

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD 2005

An Investigation of the Attitudes
of American Opinion Leaders and the
American Public about International Affairs



NOVEMBER 2005

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
in association with the COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

FOREWORD

In 1993, we undertook a comprehensive survey of the American public and the nation's opinion leaders to determine how they viewed the world and the country in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. As we reported then, the public and opinion leaders were concerned over continuing global dangers. They showed a tendency to turn inward and to emphasize a foreign policy that would serve a distinctly domestic agenda.

Now, four years after the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., and more than two years after the start of the Iraq war, the public and opinion leaders are again taking a cautious approach to America's place in the world. The new survey, conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press in collaboration with the Council on Foreign Relations, finds a revival of isolationist sentiment among the public. As many Americans now favor the United States "minding its own business" internationally as did so in the mid-1970s, following the Vietnam War, and during the mid-1990s, after the end of the Cold War. Favorable views of the United Nations have declined as well, from 77% four years ago to 48% currently.

Opinion leaders also are taking a more tempered approach to U.S. foreign policy and are less supportive of the U.S. playing a "first among equals" role among the world's leading nations. In this regard, there is widespread skepticism of President Bush's foreign policy leadership, and concern about the future in Iraq and its impact on global sentiment toward the U.S.

This survey is based on a sample of 2,000 American adults, as well as more than 500 opinion leaders drawn from key positions in various fields. For this year's leadership poll, we added a sample of military leaders – comprised of prominent retired officers as well as military fellows from the Council on Foreign Relations – while retaining seven other groups, including foreign affairs and national security specialists, scholars, scientists, religious leaders, governors and mayors, and senior news media figures.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to the staff of Princeton Survey Research Associates International, who expertly managed the implementation of this survey project, and to Nilanthi Samaranayake, who coordinated the overall project and guided it to its successful completion.



Andrew Kohut
Director
Pew Research Center for the People & the Press

America's Place in the World 2005

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America's Place In The World

OPINION LEADERS TURN CAUTIOUS, PUBLIC LOOKS HOMEWARD

Preoccupied with war abroad and growing problems at home, U.S. opinion leaders and the general public are taking a decidedly cautious view of America's place in the world. Over the past four years, opinion leaders have become less supportive of the United States playing a "first among equals" role among the world's leading nations. The goal of promoting democracy in other nations also has lost ground, and while most opinion leaders view President Bush's calls for expanded democracy in the Middle East as a good idea, far fewer think it will actually succeed.

Fewer Say U.S. Should Be Most Assertive among Leading Nations

	1993	1997	2001	2005
	%	%	%	%
News media	71	67	66	58
Foreign affairs	75	69	64	68
Security	75	77	72	53
State/Local government	78	65	72	54
Academic/Think tank	67	61	65	60
Religious leaders	57	44	51	36
Scientists/Engineers	55	55	39	32
Military	--	--	--	70

Percent saying U.S. should be either the "single world leader" or "most assertive of the leading nations."

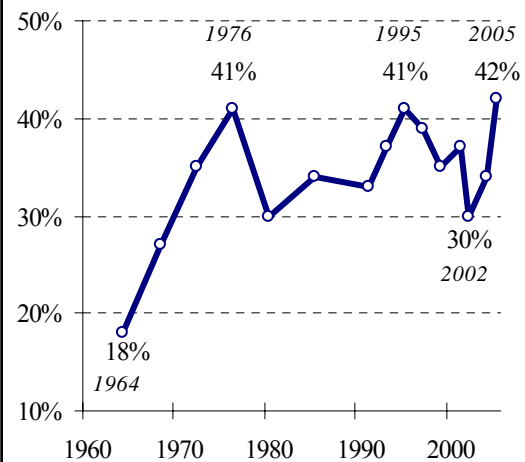
As the Iraq war has shaken the global outlook of American influentials, it has led to a revival of isolationist sentiment among the general public. Fully 42% of Americans say the United States should "mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own." This is on par with the percentage expressing that view during the mid-1970s, following the Vietnam War, and in the 1990s after the Cold War ended.

Favorable opinions of the United Nations, which had declined in recent years, have fallen still further. Only about half of Americans (48%) now express a positive opinion of the U.N., down from 77% four years ago.

