

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
& COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD, IV – GENERAL PUBLIC
FINAL TOPLINE
October 12 - 24, 2005
N=2006**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [**IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**]

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>approve</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>approve</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>
Late October, 2005	40	52	8=100	March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100
Early October, 2005	38	56	6=100	March 20-24, 2003	67	26	7=100
September 8-11, 2005	40	52	8=100	March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
September 6-7, 2005	40	52	8=100	February, 2003	54	36	10=100
July, 2005	44	48	8=100	January, 2003	58	32	10=100
June, 2005	42	49	9=100	2002			
Late May, 2005	42	48	10=100	December, 2002	61	28	11=100
Mid-May, 2005	43	50	7=100	Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
Late March, 2005	49	46	5=100	Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Mid-March, 2005	45	46	9=100	Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
February, 2005	46	47	7=100	Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
January, 2005	50	43	7=100	Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
2004				August, 2002	67	21	12=100
December, 2004	48	44	8=100	Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
August, 2004	46	45	9=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
July, 2004	46	46	8=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
June, 2004	48	43	9=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
May, 2004	44	48	8=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100	2001			
Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
February, 2004	48	44	8=100	Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100	Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100	Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
2003				August, 2001	50	32	18=100
December, 2003	57	34	9=100	July, 2001	51	32	17=100
November, 2003	50	40	10=100	June, 2001	50	33	17=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100	May, 2001	53	32	15=100
September, 2003	55	36	9=100	April, 2001	56	27	17=100
Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100	March, 2001	55	25	20=100
Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100	February, 2001	53	21	26=100
Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100				
Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100				
June, 2003	62	27	11=100				
May, 2003	65	27	8=100				
April 10-16, 2003	72	22	6=100				
April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100				
April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100				
March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100				

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

More specifically...

Q.2F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
a.F1 The nation's foreign policy	36	51	13=100
July, 2005	36	49	15=100
Mid-May, 2005	38	46	16=100
February, 2005	43	46	11=100
January, 2005	48	43	9=100
Mid-October, 2004	37	49	14=100
Early September, 2004	47	42	11=100
August, 2004	42	49	9=100
July, 2004	40	48	12=100
Mid-January, 2004	53	36	11=100
March, 2003	53	36	11=100
Early April, 2002	69	20	11=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 2001	81	14	5=100
Early September, 2001	46	34	20=100
August, 2001 ¹	45	32	23=100
Clinton : September, 1997	54	34	12=100
Bush, Sr : May, 1990	58	30	12=100
b.F1 The economy	36	56	8=100
Early September, 2005	33	60	7=100
July, 2005	38	53	9=100
Mid-May, 2005	35	57	8=100
February, 2005	43	50	7=100
January, 2005	45	50	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	38	55	7=100
Early September, 2004	44	49	7=100
August, 2004	42	52	6=100
July, 2004	42	52	6=100
June, 2004	43	50	7=100
Early April, 2004	39	53	8=100
Mid-January, 2004	47	47	6=100
September, 2003	43	48	9=100
February, 2003	43	48	9=100
January, 2003	47	45	8=100
Early October, 2002	49	40	11=100
June, 2002	53	36	11=100
January, 2002	60	28	12=100
Early September, 2001	47	44	9=100
February, 2001	50	22	28=100
c.F1 The situation in Iraq	37	57	6=100
Early September, 2005	34	58	8=100
July, 2005	35	57	8=100
Mid-May, 2005	37	56	7=100
February, 2005	40	53	7=100
January, 2005	45	50	5=100

¹ In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

Q.2F1 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
Mid-October, 2004	37	56	7=100
Early September, 2004	47	45	8=100
August, 2004	43	52	5=100
July, 2004	42	53	5=100
June, 2004	42	51	7=100
Late April, 2004	44	48	8=100
Early April, 2004	40	53	7=100
Mid-January, 2004	59	37	4=100
September, 2003	52	40	8=100
April 10-16, 2003 ²	77	17	6=100
April 8-9, 2003	71	23	6=100
--April 9, 2003	76	18	6=100
--April 8, 2003	65	28	7=100
April 2-7, 2003	73	21	6=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	26	5=100
March 25-27, 2003	73	23	4=100
March 23-24, 2003	72	22	6=100
March 20-22, 2003	70	23	7=100
February, 2003	56	37	7=100
January, 2003	56	36	8=100
Early October, 2002	56	34	10=100
d.F1 Terrorist threats	52	40	8=100
Early September, 2005	49	41	10=100
July, 2005	49	40	11=100
Mid-May, 2005	57	35	8=100
February, 2005	59	34	7=100
January, 2005	62	33	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	49	40	11=100
Early September, 2004	62	32	6=100
August, 2004	58	37	5=100
July, 2004	54	40	6=100
June, 2004	56	35	9=100
Late April, 2004	55	36	9=100
Early April, 2004	53	38	9=100
Gallup: December, 2003	65	33	2=100
September, 2003	64	28	8=100
February, 2003	67	25	8=100
January, 2003	69	23	8=100
Early October, 2002	71	22	7=100
June, 2002	74	18	8=100
Mid-September, 2001 ³	85	6	9=100
Clinton: Early September, 1998	72	20	8=100
e.F1 The nation's immigration policy	24	54	22=100

² From March to April 2003 the item was worded: "... dealing with the war in Iraq?" The 1991 Gallup trend was worded "...George Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region."

³ In Mid-September, 2001 the question was worded: "...dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington." In Early September 1998 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

ASK ALL:

And thinking about the world...

Q.3 All in all, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the WORLD these days?

		July <u>2004</u>	Sept <u>2002</u>	Early Sept <u>2001</u>	Sept <u>1997</u>	Oct <u>1993</u>	Sept <u>1993</u>
16	Satisfied	21	17	27	29	12	28
77	Dissatisfied	74	79	64	65	81	66
3	Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (VOL)	2	--	6	4	4	*
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.4F2 What is America's most important INTERNATIONAL problem today? [RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY — DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.]

47 MAINTAINING PEACE/WORLD UNREST

- 22 Situation in Iraq
- 16 Terrorism/International violence
- 3 All other peace/world unrest mentions
- 2 Middle East
- 2 Developed vs. underdeveloped/Gap between rich and poor nations/Poverty
- 1 Maintaining world peace/Peace keeper/Resolution of international disputes
- 1 Dealing with an emerging China/Managing the relationship with China

10 U.S. LEADERSHIP ROLE (NET)

- 4 George Bush/All other U.S. leadership role
- 3 Global image
- 2 Too big a role as peacekeeper/too much intervention/too meddlesome
- 1 Balance being world power with member of global community/Cooperation
- 1 Our/U.S. credibility/Maintaining the respect of other nations
- * What it means/Responsibilities of being (a/world's only) superpower

8 SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)

- 1 Hunger
- 1 Immigration/Controlling immigration to the U.S.A./Displaced people
- 1 Loss of jobs to foreign workers/foreign countries

6 ECONOMICS (NET)

- 7 Energy/Oil Crisis/concerns/Dependence on foreign oil
- 3 Too much foreign aid/Better to take care of our problems at home
- 3 Domestic policy/problem
- 1 Maintaining relationships/alliances/Seek greater unity with Europe/our allies
- 1 Environmental issues/global warming/US over consumption of world resources
- 1 International drug trafficking mentions/Drugs
- 1 Future of U.S. Armed Forces mentions/Defense/Stretched to our limits
- * Globalization/Adjusting to globalization
- 11 Don't know/No answer

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.5F1 What country in the world, if any, represents the greatest danger to the United States? [OPEN END; DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION. IF MULTIPLE MENTIONS ONLY RECORD EXPLANATION IF NECESSARY FOR CLARIFICATION.]

