4  5 Extremely important  9. Does not know
91. Who do you find responsible for the conflict of Serbia and NATO – Bill Clinton or Slobodan Milosevic and the ruling coalition?
92. On the whole, what do you think about the achievements of Milosevic’s politics? Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove these achievements?
93. Some people think that it is necessary to hold referendum about whether Milosevic should resign now or stay in office until the end of his term. Would you strongly support this referendum, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose it?
94. If the referendum about the question whether Milosevic should resign now or stay in office until the end of his term, how would you vote?
   1. Stay in office until the end of his term  2. Resign  9. Does not know
95. Would you say that you personally are closer to Milosevic and the ruling coalition or to the opposition?
96. Some people say that Milosevic is a good leader because he bravely defended the nation by opposing our enemies and defending that in which we believe. Others say that he is a bad leader, since he caused four wars in a row, destroyed our standard of living and made us outcasts in the eyes of the world. Which of these opinions is the closest to yours?
   1. He has been a good leader  2. He has been a bad leader  9. Does not know
97. Some people believe that it was right to fight for Serbian countries and territories in the past few years. Others believe that fighting was a mistake because it weakened our country and made us poor.  9. Does not know
   (If 1 to Q97)  98. Some people say that Milosevic defended the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and in
Kosovo and Metohija, even despite the fact that most of the world fought against him. Others say that Milosevic betrayed Serbian people by surrendering in Kosovo and Metohija and elsewhere. Which of these opinions is the closest to yours?
1. He defended Serbian people  2. He betrayed Serbian people  9. Does not know  0. QNA

99. Some say that they had earlier believed that the policy pursued by Milosevic’s Government in order to protect the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and in Kosovo and Metohija was appropriate, but that, after all the losses, bombardment and destruction of economy, they estimate that the price was too high to pay. That policy was wrong and unsuccessful, and there must be a better way for defending the Serbian interest. Do you strongly agree with this claim, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it?

(If 1 or 2 to Q99) 100. Do you think that our Government’s policy should have been firmer and more aggressive, or more peaceful and diplomatic? 1. Firmer and more aggressive 2. More peaceful and diplomatic 9. Does not know 0. QNA

101. The Hague war crimes tribunal demands that Milosevic should be delivered to the Tribunal. Some people think that he should be delivered, others that he should not. Which of these two opinions is closer to yours?
1. Should be delivered  2. Shouldn’t be delivered  2. Does not know

(Use the Card POLITICANS FOR GOALS. Change the order of politicians.) Now I shall read to you some of the goals that can be set before political leaders. Please tell me which politician, in your estimate, would be the most successful for fulfilling each goal.

102-103. Rebuilding Serbia after the bombing
104-105. Boosting of economy and improvement of standard of living of people in Serbia
106-107. Reintegration of Serbia into Europe and world
108-109. Restoring Serbian dignity and pride
110-111. Bringing democracy and human rights in Serbia
112-113. Fighting crime and corruption
114-115. Regaining Serbian control over Kosovo and Metohija
116-117. Ending emigration of the young from Serbia into foreign countries
99. Does not know

118. Are you pro or against the recent anti-government rallies?

119. What is the likelihood of you personally taking part in anti-government rallies – is it very likely that you would take part, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or very unlikely?

Now I shall read to you several claims about the opposition leaders in Serbia. Please tell me, for each of them, whether you strongly agree with it, you somewhat agree with it, you somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it.

120. Opposition leaders spend so much time fighting among themselves that they do not manage to achieve the results they could achieve otherwise

121. They have good program for economic recovery, but do not have the program to protect the Serbian national interests

122. They are the traitors of this country because they closely cooperate with Western countries that are against us and that bombarded us

123. They are the losers who missed their chance

124. Some people believe that opposition must cooperate with the USA, Europe and the West, in order to open the borders and help lifting sanctions and reinte grating Serbia into the world. Others believe that the opposition leaders who talk to the representatives of Europe, the USA and the West are traitors because Western countries bombarded us and they are our enemies. Which opinion is closer to yours?
1. Opposition must cooperate with the USA, Europe and the West
2. Opposition leaders who talk to the representatives of Europe, the USA and the West are traitors
9. Does not know

125. Some people believe that Vuk Draskovic sold himself when he entered the Federal Government and showed that he is not a true opposition leader. Do you strongly agree with this opinion, you somewhat agree with it, you somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it?