These are among the principal findings of *America's Place in the World*, a survey of opinion leaders and the general public conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press in

collaboration with the Council on Foreign Relations. This quadrennial study examines the foreign policy attitudes of state and local government officials, security and foreign affairs experts, military officers, news media leaders, university and think tank leaders, religious

U.S. Should "Mind Its Own Business" Internationally



1964-1991 Data: Gallup/Potomac Associates/IISR

leaders, and scientists and engineers, along with the general public. The new survey, conducted Sept. 5-Oct. 31, reflects the major changes in the world that have occurred since the previous poll, conducted in the summer of 2001 just prior to the 9/11 attacks. There has been continuity in some areas, such as in the broad agreement among opinion leaders and the public that protecting against terrorism and preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction are top long-term policy objectives.

Yet the war in Iraq has had a profound impact on the way opinion leaders, as well as the public, view America's global role, looming international threats, and the Bush administration's stewardship of the nation's foreign policy. If anything, the opinion leaders are much gloomier about Iraq's future than is the public. Most opinion leaders feel that the U.S. will fail in establishing a stable democracy in Iraq; a majority of Americans (56%) believe success is still possible. Moreover, the opinion leaders express considerable doubt that Iraq will even survive as a unified country. About four-in-ten or more in every group say that the country will end up being divided into three countries, representing Iraq's Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds.

Opinion Leaders Pessimistic about Iraq			
	<i>Efforts to establish a stable democracy</i>		
	Will	Will	No
	<u>succeed</u>	<u>fail</u>	<u>answer</u>
	%	%	%
News media	33	63	4=100
Foreign affairs	28	71	1=100
Security	28	70	2=100
State/Local government	51	45	4=100
Academic/Think tank	27	71	2=100
Religious leaders	41	56	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	13	84	3=100
Military	64	32	4=100
General public	56	37	7=100

The survey finds a continuation of long-standing differences between the public and influentials over issues such as trade and the importance of protecting American jobs as a foreign policy priority. However for both opinion leaders and the public, partisanship is the decisive factor in views of President Bush and his principal policies – especially those related to the war. In effect, the partisan differences are greater than the elite-public divide when it comes to Bush and his policies.

The gap between Republican and Democrat influentials in views of Bush's performance is about as wide as it is among the general public, and considerably greater than the partisan differences in evaluations of former President Clinton's job performance at a comparable point early in his second term.

Opinion Leaders More Polarized Over Bush						
	<i>1997 Clinton</i>			<i>2005 Bush</i>		
	Repub-	Demo-		Repub-	Demo-	
	<u>lican</u>	<u>crat</u>	<u>Gap</u>	<u>lican</u>	<u>crat</u>	<u>Gap</u>
Job approval	%	%		%	%	
Opinion leaders*	34	89	-55	70	2	+68
General public	32	84	-52	81	15	+66

* This row combines responses from all comparable groups of opinion leaders. See below for 2005 individual group responses.

As in past *America's Place in the World* surveys, the sample of opinion leaders includes more Democrats than Republicans or independents. Perhaps not surprisingly, the biggest decline in Bush's approval rating since August 2001 has come among scientists and engineers – the most heavily Democratic group.

By contrast, influential groups that include relatively high percentages of Republicans, such as military leaders, have a more positive view of Bush's job performance. The military leaders also are more optimistic about prospects for success in Iraq than are members of other groups.

Changing Views of China

The Iraq war and continuing threat of terrorism have dramatically affected the way opinion leaders and the public look at potential threats from other countries. Four years ago, there was broad concurrence, if not a consensus, that China represented the greatest danger to the United States. Today, opinion leaders mention China, North Korea and Iran each about as frequently. The public also is divided as to which country represents the biggest threat to the United States; 18% cite Iraq, 16% China, and 13% North Korea. In 2001, twice as many Americans (32%) named China as the country posing the greatest danger to the U.S.

	Bush Support Declines among Influentials and the Public		
	<i>Job approval</i>		
	Aug	Oct	
	<u>2001</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>Change</u>
	%	%	
News media	40	21	-19
Foreign affairs	20	15	-5
Security	40	26	-14
State/Local government	47	41	-6
Academic/Think tank	23	12	-11
Religious leaders	55	36	-19
Scientists/Engineers	30	6	-24
Military	n/a	40	--
General public	51	40	-11

More generally, China's emerging global power is not triggering increased concern among opinion leaders or the general public. And while solid majorities in each elite group – and a plurality of the public (45%) – continue to view China as a “serious problem, but not an adversary,” fewer than one-in-five in each group say China is an adversary. Partisanship is at most only a minor factor in attitudes toward China.