		Early					
		Sept	Sept	April	Jan	Feb	March
		<u>2001</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1990</u>
18	Iraq	16	18	14	17	12	*
16	China	32	11	6	9	8	8
13	North Korea	1	1	--	*	*	*
9	Iran	5	7	6	6	4	6
8	Other Middle East	9	1	6	5	8	7
7	United States	2	*	6	6	3	4
2	Al Qaeda/Terrorist groups mentions	*	--	--	--	--	--
2	Russia/Former Soviet Union	9	8	16	13	13	32
1	Japan	3	11	9	8	31	8
*	Cuba	2	*	1	1	1	3
3	Other	7	13	7	5	2	13
8	None/Not just one country	2	6	12	9	5	6
17	Don't know/Refused	20	24	17	21	13	13

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.6F2 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]

		Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	
		<u>Closely</u>	<u>Closely</u>	<u>Closely</u>	<u>Closely</u>	DK/Ref
a.F2	Reports about the constitutional referendum in Iraq February, 2005 <i>Recent election in Iraq</i>	19 27	34 39	23 18	24 16	*=100 *=100
b.F2	The earthquake in Pakistan January, 2005 <i>Earthquake and Tsunami in Indian Ocean</i>	22 58	39 32	23 7	16 3	*=100 *=100
c.F2	The outbreak of bird flu in Asia and Europe January, 1998 <i>Outbreak of an Asian flu</i>	22 19	33 36	24 25	20 20	1=100 *=100
d.F2	The outcome of the German presidential election May, 2002 <i>Right-wing candidate victory in French election</i> June, 2001 <i>Labour Party victory in British election</i>	4 6 4	12 13 11	21 23 21	62 57 63	1=100 1=100 1=100
e.F2	The recent terrorist bombings in Bali, Indonesia July, 2005 <i>London</i> March, 2004 <i>Madrid</i> Late October, 2002 <i>Bali nightclubs</i>	13 48 34 20	31 37 35 34	26 11 18 25	29 4 12 20	1=100 *=100 1=100 1=100
f.F2	The high price of gasoline these days Early October, 2005 Early September, 2005 Mid-May, 2005 Mid-March, 2005 Mid-October, 2004 August, 2004	67 65 71 58 50 64 52	23 25 19 27 32 22 29	7 6 7 9 13 8 10	3 3 3 5 5 5 8	*=100 1=100 *=100 1=100 *=100 1=100 1=100

Q.6F2 CONTINUED...

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
July, 2004	56	25	11	7	1=100
June, 2004	58	26	9	6	1=100
April, 2004	46	30	15	8	1=100
Early April, 2004	58	23	10	8	1=100
Mid-March, 2004	47	27	14	10	2=100
September, 2003	45	27	15	11	1=100
March, 2003	52	27	11	9	1=100
February, 2003	53	25	12	9	1=100
June, 2001	56	31	7	5	1=100
May, 2001	61	26	6	6	1=100
Early October, 2000	56	25	12	6	1=100
June, 2000 ⁴	61	25	9	5	*=100
March, 2000	58	28	10	4	*=100
October, 1990	62	26	8	4	*=100
September, 1990	56	28	11	5	*=100
August, 1990	57	27	10	5	1=100

g.F2 The impact of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita on New Orleans and the Gulf Coast	69	24	5	2	*=100
Early October, 2005	73	21	4	2	*=100
Early September, 2005 <i>Impact of Katrina</i>	70	21	7	2	*=100
July, 2005 <i>Hurricanes affecting the Gulf Coast</i>	38	37	17	8	*=100
Early October, 2002 <i>Gulf of Mexico & Louisiana</i>	38	34	18	10	*=100

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Now thinking about some groups and organizations ... Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	-----Favorable-----			----Unfavorable----			Never Heard of	Can't Rate
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly		
a. The United Nations	48	9	39	39	15	24	1	12=100
Late March, 2005	59	14	45	32	11	21	*	9=100
Late February, 2004	55	14	41	35	15	20	--	10=100
Early September, 2001	77	23	54	18	6	12	1	4=100
August, 1999	76	19	57	19	5	14	*	5=100
June, 1999	70	19	51	23	7	16	0	7=100
Early September, 1998	69	14	55	23	7	16	*	8=100
September, 1997	64	11	53	28	9	19	*	8=100
February, 1996	65	19	46	29	9	20	1	5=100
June, 1995	67	14	53	28	8	20	*	5=100
February, 1995	62	13	49	26	8	18	*	12=100
July, 1994	76	21	55	19	5	14	1	4=100
May, 1993	73	21	52	17	4	13	0	10=100
May, 1990	70	15	55	19	6	13	1	10=100

⁴ In August 1990 through June 2000 the story was listed as "Recent increases in the price of gasoline."

Q.7 CONTINUED...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never	Can't
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Rate</u>
b.	The European Union	33	5	28	27	11	16	14	26=100
	Late February, 2004	39	7	32	26	9	17	7	28=100
	Early September, 2001	38	6	32	23	5	18	20	19=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

cF1.	Business corporations	45	8	37	45	16	29	*	10=100
	July, 2005	49	9	40	40	11	29	*	11=100
	March, 2002	62	10	52	29	6	23	1	8=100
	July, 2001	59	9	50	27	6	21	*	14=100
	March, 2001	65	9	56	25	6	19	1	9=100
	August, 1999	73	8	65	22	3	19	0	5=100
	Early September, 1998	64	9	55	26	5	21	*	10=100
	October, 1997	66	11	55	28	5	23	*	6=100
	June, 1997	68	8	60	25	7	18	*	7=100
	May, 1997	59	9	50	28	7	21	1	12=100
	June, 1996	62	10	52	31	6	25	*	7=100
	February, 1996	59	9	50	34	10	24	1	6=100
	October, 1995	60	6	54	36	7	29	0	4=100
	July, 1994	70	8	62	24	5	19	*	6=100
	November, 1991	65	8	57	28	6	22	0	7=100
	January, 1988	59	6	53	32	5	27	*	9=100
	June, 1985	58	8	50	31	7	24	1	10=100
d.F1	The federal government in Washington	45	6	39	48	16	32	*	7=100
	February, 2004	59	10	49	36	11	25	*	5=100
	April, 2003	73	14	59	22	5	17	0	5=100
	December, 2002	64	11	53	27	7	20	*	9=100
	Mid-November, 2001	82	17	65	15	3	12	0	3=100
	Late October, 2000 (RVs)	54	7	47	40	10	30	*	6=100
	October, 1997	38	4	34	59	18	41	0	3=100
e.F1	Congress	45	7	38	45	13	32	*	10=100
	July, 2005	49	6	43	40	11	29	*	11=100
	June, 2005	49	6	43	40	10	30	*	11=100
	June, 2004	56	7	49	33	7	26	*	11=100
	July, 2001	57	7	50	32	8	24	*	11=100
	March, 2001	56	6	50	36	10	26	1	7=100
	January, 2001	64	10	54	23	5	18	1	12=100
	September, 2000 (RVs)	61	8	53	32	5	27	*	7=100
	August, 1999	63	8	55	34	7	27	*	3=100
	June, 1999	56	9	47	39	9	30	*	5=100
	February, 1999	52	4	48	44	8	36	0	4=100
	January, 1999	48	7	41	45	15	30	0	7=100
	Early December, 1998	52	11	41	41	12	29	0	7=100
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	62	7	55	33	8	25	0	5=100
	Early September, 1998	66	7	59	27	5	22	0	7=100
	October, 1997	53	5	48	44	11	33	0	3=100
	August, 1997	50	6	44	44	11	33	0	6=100
	June, 1997	52	4	48	42	8	34	0	6=100