126. Do you think that the information obtained via state TV is worth your trust?

Now I shall read to you some claims that can be heard in favour of the Alliance for Change. Please tell me, for each of them, whether it makes your support of the Alliance for Change much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely. (Change the order of claims)

127. “Development of dignity and pride in our country is not only a matter of fighting wars and conquering territories. It also assumes the country where people have enough to eat, where everyone can participate in democratic government and where young people want to create their future. The Alliance for Change can help create such a proud country.” Does this make your support of the Alliance for Change much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?


128. “Opposition is finally united. The Alliance for Change includes 40 parties, starting from the left to the right centre. They are trustworthy, capable and organized around several simple democratic ideas and goals. By acting together, they can help the recovery of our country.”


129. “What Serbia needs right now is reconciliation. We need the leaders who can negotiate and provide peace for us, not the leaders who unnecessarily risk our future. We should build a dignified and proud Serbia with free and fair elections. Alliance for Change can help us achieve that”.


130. “Serbia needs to find the way to get back to Europe. We were isolated from the main courses of social, social and economic progress so long that in this moment it is most important for us to find the way for building stable relations with our neighbours, Europe and the world. Alliance for Change can provide the experts who can make us part of the world again”.


And now I shall read to you some claims that can be heard against the Alliance for Change. Please tell me, for each of them, whether it makes your support of the Alliance for Change much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely. (Change the order of claims)

131. “Alliance for Change is exactly the same as the coalition “Zajedno” and all the other coalitions that appeared in the last several years. It is a bunch of spent politicians who had their chance in the past and missed it. Why would we trust them?” Does this make your support of the Alliance for Change much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?


132. “Milan Panic, Dragoslav Avramovic and others might be good businessmen, but what Serbia needs is a strong, resourceful political leader who knows how to defend us from NATO and the USA and to protect our national interests.”


133. “The problem with the opposition is that people who lead it are too focused upon themselves and their own ambitions to be capable of being a good challenge to Milosevic, and they surely would never be capable to rule efficiently. Take a look at Djindjic and Draskovic – they will never be on good terms and that is the reason why they cannot defeat Milosevic.”


134. “The problem with the Alliance for Change is that its leaders do not have any experience in ruling the country. In this key moment of our history it would be too dangerous to leave the country to people who had not previously proven themselves.”


Now I shall read to you some claims that can be heard against Slobodan Milosevic. Please tell me, for each of them, whether it makes your opposing to Milosevic much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely. (Change the order of claims)

135. “As the result of Milosevic’s policy, one third of Yugoslavs is unemployed, the salaries and pensions have decreased by 40 percent this year and millions of Serbs are poor and hungry. Domestic economy is devastated, and many young people leave the country because they are unable to make ends meet. Does this make your opposing to Milosevic much more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely or much less likely?

136. “Under Milosevic, Serbia has become detested in the world. Economic sanctions are killing us, and the relations with Western Europe are at the lowest level. Many countries consider Milosevic a war criminal who should be tried in The Hague. What we need is to reintegrate into world, and the only way to do that is without Milosevic.”


137. “Milosevic has always put his political interests above the interests of the people. He placed his friends in the Government and provided special privileges for them, while the rest of the country is suffering. Over and over again he gambled with our future for the sake of his own benefit in politics, and we are the losers.”


138. ”Ever since 1990 up to now many educated young people have left the country because of Milosevic’s policy. We cannot afford that. Fighting should end now and these young people should return so that they can help the recovery of the country for the next generation. That would be the Serbia we could be proud of.”


Thank you for your cooperation!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Card PARTIES</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01. Socialist Party of Serbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02. Yugoslav United Left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03. Serbian Radical Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04. Serbian Renewal Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05. Alliance for Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06. Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>07. Socialdemocracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>08. Democratic Alternative</td>
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<tr>
<td>09. New Democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Civil Alliance of Serbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Democratic Party of Serbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. The Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Party of Democratic Action</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Card POLITICIANS

01. Slobodan Milosevic
02. Vojislav Seselj
03. Vuk Draskovic
04. Zoran Djindjic
05. Milan Panic
06. Momcilo Perisic
07. Dragoslav Avramovic
08. Vuk Obradovic
09. Vojislav Kostunica
10. Milo Djukanovic
Questions 102-103... 116-117.

Card POLITICIANS FOR GOALS

01. Slobodan Milosevic
02. Vojislav Seselj
03. Vuk Draskovic
04. Zoran Djindjic
05. Vojislav Kostunica
06. Milan Panic
07. Momcilo Perisic
08. Dragoslav Avramovic
09. Vuk Obradovic
10. Nebojša Covic
11. Mladjan Dinkic