	An adversary %	A serious problem* %	Not much of a problem %	No answer %
News media	18	63	15	4=100
Foreign affairs	9	62	29	0=100
Security	5	67	26	2=100
State/Local government	16	68	12	4=100
Academic/Think tank	6	78	15	1=100
Religious leaders	6	78	11	5=100
Scientists/Engineers	8	66	21	5=100
Military	4	79	13	4=100
General public	16	45	30	9=100

* “A serious problem, but not an adversary”

Moreover, many influentials predict that in the future China will become an increasingly important U.S. ally. State and local government officials, academics and think tank leaders, and scientists and engineers most frequently name China as a country that will be more important to the U.S. in coming years.

India – the New France

Underscoring the rising importance of Asia generally, foreign affairs specialists and security experts most often name India as a country likely to emerge as a more important U.S. partner. News media leaders cite China and India equally as often.

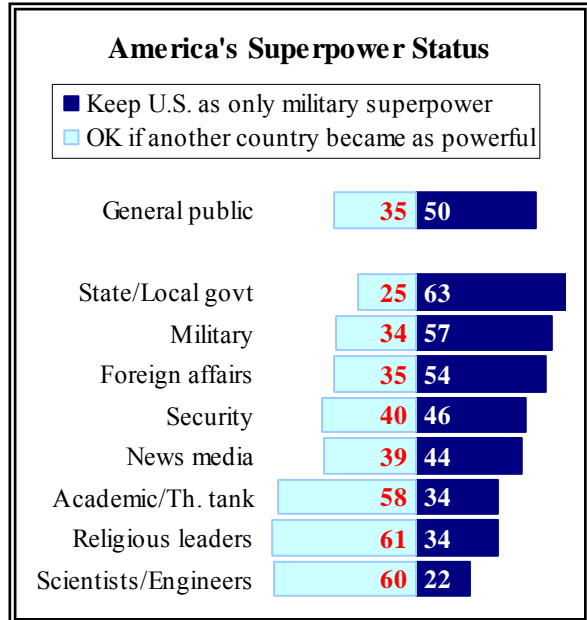
The influentials are more unified in their opinions of which U.S. allies will decline in importance – France is named far more frequently than any other country. Military leaders, in particular, believe France will be less important to the U.S. in the future; 53% point to France, with 30% mentioning Germany. By contrast, far fewer than one-in-ten military leaders cite any Asian country as being less important to the U.S. in the future.

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>
News media	India/China	France
Foreign affairs	India	France
Security	India	France
State/Local government	China	France
Academic/Think tank	China	Germany
Religious leaders	UK	France
Scientists/Engineers	China	France
Military	UK	France

The dominant view among opinion leaders continues to be that the United States should share global leadership with other nations, rather than act as a single leader. But compared with the previous *America's Place in the World*, there is generally less support for the U.S. being the

“most assertive” of leading nations. The decline has been particularly pronounced among state and local government officials (18 points) and national security specialists (17 points).

Opinion leaders are divided over whether the U.S. should pursue policies to ensure that America remains the world’s only superpower. Religious leaders and scientists and engineers – groups that generally support a more limited leadership role for America – believe it would be acceptable if a rival military power emerged. However, most state and local government officials, military leaders, and foreign affairs experts say U.S. policies should be aimed at retaining America’s status as the sole military superpower. Half of the public also favors U.S. policies to maintain America’s position as the only superpower, while 35% say it would be acceptable if China, another country, or the European Union became as militarily powerful as the U.S.



The public’s overall support for global engagement – which increased in the aftermath of the Sept. 11 attacks – has clearly receded. Just a quarter of the public favors the U.S. being the most active of leading nations, which represents a significant decline compared with October 2001 (33%). The percentage of Americans who agree that the “U.S. should mind its own business internationally” has risen from 30% in 2002 to 42% currently. Isolationist sentiment is growing particularly among Democrats and independents. More than half of Democrats (55%) now say the United States should mind its own business internationally up from 40% in 2002; among independents, 42% express that view now, compared with 27% three years ago.