Q.7 CONTINUED...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never	Can't
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Rate</u>
	May, 1997	49	5	44	42	10	32	*	9=100
	February, 1997	52	6	46	40	9	31	*	8=100
	January, 1997	56	6	50	40	8	32	*	4=100
	June, 1996	45	6	39	50	12	38	*	5=100
	April, 1996	45	6	39	50	13	37	0	5=100
	January, 1996	42	4	38	54	16	38	*	4=100
	October, 1995	42	4	38	55	13	42	0	3=100
	August, 1995	45	5	40	47	13	34	*	7=100
	June, 1995	53	8	45	42	11	31	*	5=100
	February, 1995	54	10	44	37	10	27	0	9=100
	July, 1994	53	7	46	43	9	34	*	4=100
	May, 1993	43	8	35	48	13	35	0	9=100
	November, 1991	51	7	44	43	9	34	0	6=100
	March, 1991	66	16	50	26	7	19	0	8=100
	May, 1990	59	6	53	34	9	25	1	6=100
	May, 1988	64	8	56	28	5	23	0	8=100
	January, 1988	64	6	58	29	4	25	0	7=100
	May, 1987	74	10	64	20	4	16	*	6=100
	January, 1987	59	7	52	31	8	23	0	10=100
	June, 1985	67	9	58	26	5	21	*	7=100
f.F1	The Supreme Court	62	12	50	27	10	17	*	11=100
	July, 2005	61	12	49	28	10	18	*	11=100
	June, 2005	57	8	49	30	8	22	*	13=100
	July, 2001	70	15	55	20	6	14	*	10=100
	March, 2001	72	15	57	20	5	15	*	8=100
	January, 2001	68	18	50	21	8	13	1	10=100
	October, 1997	77	13	64	18	6	12	*	5=100
	May, 1997	72	16	56	22	5	17	0	6=100
	July, 1994	80	18	62	16	3	13	*	4=100
	May, 1993	73	17	56	18	4	14	0	9=100
	November, 1991	72	18	54	21	5	16	0	7=100
	May, 1990	65	10	55	25	7	18	1	9=100
	January, 1988	79	14	65	13	2	11	*	8=100
	May, 1987	76	13	63	17	2	15	*	7=100
Roper:	March 1985	64	17	47	28	7	21		8=100
g.F1	The military	82	44	38	12	4	8	0	6=100
	Late March, 2005	87	49	38	9	3	6	*	4=100
	June, 2004	85	48	37	10	3	7	*	5=100
Newsweek:	May 16-17, 2002	93	59	34	5	2	3	--	2=100
Newsweek:	September 13-14, 2001	94	58	36	4	2	2	--	2=100
	July, 2001	81	29	52	11	4	7	*	8=100
	January, 2001	82	32	50	12	3	9	0	6=100
	August, 1999	89	30	59	10	2	8	*	1=100
	June, 1999	83	36	47	13	2	11	0	4=100
	Early September, 1998	86	29	57	10	3	7	0	4=100
	October, 1997	78	22	56	18	5	13	0	4=100
	May, 1997	80	23	57	16	5	11	0	4=100
	February, 1996	82	33	49	16	4	12	*	2=100
	July, 1994	87	30	57	11	3	8	*	2=100
	May, 1993	85	32	53	10	2	8	0	5=100
	March, 1991	94	60	34	4	2	2	0	2=100
	May, 1990	73	18	55	21	6	15	*	6=100

Q.7 CONTINUED...

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never Heard of	Can't Rate
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>		
January, 1988	77	20	57	17	3	14	*	6=100
April, 1987	80	17	63	16	4	12	0	4=100
January, 1987	73	19	54	16	5	11	*	11=100
July, 1986	85	32	53	10	3	7	0	5=100
June, 1985	77	24	53	18	5	13	*	5=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,003]:

h.F2	The Republican Party	42	12	30	49	24	25	*	9=100
	July, 2005	48	13	35	43	18	25	*	9=100
	June, 2005	48	11	37	44	20	24	0	8=100
	December, 2004	52	15	37	42	17	25	0	6=100
	June, 2004	51	12	39	40	14	26	0	9=100
	Early February, 2004	52	14	38	42	16	26	*	6=100
	June, 2003	58	14	44	33	10	23	0	9=100
	April, 2003	63	14	49	31	10	21	*	6=100
	December, 2002	59	18	41	33	11	22	*	8=100
	July, 2001	48	11	37	42	15	27	*	10=100
	January, 2001	56	13	43	35	13	22	*	9=100
	September, 2000 (RVs)	53	11	42	40	12	28	0	7=100
	August, 1999	53	8	45	43	12	31	*	4=100
	February, 1999	44	7	37	51	15	36	0	5=100
	January, 1999	44	10	34	50	23	27	0	6=100
	Early December, 1998	46	11	35	47	20	27	*	7=100
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	9	43	42	14	28	0	6=100
	Early September, 1998	56	9	47	37	11	26	*	7=100
	March, 1998	50	10	40	43	12	31	*	7=100
	August, 1997	47	9	38	47	11	36	*	6=100
	June, 1997	51	8	43	42	11	31	1	6=100
	January, 1997	52	8	44	43	10	33	*	5=100
	October, 1995	52	10	42	44	16	28	*	4=100
	December, 1994	67	21	46	27	8	19	*	6=100
	July, 1994	63	12	51	33	8	25	*	4=100
	May, 1993	54	12	42	35	10	25	0	11=100
	July, 1992	46	9	37	48	17	31	*	6=100
i.F2	The Democratic Party	49	14	35	41	15	26	*	10=100
	July, 2005	50	15	35	41	14	27	*	9=100
	June, 2005	52	12	40	39	13	26	*	9=100
	December, 2004	53	13	40	41	14	27	*	6=100
	June, 2004	54	12	42	36	11	25	0	10=100
	Early February, 2004	58	14	44	37	9	28	*	5=100
	June, 2003	54	11	43	38	10	28	0	8=100
	April, 2003	57	13	44	36	11	25	*	7=100
	December, 2002	54	15	39	37	10	27	*	9=100
	July, 2001	58	18	40	34	10	24	*	8=100
	January, 2001	60	18	42	30	9	21	1	9=100
	September, 2000 (RVs)	60	16	44	35	12	23	*	5=100
	August, 1999	59	14	45	37	9	28	*	4=100
	February, 1999	58	11	47	37	11	26	0	5=100
	January, 1999	55	14	41	38	12	26	0	7=100

Q.7 CONTINUED...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never	Can't
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Rate</u>
	Early December, 1998	59	18	41	34	10	24	0	7=100
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	56	11	45	38	9	29	*	6=100
	Early September, 1998	60	13	47	33	8	25	*	7=100
	March, 1998	58	15	43	36	10	26	*	6=100
	August, 1997	52	11	41	42	10	32	0	6=100
	June, 1997	61	10	51	33	8	25	*	6=100
	January, 1997	60	13	47	35	7	28	*	5=100
	October, 1995	49	9	40	48	11	37	0	3=100
	December, 1994	50	13	37	44	13	31	*	6=100
	July, 1994	62	13	49	34	7	27	*	4=100
	May, 1993	57	14	43	34	9	25	0	9=100
	July, 1992	61	17	44	33	9	24	*	6=100
j.F2	The news media	52	11	41	42	13	29	0	6=100
	Mid-March, 2005	56	12	44	40	13	27	0	4=100
	December, 2004	43	8	35	51	18	33	*	6=100
	Late October, 2000 (RVs)	50	7	43	45	14	31	0	5=100
	February, 1999	49	6	43	49	15	34	0	2=100
	March, 1998	48	9	39	50	16	34	*	2=100
	October, 1997	50	7	43	48	14	34	*	2=100
k.F2	Oil companies	20	5	15	72	34	38	*	8=100
	Mid-March, 2005	27	6	21	65	34	31	*	8=100
	July, 2001	32	7	25	58	21	37	0	10=100
	Late October, 2000 (RVs)	32	5	27	56	21	35	*	12=100
l.F2	The Defense Department	56	14	42	32	13	19	1	11=100
	October, 1997	76	18	58	19	4	15	*	5=100
	Roper, April 1987	57	16	41	36	14	22		7=100
	Roper, April 1986	66	22	44	29	10	19		5=100
	Roper, April 1985	54	15	39	37	15	22		9=100
	Roper, April 1984	54	15	39	39	15	24		7=100
	Roper, April 1983	54	14	40	38	15	23		8=100

ASK ALL:

Q.8 Now I'd like your views on some people. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **[INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]**

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL)	(VOL)
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Can't</u>
a.	George W. Bush	46	17	29	51	29	22	*	3=100
	July, 2005	51	22	29	46	25	21	0	3=100
	Late March, 2005	53	23	30	45	27	18	0	2=100
	Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	56	26	30	42	23	19	*	2=100
	Early October, 2004 (RVs)	57	27	30	40	20	20	0	3=100
	Early September, 2004	52	25	27	43	24	19	*	5=100
	August, 2004	58	27	31	39	22	17	0	3=100
	June, 2004	52	19	33	45	22	23	*	3=100
	Early February, 2004	53	21	32	44	25	19	0	3=100
	January 29-February 1, 2004	52	--	--	47	--	--	--	1=100

Q.8 CONTINUED...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL) Never	(VOL) Can't
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Rate/Ref</u>
<i>Gallup:</i>	January 2-5, 2004	65	--	--	35	--	--	--	*=100
<i>Gallup:</i>	October 6-8, 2003	60	--	--	39	--	--	--	1=100
<i>Gallup:</i>	June 9-10, 2003	66	--	--	33	--	--	--	1=100
	April, 2003	72	37	35	25	11	14	0	3=100
	December, 2002	68	35	33	27	11	16	0	5=100
	July, 2001	61	22	39	35	14	21	*	4=100
	January, 2001	60	24	36	33	12	21	0	7=100
	May, 2000	58	18	40	31	12	19	1	10=100
	March, 1999 ⁵	61	21	40	21	7	14	4	14=100
	November, 1997	54	13	41	18	6	12	9	19=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

b.F1	Bill Clinton	62	26	36	34	18	16	*	4=100
	Late March, 2005	64	24	40	32	13	19	0	4=100
	December, 2002	46	17	29	49	27	22	*	5=100
	July, 2001	50	20	30	46	27	19	0	4=100
	January, 2001	64	23	41	34	17	17	0	2=100
	May, 2000	48	17	31	47	28	19	*	5=100
	March, 1999	55	21	34	42	23	19	*	3=100
	December, 1998	55	23	32	43	24	19	0	2=100
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	15	37	44	24	20	0	4=100
	Early September, 1998	57	18	39	41	23	18	0	2=100
	Late August, 1998	54	18	36	44	24	20	0	2=100
	March, 1998	62	22	40	35	16	19	*	3=100
	November, 1997	63	19	44	35	14	21	0	2=100
	October, 1997	62	15	47	36	16	20	*	2=100
	September, 1997	62	18	44	35	14	21	0	3=100
	August, 1997	61	16	45	38	17	21	0	1=100
	April, 1997	61	17	44	37	16	21	*	2=100
	January, 1997	66	17	49	32	14	18	*	2=100
	October, 1996 (RVs)	57	12	45	41	19	22	0	2=100
	June, 1996	61	16	45	37	14	23	*	2=100
	April, 1996	57	16	41	40	16	24	0	3=100
	February, 1996	55	20	35	43	21	22	0	2=100
	January, 1996	56	13	43	42	15	27	0	2=100
	August, 1995	49	13	36	49	20	29	0	2=100
	February, 1995	55	14	41	42	17	25	0	3=100
	December, 1994	51	17	34	46	22	24	0	3=100
	July, 1994	58	15	43	41	16	25	*	1=100
	May, 1993	60	18	42	35	12	23	0	5=100
	July, 1992	59	17	42	34	9	25	0	7=100
	June, 1992	46	10	36	47	14	33	1	6=100
	May, 1992	53	11	42	42	10	32	*	5=100
	March, 1992	53	10	43	40	11	29	1	6=100
	February, 1992	59	15	44	31	7	24	2	8=100
	January, 1992	37	9	28	15	4	11	27	21=100
	November, 1991	30	5	25	10	2	8	39	21=100