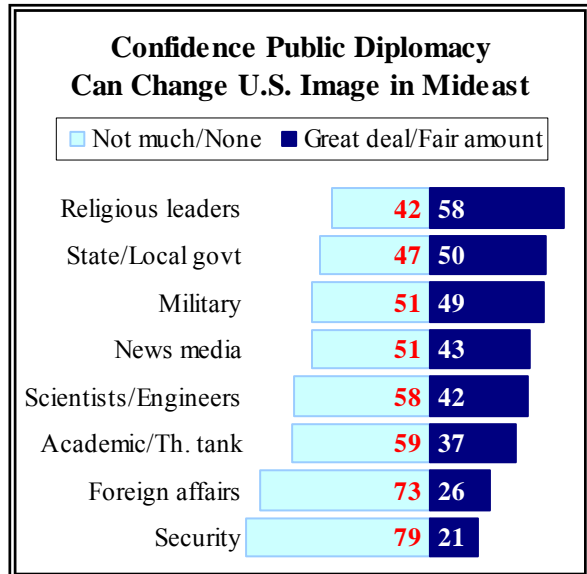
As to public perceptions of the U.S. global image, two-thirds of Americans (66%) say that the U.S. is less respected than in the past. When asked about possible reasons for global discontent with the U.S., overwhelming percentages of Americans (71%) and opinion leaders (87%) cite the war in Iraq as a major factor.

Majorities in each group of influentials, and 60% of the public, also believe that America’s wealth and power are a primary cause of global discontent with the U.S. But opinion leaders are much more inclined than the public to view U.S. support for Israel as a major reason why people around the world dislike the U.S. Majorities in each group of opinion leaders – including 78% of journalists – see this as a major reason for discontent with the U.S. Just 39% of the public agrees.

<i>Percent saying each is a “major reason” for discontent with the U.S.</i>	All*		
	General public %	opinion leaders %	<i>diff.</i>
The Iraq war	71	88	-17
America’s wealth and power	60	56	+4
The U.S.-led war on terrorism	54	38	+16
American materialism	52	26	+26
U.S. support for Israel	39	64	-25
U.S. support for authoritarian Arab governments	33	37	-4
Globalization	25	25	0
American religiosity	22	13	+9

* NOTE: This column gives a general overview of influential groups for illustrative purposes. See topline for each group’s individual responses.

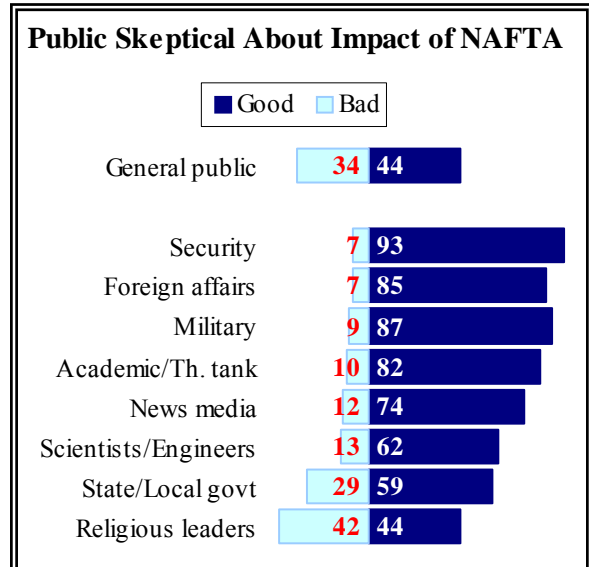
The Bush administration’s strategies for repairing the tattered U.S. image in the Middle East – through the promotion of democracy and by increasing public diplomacy in the region – are viewed skeptically by opinion leaders. No more than a third in any group believe that Bush’s push for democracy in the region will succeed; most believe it is a good idea, but one that will fail. Security specialists and foreign affairs experts, in particular, express little confidence that public diplomacy can do much to help America’s image in the region, though that effort is more highly regarded by religious leaders, state and local government officials and military leaders.