⁵ In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

Q.8 CONTINUED...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL) Never	(VOL) Can't
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Rate/Ref</u>
c.F1	John Kerry	46	12	34	43	20	23	2	9=100
	Late March, 2005	49	13	36	41	17	24	2	8=100
	Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	56	21	35	40	16	24	0	3=100
	Early October, 2004 (RVs)	53	16	37	41	16	25	*	6=100
	Early September, 2004	49	17	32	43	19	24	*	8=100
	August, 2004	56	23	33	36	14	22	1	7=100
	June, 2004	50	11	39	41	16	25	0	9=100
	Early February, 2004	58	14	44	28	8	20	1	13=100
	January, 2003	30	6	24	16	4	12	36	18=100
d.F1	John Edwards	50	12	38	23	6	17	10	17=100
	Mid-October, 2004 ⁶	58	18	40	31	13	18	1	10=100
	Early October, 2004	50	16	34	28	11	17	2	20=100
	Early September, 2004	54	18	36	30	10	20	2	14=100
	August, 2004	61	24	37	25	6	19	2	12=100
	Early February, 2004	45	9	36	25	8	17	5	24=100
	January, 2003	23	4	19	14	3	11	40	23=100
e.F1	Dick Cheney	43	12	31	46	22	24	2	9=100
	Late March, 2005	48	15	33	42	20	22	2	8=100
	Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	48	17	31	46	25	21	*	6=100
	Early October, 2004 (RVs)	48	14	34	41	20	21	*	11=100
	Early September, 2004	43	13	30	42	23	19	2	13=100
	August, 2004	47	13	34	41	20	21	2	10=100
	April, 2003	60	21	39	27	12	15	3	10=100
	December, 2002	59	20	39	26	10	16	5	10=100
	July, 2001	58	19	39	26	6	20	6	10=100
	January, 2001	62	20	42	18	5	13	2	18=100
	December, 1994	42	10	32	19	5	14	21	18=100
	March, 1991 ⁷	68	33	35	6	2	4	10	16=100
	May, 1990	20	3	17	11	3	8	44	25=100
f.F1	Condoleezza Rice	60	23	37	25	9	16	6	9=100
	Late March, 2005	57	22	35	28	11	17	5	10=100
g.F1	John McCain	56	15	41	19	5	14	10	15=100
	Late March, 2005	59	15	44	17	4	13	8	16=100
	July, 2001	51	14	37	22	5	17	13	14=100
	January, 2001	59	18	41	15	3	12	9	17=100
	May, 2000	54	14	40	20	5	15	11	15=100
ABC/WP:	February, 2000	60	--	--	21	--	--	--	19=100
CNN/USA Today/Gallup:	December, 1999 ⁸	57	--	--	11	--	--	14	18=100

⁶ Trend numbers are based on registered voters.

⁷ In March 1991 and May 1990 the category was listed: "Richard Cheney."

⁸ For the CNN/USAToday/Gallup Poll in December 1999, the category was listed: "Arizona Senator John McCain."

Q.8 CONTINUED...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL) Never	(VOL) Can't
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Rate/Ref</u>
h.F1	Bill Frist	21	3	18	26	8	18	35	18=100
	January, 2003	27	7	20	12	2	10	42	19=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,003]:									
i.F2	Cindy Sheehan	20	3	17	25	12	13	43	12=100
j.F2	Hillary Clinton	56	20	36	38	19	19	1	5=100
	Late March, 2005	57	22	35	36	17	19	*	7=100
	December 2002	47	15	32	44	23	21	1	8=100
	July, 2001	53	20	33	42	23	19	1	4=100
	January, 2001	60	25	35	35	16	19	*	5=100
	May, 2000	49	15	34	42	22	20	1	8=100
	Early December, 1998	66	32	34	31	15	16	*	3=100
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	58	24	34	36	18	18	*	6=100
	Early September, 1998	64	24	40	31	13	18	0	5=100
	Late August, 1998	63	25	38	34	13	21	*	3=100
	March, 1998	65	26	39	31	14	17	*	4=100
	January, 1997	57	17	40	40	17	23	*	3=100
	June, 1996	53	13	40	43	17	26	*	4=100
	April, 1996	49	12	37	46	19	27	0	5=100
	February, 1996	42	14	28	54	27	27	0	4=100
	January, 1996	42	10	32	54	26	28	0	4=100
	October, 1995	58	14	44	38	14	24	--	4=100
	August, 1995	49	16	33	47	22	25	*	4=100
	December, 1994	50	17	33	45	20	25	1	4=100
	July, 1994	57	19	38	40	18	22	1	2=100
	May, 1993	60	19	41	29	11	18	1	10=100
k.F2	Howard Dean	29	4	25	37	15	22	19	15=100
	Late March, 2005	32	6	26	31	11	20	12	25=100
	January, 2003	13	2	11	12	3	9	57	18=100
l.F2	Joe Biden	21	4	17	20	6	14	43	16=100
	September, 1987	22	4	18	15	4	11	25	38=100
m.F2	Donald Rumsfeld	36	8	28	41	18	23	14	9=100
	Late March, 2005	39	10	29	41	18	23	7	13=100
	April, 2003	61	24	37	19	6	13	9	11=100
n.F2	Rudy Giuliani	63	22	41	17	6	11	10	10=100
	Late March, 2005	60	20	40	17	5	12	7	16=100
	May, 2000	37	9	28	18	6	12	26	19=100
o.F2	Tom DeLay	18	2	16	40	20	20	27	15=100
	Gallup/CNN/USAToday: April, 2005	27	--	--	31	--	--	26	16=100
p.F2	Karl Rove	19	3	16	31	14	17	36	14=100
	Gallup/CNN/USAToday: July, 2005	25	--	--	34	--	--	25	16=100

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

Q.9 What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it be the single world leader, or should it play a shared leadership role, or shouldn't it play any leadership role?

IF "SHARED LEADERSHIP ROLE" (2 IN Q.9), ASK:

Q.10 Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be about as active as other leading nations?

		July	June	Mid- Oct	Early Sept	Sept	June	Oct	Sept
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1995⁹</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>
12	Be the single world leader, or	11	13	12	13	12	13	9	10
74	Should it play a shared leadership role	74	76	79	75	73	74	78	81
25	Most active	27	30	33	25	22	25	23	27
47	About as active	44	44	45	49	50	47	53	52
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	3	2	1	1	1	2	2	2
10	Shouldn't it play any leadership role	9	7	3	8	11	9	9	7
<u>4</u>	Don't know (VOL)	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.11 In the future, should U.S. policies try to keep it so America is the only military superpower, OR would it be acceptable if China, another country or the European Union became as militarily powerful as the U.S.?

IF ANSWERED 1 "KEEP U.S. AS ONLY MILITARY SUPERPOWER" IN Q.11, ASK:

Q.12 Should U.S. policies try to keep it so America is the only military superpower even if it risks alienating our principal allies, or not?

50	U.S. policies should keep U.S. as the only superpower
23	Even if risks alienating allies
22	Not if risks alienating allies
5	Don't know/Refused
35	OK if China/another country/EU became as powerful
<u>15</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

⁹ In 1995 and earlier, the answer categories were "...most active, or should it be no more or less active than other leading nations?"

ASK ALL:

Q.13 Do you think it's important that the partnership between the U.S. and Western Europe be as close as it has been in the past, or don't you think this is important?

84 Important to be as close as in the past
11 Not important
5 Don't know/Refused
100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.14F1 I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns for the U.S. Do you think that **(INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE)** is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to the well being of the United States? What about **(INSERT ITEM)**

	<u>Major Threat</u>	<u>Minor Threat</u>	<u>Not a Threat</u>	(VOL) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.F1 China's emergence as a world power	52	31	10	7=100
May, 2001	51	30	10	9=100
July, 1999	53	33	10	4=100
b.F1 Growing authoritarianism in Russia	23	44	13	20=100
May, 2001 ¹⁰	27	46	12	15=100
July, 1999	40	42	14	4=100
c.F1 Possible military conflict between China and Taiwan	34	39	12	15=100
May, 2001 ¹¹	36	37	11	16=100
July, 1999	38	44	10	8=100
d.F1 Possible military conflict between India and Pakistan	32	44	10	14=100
e.F1 North Korea's nuclear program	66	24	4	6=100
f.F1 Iran's nuclear program	61	27	5	7=100
g.F1 The amount of American debt held by foreign investors	55	28	7	10=100

¹⁰ In May 2001 and July 1999, the item was listed as: "Political and economic instability in Russia."