The survey finds continuing differences between the public and influentials over the extent to which the nation’s foreign policy should serve domestic objectives. Fully 84% of the public views the protection of American jobs as a top long-term foreign policy priority; far fewer opinion leaders see this as an important goal. In addition, the public remains much more

skeptical than opinion leaders about the benefits of international free trade agreements. Just 44% of Americans see agreements like NAFTA as good for the country; by contrast, solid majorities in all but one group (religious leaders) think such pacts have a positive impact.

The public also favors a more aggressive approach toward the use of military force generally and in tactics in the war on terror than do the opinion leaders. More than half of Americans (52%) believe that using military force is at least sometimes justified against nations that may seriously threaten the U.S., but have not attacked. That represents a decline from previous public surveys – 60% favored such preemptive military action last December. Even so, the public is far more supportive than opinion leaders taking military action against nations that have threatened but not attacked the U.S.



In addition, large majorities in each group of influentials believe the use of torture against terrorist suspects can rarely if ever be justified. The public is much more tolerant of the use of torture against suspected terrorists – 46% say it can be often or sometimes justified, while 49% believe it is rarely or never justified.

Other Findings

- Solid majorities in every group of opinion leaders – and 84% of the public – say it is important that the partnership between the U.S. and Western Europe remain close. Comparably large majorities of opinion leaders feel a stronger European Union also benefits the U.S., but the public is more divided over this issue.
- Americans express considerable concern over the spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases. But fewer opinion leaders view reducing the spread of AIDS and other diseases as a major U.S. policy priority.
- The public overwhelmingly believes post-9/11 restrictions on foreign student visas are worth it to prevent terrorists from entering the country. But majorities in five elite groups – including nearly all academics – say the restrictions go too far.
- Majorities in most groups of influentials say the U.S. should join the International Criminal Court. But military leaders are a notable exception – a narrow majority opposes the U.S. joining the international court.

- Americans view the goals of reducing the flow of illegal immigration and combating international drug trafficking as much more important long-term priorities than do opinion leaders.
- The public, on balance, believes cases of U.S. prisoner mistreatment in Iraq and Guantanamo Bay were mostly the result of misconduct by American soldiers rather than the consequence of official policies. Opinion leaders are divided, with solid majorities in five of eight groups saying that the prison abuse scandal was the result of official policies.
- Pluralities in every group of influentials – as well as the public – attribute the fact that there has not been a terrorist attack in the U.S. since 9/11 to luck. Just a third of the public – and no more than a third in any elite group – says it is because the government has done a good job in protecting the country.

About the Survey	
The survey of opinion leaders consists of telephone and web-based interviews with 520 men and women chosen from recognized lists of top individuals within their fields and/or those who hold key leadership positions. (See page 35 for full survey methodology)	
<i>Group</i>	<i>Who was interviewed:</i>
News media N=72	Editors, news directors, bureau chiefs, and top columnists in national and local newspapers, magazines, TV and radio news organizations.
Foreign affairs N=96	Members of the Council on Foreign Relations.
Security N=58	Members of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.
State/Local government N=56	Governors and mayors of cities with 80,000 or more residents.
Academic/ Think tank N=73	Leaders (presidents, provosts, etc.) of major universities, and heads of influential think tanks.
Religious leaders N=36	Top figures in religious organizations with membership over 700,000.
Scientists/ Engineers N=82	Members of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering.
Military N=47	Retired generals and admirals quoted in news reports. Officers in the CFR Military Fellowship program since 2000.

I. The State of the World and America's Global Role

As dissatisfied as Americans are with things at home, they hold an even more negative opinion of the state of the world. In early October, Pew polling found just 29% of Americans satisfied with the way things are going in their country today, while 65% said they were dissatisfied – the most negative national assessment in nearly ten years. Public views of global conditions are typically more negative than opinions of the state of the nation; even so, just 16% say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the world, down from 21% in July 2004.

A Gloomy Global Outlook

	Sept 1997	Aug 2001	Sept 2002	July 2004	Oct 2005
<i>In the U.S.</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Satisfied	45	41	41	38	29
Dissatisfied	49	53	55	55	65
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>In the world</i>					
Satisfied	29	27	17	21	16
Dissatisfied	65	64	79	74	77
Neither/DK	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

There is an element of partisanship in these numbers, as is the case with evaluations of national conditions. By an 86% to 9% margin, Democrats say they are dissatisfied with global conditions, and independents largely agree (80% dissatisfied, 13% satisfied). Among Republicans, 29% say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the world these days, while 64% are dissatisfied.

Terrorism, Iraq Top Problems

Opinion leaders and the public largely agree that terrorism and the situation in Iraq are the biggest international problems confronting the nation. When asked to describe the country's biggest international problem in their own words, these topics were mentioned most frequently across all groups. Military and media opinion leaders, along with mayors and governors, were most likely to register concern about terrorism and global violence. Religious leaders, security experts, scientists and engineers and the general public more frequently cited

America's Most Important International Problem

	<u>Terrorism</u> %	<u>Iraq</u> %	<u>Next highest mention</u> %
News media	29	17	13 Islamic fundamentalism
Foreign affairs	21	19	9 US Credibility/Respect
Security	21	26	14 Global image problem
State/Local govt	27	16	13 US Credibility/Respect 13 Global image problem
Academic/Th. tank	14	18	12 Relations with allies
Religious leaders	22	31	17 Global image problem
Scientists/Engineers	16	24	12 Environmental issues
Military	36	13	11 Economic problems 11 Relations with allies
General public	16	22	7 Energy/Oil prices

Iraq as the nation's greatest international concern.

Many influentials also identified America's image in the world and the overall impression that America has lost credibility and respect as the greatest problems facing the nation. As one foreign affairs specialist put it, America has suffered "a loss of international confidence and respect due to the administration ramming a series of ill-considered political, economic and security policies." A media executive described the problem in similar terms, saying America has "a lack of credibility as a fair and just world leader." While common among many influential groups, these kinds of concerns were raised by fewer than one-in-twenty Americans generally.

With Iraq and terrorism topping the list, concerns about trade and America's economic interests, which were mentioned frequently in previous rounds of this survey, have virtually disappeared from the list. Only a handful of military and religious leaders, governors and mayors cited these as the country's most important international concerns. Among the general public, the proportion referring to trade deficits, jobs moving overseas or other international economic concerns fell from 22% in 1993 to 16% in 1997, 9% in 2001 and just 6% today.

<i>Percent citing as most important</i>	1993	1997	2001	2005
	%	%	%	%
News media	39	12	23	0
Foreign affairs	23	17	12	5
Security	15	16	7	5
State/Local govt	43	32	20	9
Academic/Th. tank	45	31	12	6
Religious leaders	26	19	4	11
Scientists/Engineers	36	22	11	4
Military	--	--	--	11
General public	22	16	9	6

Public Sees U.S. Image Declining

Americans also take the view that the U.S. has lost respect in the world recently. As was the case in July 2004, two-thirds say the U.S. is less respected by other countries than in the past, while just 9% say more respected and 21% say things haven't changed. Even among Republicans, half say America is less respected than in the past, a view held by nearly three-quarters of both Democrats and independents.

<i>Compared to past America is now...</i>	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Less respected	66	50	74	73
Major problem	43	26	55	50
Minor problem	18	18	16	18
Not a problem	4	5	3	4
Don't know	1	1	*	1
More respected	9	13	7	10
No change	21	34	17	15
Don't know	4	3	2	2
	100	100	100	100

Most who say the nation has lost respect believe that this is an important concern. Roughly four-in-ten Americans (43%) – two-thirds of those who say America is less respected – say this is a major problem for the country. There are larger partisan differences over whether decreasing international respect for the U.S. represents a major problem; roughly half of

Democrats (55%) and independents (50%) view this as a major problem compared with about a quarter of Republicans (26%).

War Seen as Fueling Anti-U.S. Sentiment

Opinion leaders and the public overwhelmingly point to the war in Iraq as a major reason for discontent with the U.S. around the world. This belief is nearly unanimous among foreign affairs experts (95%), security specialists (93%), and scientists and engineers (90%). Even military leaders, who express relatively positive opinions of the military operation in Iraq, generally believe the war is a major factor in global unhappiness with the U.S.

The general public concurs in this view. Eight-in-ten Democrats point to the war as a major reason for international discontent with the U.S., and large majorities of independents (70%) and Republicans (64%) agree.

America’s wealth and power also are regarded as primary reasons for dissatisfaction with the U.S. But the public and opinion leaders differ when it comes to the effects of U.S. policies on the Middle East and terrorism on the nation’s image.