¹¹ The May 2001 and July 1999 versions did not include "possible."

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.15F2 As I read a list of possible LONG-RANGE foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me how much priority you think each should be given. (First,) **(READ AND RANDOMIZE)**, do you think this should have top priority, some priority, or no priority at all?

	Top Priority	Some Priority	No Priority	DK/Ref
a.F2 Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction	75	19	4	2=100
July, 2004	71	23	4	2=100
Mid-October, 2001	81	14	2	3=100
Early September, 2001	78	16	5	1=100
September, 1997	70	23	6	1=100
June, 1995	68	21	9	2=100
September, 1993	69	24	5	1=100
b.F2 Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks	86	12	1	1=100
July, 2004	88	10	1	1=100
Mid-October, 2001	93	6	*	1=100
Early September, 2001	80	16	3	1=100
c.F2 Reducing our dependence on imported energy sources	67	28	2	3=100
July, 2004 <i>Imported oil sources</i>	63	30	4	3=100
d.F2 Protecting the jobs of American workers	84	14	1	1=100
July, 2004	84	13	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2001	74	24	1	1=100
Early September, 2001	77	19	3	1=100
September, 1997	77	20	2	1=100
June, 1995	80	17	2	1=100
September, 1993	85	13	2	*=100
e.F2 Strengthening the United Nations	40	43	14	3=100
July, 2004	48	38	11	3=100
Mid-October, 2001	46	46	7	1=100
Early September, 2001	42	43	13	2=100
September, 1997	30	53	14	3=100
June, 1995	36	45	17	2=100
September, 1993	41	46	11	2=100
f.F2 Dealing with global climate change	43	43	10	4=100
July, 2004 ¹²	36	46	12	6=100
Mid-October, 2001	31	51	13	5=100
Early September, 2001	44	39	12	5=100
September, 1997 ¹³	50	42	6	2=100
June, 1995	56	36	6	2=100
September, 1993	56	37	6	1=100

¹² In 2004 and 2001, the item was worded "Dealing with global warming."

¹³ In September 1993, June 1995 and September 1997 the item was worded "Improving the global environment."

Q.15F2 CONTINUED...

		<u>Top</u> <u>Priority</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>Priority</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Priority</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
g.F2	Combating international drug trafficking	59	33	6	2=100
	July, 2004	63	29	7	1=100
	Mid-October, 2001	55	38	5	2=100
	Early September, 2001	64	26	9	1=100
	September, 1997	67	24	7	2=100
h.F2	Reducing the spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases	72	24	3	1=100
	July, 2004	72	25	2	1=100
	Mid-October, 2001	59	38	2	1=100
	Early September, 2001	73	23	3	1=100
i.F2	Helping improve the living standards in developing nations	31	57	10	2=100
	July, 2004	23	63	12	2=100
	Mid-October, 2001	20	67	12	1=100
	Early September, 2001	25	61	12	2=100
	September, 1997	23	63	13	1=100
	June, 1995	16	59	22	3=100
	September, 1993	19	60	20	1=100
j.F2	Protecting groups or nations that are threatened with genocide	46	39	5	10=100
	July, 2004	47	40	5	8=100
	Mid-October, 2001	48	43	3	6=100
	Early September, 2001	49	41	5	5=100
k.F2	Promoting democracy in other nations	24	54	19	3=100
	July, 2004	24	57	15	4=100
	Mid-October, 2001	24	61	12	3=100
	Early September, 2001	29	52	16	3=100
	September, 1997	22	57	18	3=100
	June, 1995	16	57	24	3=100
	September, 1993	22	52	24	2=100
l.F2	Promoting and defending human rights in other countries	37	50	11	2=100
	July, 2004	33	53	12	2=100
	Mid-October, 2001	27	61	10	2=100
	Early September, 2001	29	54	14	3=100
	September, 1997	27	56	15	2=100
	June, 1995	21	56	20	3=100
	September, 1993	22	54	22	2=100
m.F2	Reducing illegal immigration	51	39	8	2=100
	September, 1997	42	47	9	2=100

ASK ALL:

ROTATE Q.16 THROUGH Q.18

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about some things that have been in the news. Not everyone will have heard about them.

Q.16 What is the name of the president of Russia? [OPEN]

		Early	----- Boris Yeltsin -----				
		Sept	Sept	June	July	Feb	Jan
		<u>2001</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>
37	Vladimir Putin (<i>correct</i>)	23	47	44	46	47	50
<u>63</u>	Anything else/Other/DK/Refused	<u>77</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>50</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.17 The U.S. and other nations are conducting talks with North Korea. What is the main issue these nations are discussing? [OPEN]

57	Mentions of “nuclear” or “weapons” (<i>correct</i>)
6	Any other issue
<u>37</u>	Don’t know/Not sure/Refused [VOL.]
100	

Q.18 Recently, the Palestinians were given control of the Gaza Strip. Do you know which country gave them this control? [OPEN]

46	Yes, Israel (<i>correct</i>)
6	Yes, any other country
<u>48</u>	No, don’t know/Not sure/Refused
100	

Turning to the subject of Iraq ...

Q.19 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>	<u>Don't know/</u>
	<u>decision</u>	<u>decision</u>	<u>Refused</u>
Late October, 2005	48	45	7=100
Early October, 2005	44	50	6=100
Mid-September, 2005	49	44	7=100
July, 2005	49	44	7=100
June, 2005	47	45	8=100
February, 2005	47	47	6=100
January, 2005	51	44	5=100
December, 2004	49	44	7=100
November, 2004 (RVs)	48	41	11=100
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12=100
Early October, 2004	50	39	11=100
Early September, 2004	53	39	8=100
August, 2004	53	41	6=100
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	55	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	7=100
Late April, 2004	54	37	9=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100

Q.19 CONTINUED...

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100
April 10-16, 2003	74	19	7=100
April 8-9, 2003	74	19	7=100
April 2-7, 2003	72	20	8=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	25	6=100
March 25-27, 2003	74	21	5=100
March 23-24, 2003	74	21	5=100
March 20-22, 2003	71	22	7=100
Late January, 1991	77	15	9=100

Q.20 Which comes closest to your view about what the U.S. should now do about the number of troops in Iraq? Should the U.S.... **[READ, IN ORDER]**

	<u>Send MORE troops to Iraq</u>	<u>Keep the number of troops as it is now</u>	<u>Withdraw SOME troops</u>	<u>Withdraw ALL of its troops from Iraq</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Late October, 2005	10	28	30	26	6=100
<i>Gallup</i> September, 2005	8	26	33	30	3=100
<i>Gallup</i> August 28-30, 2005	19	26	27	26	2=100
<i>Gallup</i> August 5-7, 2005	13	28	23	33	3=100
<i>Gallup</i> June, 2005	10	26	31	28	5=100
<i>Gallup</i> February, 2005	10	38	32	17	3=100
<i>Gallup</i> January, 2005	24	26	21	25	4=100
<i>Gallup</i> September, 2004	21	35	21	18	5=100
<i>Gallup</i> June, 2004	18	30	23	27	2=100
<i>Gallup</i> May, 2004	25	24	18	29	4=100
<i>Gallup</i> April 16-18, 2004	33	25	16	21	5=100
<i>Gallup</i> April 5-8, 2004	20	29	18	28	5=100
<i>Gallup</i> January, 2004	11	40	29	16	4=100
<i>Gallup</i> December 15-16, 2003	14	40	27	15	4=100
<i>Gallup</i> December 5-7, 2003	22	33	25	17	3=100
<i>Gallup</i> November, 2003 ¹⁴	17	32	29	19	3=100
<i>Gallup</i> October, 2003	14	27	39	18	2=100
<i>Gallup</i> August, 2003	15	36	32	14	3=100

¹⁴ In November 2003 and earlier the Gallup question was worded "Which comes closest to your view about what the U.S. should now do about the number of U.S. troops in Iraq - the U.S. should send more troops to Iraq, the U.S. should keep the number of troops as it is now, the U.S. should begin to withdraw some troops from Iraq, or the U.S. should withdraw all of its troops from Iraq?"