Majorities in every influential group say that U.S. support for Israel is a major cause of global discontent with the U.S. This belief is especially widespread among members of the news media (78%), security experts (72%), military leaders (72%) and foreign affairs specialists (69%).

Differing Views on What Hurts America’s Image			
	<i>U.S. Policies</i>		
	<u>US Support for Israel</u>	<u>US-led war on terrorism</u>	<u>US support for authoritarian Arab regimes</u>
<i>Percent saying “major reason” for discontent</i>	%	%	%
News media	78	53	46
Foreign affairs	69	38	42
Security	72	34	33
State/Local government	53	28	36
Academic/Think tank	59	41	37
Religious leaders	58	33	39
Scientists/Engineers	51	40	38
Military	72	30	17
General public	39	54	33
<i>Who We Are</i>			
	<u>America’s wealth and power</u>	<u>American materialism</u>	<u>America’s religiosity</u>
<i>Percent saying “major reason” for discontent</i>	%	%	%
News media	54	27	7
Foreign affairs	51	18	12
Security	50	10	14
State/Local government	62	41	12
Academic/Think tank	63	23	8
Religious leaders	67	61	14
Scientists/Engineers	51	29	26
Military	60	19	4
General public	60	52	22

But just 39% of the public sees U.S. support for Israel as a major reason that America’s global image suffers – most (52%) say it is only a minor reason, or not much of a reason. White evangelical Protestants, who are among Israel’s strongest supporters, are more likely than

members of other religious groups to view U.S. backing for Israel as major cause of international discontent with America. Half of evangelicals say support for Israel is a major factor for unhappiness with the U.S.; that compares with a third of non-evangelical Protestants (33%) and seculars (34%), and 36% of white Catholics.

For the public, the U.S.-led war on terrorism is a leading factor in global unhappiness with America (54%). But a majority in just one of the eight elite groups shares this opinion (news media 53%). Similarly, American materialism is a bigger factor for the public than for most groups of opinion leaders among causes of international discontent with the U.S.

Notably, U.S. support for authoritarian Arab governments is seen as a relatively minor cause of global discontent with the U.S. Military leaders, in particular, see U.S. backing for such governments as a fairly insignificant factor; just 17% say it is a major reason for discontent with America.

America’s Leadership Role

The American public traditionally has favored a far less expansive role for the United States in world affairs than have opinion leaders. In 1993, 1997 and 2001, sizable majorities in almost all influential groups said the U.S. should play the most assertive leadership role in the world, if not act as the single world leader, while fewer than four-in-ten Americans nationwide agreed.

But the gap between opinion leaders and the general public has narrowed significantly, as a declining number of influentials favor an

Declining Support for U.S. Leadership Role			
	US should be the single world leader	Shared leadership, but most assertive	NET
	%	%	%
News media	14	44	58
2001	12	54	66
1997	15	52	67
1993	9	62	71
Foreign affairs	13	55	68
2001	9	55	64
1997	15	54	69
1993	7	68	75
Security	10	43	53
2001	12	60	72
1997	17	60	77
1993	17	58	75
State/Local govt	11	43	54
2001	11	61	72
1997	17	48	65
1993	1	77	78
Academic/Th. tank	8	52	60
2001	6	59	65
1997	9	52	61
1993	7	60	67
Religious leaders	0	36	36
2001	12	39	51
1997	8	36	44
1993	4	53	57
Scientists/Engineers	4	28	32
2001	6	33	39
1997	7	48	55
1993	7	48	55
Military (no trend)	17	53	70
General public*	12	25	37
Oct 2001	12	33	45
Aug 2001	13	25	38
1997	12	22	34
1993	10	27	37

All 2001 data from prior to Sept 11 unless marked.
 * Influentials were asked if the US should be the “most assertive” of leading nations; general public asked if the US should be the “most active” of leading nations.