Q.21 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

	<u>Helped</u>	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>(VOL)</u> <u>No effect</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>
Late October, 2005	44	44	6	6=100
Mid-September, 2005	43	43	6	8=100
July, 2005	39	47	7	7=100
February, 2005	44	41	7	8=100
Mid-October, 2004	45	40	6	9=100
Early September, 2004	46	40	6	8=100
August, 2004	45	44	4	7=100
July, 2004	43	45	5	7=100
June, 2004	43	44	4	9=100
Mid-March, 2004	50	37	5	8=100
Late February, 2004	62	28	3	7=100
Early February, 2004	55	32	7	6=100
December, 2003	59	26	6	9=100
September, 2003	54	31	7	8=100
May, 2003	65	22	6	7=100
April, 2003 ¹⁵	63	22	--	15=100
Early October, 2002	52	34	--	14=100

Q.22 Regardless of your feelings about the original decision to use military force, do you now believe that the U.S. will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in establishing a stable democratic government in Iraq?

		<u>July</u> <u>2005</u>
12	Definitely succeed	17
44	Probably succeed	43
29	Probably fail	25
8	Definitely fail	8
<u>7</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused (VOL.)</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100

Q.23 Since the start of military action in Iraq, about how many U.S. soldiers have been killed? To the best of your knowledge, have there been around 500, around 1000, around 2000, or around 3000 military deaths in Iraq?

			<u>June</u> <u>2005</u>	<u>April</u> <u>2004</u> ¹⁶
5	Around 500	Under 500	4	28
23	Around 1,000	500 to 1,000	13	55 (<i>correct</i>)
48	Around 2,000 (<i>correct</i>)	1,000 to 2,000	54 (<i>correct</i>)	6
19	Around 3,000	More than 2,000	24	4
1	Other (VOL.)		--	--
<u>4</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused (VOL.)</u>		<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
100			100	100

¹⁵ In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?" In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

¹⁶ In April 2004 the question included "Since the start of military action in Iraq, last March...."

On another subject...

Q.24 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Palestinians</u>	<u>Both (VOL.)</u>	<u>Neither (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
Late October, 2005	43	17	5	16	19=100
July, 2005	37	12	5	19	27=100
July, 2004	40	13	7	18	22=100
Late February, 2004	46	12	8	15	19=100
Mid-July, 2003	41	13	8	18	20=100
April, 2002	41	13	6	21	19=100
Mid-October, 2001	47	10	8	18	17=100
Early September, 2001	40	17	6	23	14=100
September, 1997	48	13	5	16	18=100
September, 1993	45	21	3	18	12=100
Chicago CFR 1990	34	13	7	26	20=100
Chicago CFR 1978	38	12	8	15	13=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.25F2 Do you think a stronger European Union is a good thing for the U.S., a bad thing for the U.S., or doesn't it matter for the U.S.?

47	Good thing
12	Bad thing
28	Doesn't matter
<u>13</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
100	

Q.26F2 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today... Do you think China is (**READ, IN ORDER**):

		July	Feb	Early Sept	May	March	June	March	Sept
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1997</u>
16	An adversary	14	17	23	19	17	18	20	14
45	A serious problem, but not an adversary	40	39	48	51	44	53	48	46
30	OR, Not much of a problem	36	33	23	22	26	22	25	32
<u>9</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.27F2 So far, do you think that NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?
[INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT ASKS WHAT NAFTA IS, “The North American Free Trade Agreement”]

		Early						
		Dec	July	March	Dec	Sept	Nov	Sept
		<u>2004¹⁷</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1997</u>
44	Good thing	47	47	44	34	49	45	47
34	Bad thing	34	34	37	33	29	34	30
<u>22</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>19</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>23</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.28F1 Compared with the past, would you say the U.S. is MORE respected by other countries these days, LESS respected by other countries, or AS respected as it has been in the past?

ASK IF LESS RESPECTED (2 IN Q.28F1):

Q.29F1 Do you think less respect for America is a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem at all?

		July	May	Newsweek
		<u>2004</u>	<u>1987¹⁸</u>	<u>Jan 1984</u>
9	More respected	10	19	27
66	Less respected	67	55	36
43	Major problem	43	--	--
18	Minor problem	19	--	--
4	Not a problem	4	--	--
1	Don't know/Refused	1	--	--
21	As respected as in the past	20	23	29
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100

Thinking about the issue of terrorism for a moment...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.30F1 Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks?

		July	Late Aug
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2002</u>
26	Greater	24	22
41	The same	39	39
29	Less	34	34
<u>4</u>	Don't know/refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

¹⁷ In 2004 the question was worded: “In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA and the World Trade Organization, have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?” In December 2003 the question wording asked about “free trade agreements like NAFTA and the WTO”; full names of the organizations were read out only if the respondent was uncertain. In Early September 2001 and earlier the question was worded: “NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement...”

¹⁸ In May 1987 the question was worded “Compared to five years ago, would you say the U.S. is more respected by other countries, less respected by other countries, or as respected as it was five years ago by other countries?” In January 1984, the Newsweek question was worded “Compared to four years ago...”

Q.31F1 So far, there has not been another terrorist attack in America since 2001. Is this mostly because **[READ AND ROTATE]**

- 33 The government is doing a good job protecting the country OR
- 17 America is a difficult target for terrorists OR
- 45 America has been lucky so far
- 5 Don't know/Refused (**DO NOT READ**)
- 100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.32F2 In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism? **[READ]**

		(RVs)							
		July	July	Aug	Nov	June	Early	Oct	Oct
		<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>
17	Very well	17	18	19	15	16	35	38	48
50	Fairly well	53	53	56	54	60	46	46	40
22	Not too well, OR	19	17	16	19	16	9	9	6
9	Not at all well	8	8	7	8	4	5	4	2
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Ref (VOL)	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.33F2 What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism policies? **[READ]**

		July	July
		<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>
48	That they have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country	52	49
--OR--			
34	That they have gone too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties	31	29
2	Both		
8	Neither / Approve of policies (VOL. DO NOT READ)	10	11
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.34F1 Increased security measures have made it more difficult for foreign students to get visas to study in American universities. Do you think these restrictions **[INSERT OPTION; ROTATE]**, OR do you think these restrictions **[NEXT OPTION]**?

- 20 Go too far because the U.S. loses too many good students to other countries
- 71 Are worth it in order to prevent terrorists from getting into the country
- 9 Don't know/Refused
- 100

Q.35F1 Do you think that using military force against countries that may seriously threaten our country, but have not attacked us, can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

		Dec <u>2004</u>	July <u>2004</u>	Aug <u>2003</u>	May <u>2003</u>
14	Often justified	14	20	20	22
38	Sometimes justified	46	40	43	45
27	Rarely justified	21	22	19	17
15	Never justified	14	14	13	13
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.36F2 Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

		Late March <u>2005</u>	July <u>2004</u>
15	Often justified	15	15
31	Sometimes justified	30	28
17	Rarely justified	24	21
32	Never justified	27	32
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.37F1 Do you think cases of prisoner mistreatment in Iraq and Guantánamo Bay were **[READ AND ROTATE]**

48	Mostly the result of misconduct on the part of soldiers and contractors
	OR
36	Mostly the result of official policies
<u>16</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.38 Do you think each of the following is a major reason, a minor reason, or not much of a reason why people around the world are unhappy with the U.S.? First, **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE. OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]**. Is this a major reason, a minor reason, or not much of a reason why people around the world are unhappy with the U.S.? How about **[ITEM]**?

		Major <u>reason</u>	Minor <u>reason</u>	Not much <u>of a reason</u>	Don't know/ <u>refused</u>
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:					
a.F1	U.S. support for Israel	39	39	13	9=100
b.F1	The U.S.-led war on terrorism	54	29	12	5=100
c.F1	America's wealth and power	60	25	11	4=100
d.F1	America is very religious	22	38	35	5=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,003]:					
e.F2	U.S. support for non-democratic governments in Arab countries	33	37	20	10=100

Q.38 CONTINUED...

	<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not much of a reason</u>	<u>Don't know/refused</u>
f.F2 The Iraq war	71	17	7	5=100
g.F2 America's support for globalization	25	39	23	13=100
h.F2 America is very materialistic	52	28	16	4=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.39F1 Are George W. Bush's calls for more democracy in the Middle East a good idea that will probably succeed, a good idea that will probably NOT succeed, or are his calls for more democracy in the Middle East a bad idea?

34	Good idea that will probably succeed
36	Good idea that will probably NOT succeed
22	Bad idea
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.40 All in all, how likely do you think it is that there will be another major terrorist attack in the United States over the next few years? **[READ]**

40	Very likely
39	Fairly likely
12	Fairly UNlikely -OR-
6	Very unlikely
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ]
100	

Thinking about nuclear weapons for a moment...

Q.41 Would you favor or oppose the U.S. signing a treaty with other nations to reduce and eventually eliminate all nuclear weapons, including our own?

70	Favor
24	Oppose
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.42 As far as you know, does **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE. OBSERVE QUARTER-SAMPLE FORM SPLITS]** now have nuclear weapons, or not? How about **[NEXT ITEM]**?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
ASK FORM 1A ONLY [N=506]:			
a.F1A North Korea	74	12	14=100
b.F1A Great Britain	52	22	26=100
c.F1A Pakistan	59	20	21=100
d.F1A South Africa	18	46	36=100

Q.42 CONTINUED...

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u> <u>Refused</u>
ASK FORM 1B ONLY [N=497]:			
e.F1B Russia	79	9	12=100
f.F1B India	51	22	27=100
g.F1B Israel	48	22	30=100
ASK FORM 2A ONLY [N=513]:			
h.F2A China	74	9	17=100
i.F2A Iran	55	25	20=100
j.F2A Germany	43	32	25=100
k.F2A Brazil	13	46	41=100
ASK FORM 2B ONLY [N=490]:			
l.F2B France	38	30	32=100
m.F2B Japan	44	31	25=100
n.F2B Libya	30	36	34=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.43F1 If another nation seriously threatened to use nuclear weapons against the U.S., would the U.S. be justified in using nuclear weapons first, or don't you think this would be justified?

46 Justified
 43 Not justified
11 Don't know/Refused
 100

Q.44F1 How likely do you think it is that another nation will attack the United States with nuclear weapons over the next few years? **[READ]**

8 Very likely
 16 Fairly likely
 35 Fairly UNlikely –OR–
 37 Very unlikely
4 Don't know/Refused **[VOL. DO NOT READ]**
 100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,003]:

Q.45F2 If another nation seriously threatened to use nuclear weapons against a U.S. ally, would the U.S. be justified in using nuclear weapons first, or don't you think this would be justified?

41 Justified
 48 Not justified
11 Don't know/Refused
 100

Q.46F2 How likely do you think it is that another nation will use nuclear weapons against one of America's allies over the next few years? [READ]

- 14 Very likely
- 26 Fairly likely
- 34 Fairly UNlikely –OR–
- 23 Very unlikely
- 3 Don't know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ]
- 100

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

<i>Trend</i>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL)	(VOL)	<u>Don't know</u>
				No Preference	Other Party	
Late October, 2005	29	33	31	5	*	2=100
Early October, 2005	26	34	34	4	*	2=100
September 8-11, 2005	31	32	33	3	*	1=100
September 6-7, 2005	27	33	33	4	*	3=100
July, 2005	31	34	29	4	*	2=100
June, 2005	30	32	32	4	*	2=100
Mid-May, 2005	30	34	29	4	*	3=100
Late March, 2005	29	32	36	2	*	1=100
Mid-March, 2005	30	34	29	4	*	3=100
February, 2005	31	32	30	4	1	2=100
January, 2005	32	33	30	4	*	1=100
December, 2004	31	34	30	3	*	2=100
Mid-October, 2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100

<i>Yearly Totals</i>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL)	(VOL)	<u>Don't know</u>
				No Preference	Other Party	
2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100
2003	30	31	31	5	*	3=100
2002	30	31	30	5	1	3=100
2001	29	34	29	5	*	3=100
2001 Post-Sept 11	31	32	28	5	1	3=100
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28	35	30	5	*	2=100
2000	28	33	29	6	*	4=100
1999	27	33	34	4	*	2=100
1998	28	33	32	5	*	2=100
1997	28	33	32	4	1	2=100

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	No Preference/ <u>Other/DK</u>
1996	29	33	33	5=100
1995	32	30	34	4=100
1994	30	32	34	4=100
1993	27	34	34	5=100
1992	28	33	35	4=100
1991	31	32	33	4=100
1990	31	33	30	6=100

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	Independent/ <u>No Pref/Oth/DK</u>
1989	33	33	34=100
1987	26	35	39=100

IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Refused to lean</u>
Late October, 2005	11	15	12=38%
Early October, 2005	11	18	11=40%
September 8-11, 2005	10	18	9=37%
September 6-7, 2005	10	15	15=40%
July, 2005	9	15	11=35%
June, 2005	10	16	12=38%
Mid-May, 2005	9	13	14=36%
Late March, 2005	13	17	9=39%
December, 2004	14	12	9=35%
August, 2003	12	16	14=42%
August, 2002	12	13	13=38%
September, 2000	11	13	15=39%
Late September, 1999	14	15	16=45%
August, 1999	15	15	12=42%