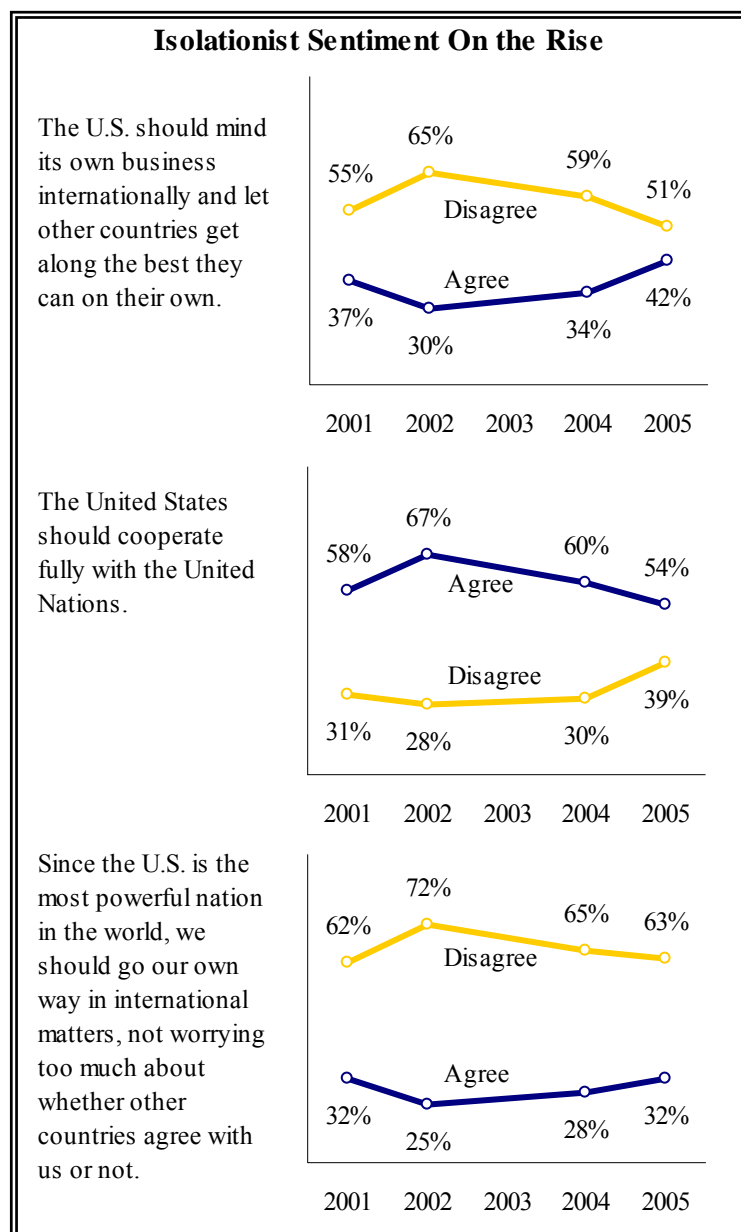
assertive U.S. leadership role in the world. This shift in opinion can be seen across almost all groups. For example, barely half of security experts today say the U.S. should take a preeminent role in world affairs, compared with roughly three-quarters in previous surveys. State and local government officials and news media leaders are also substantially more likely to say that America should be no more assertive in world affairs than other leading nations. In fact, a majority of both religious leaders and scientists and engineers today say the U.S. should not take a particularly active leadership role in the world.

By comparison, the public's long-term views on U.S. leadership have remained fairly steady, with an important exception. Following the 9/11 terror attacks, the share of Americans who supported a strong leadership role spiked upward, but has since declined. Today 12% of Americans say the U.S. should be the single world leader, while 25% say it should play a shared leadership role but be the most assertive of leading nations. A 47% plurality believes the U.S. should be no more or less assertive than other nations, while 10% think we shouldn't play any leadership role at all.

Public Less Internationalist

Following a spike in internationalist sentiment in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, public skepticism about becoming too involved with world affairs has returned. The percentage of Americans who say the U.S. should “mind its own business internationally” has risen to 42%; just 30% expressed this opinion in December of 2002.

Support for full cooperation with the United Nations stands at 54%, down from 67% three years ago and a low point since 1976 (46%). By about two-to-one (63%-32%), the public rejects the idea of



America going its own way and “not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not.” But in 2002, Americans rejected this sentiment by nearly three-to-one (72% disagree/25% agree).

There are partisan divides on these questions, though each has its own dynamic. For example, Democrats are twice as likely as Republicans (55% vs. 27%) to say the U.S. should “mind its own business internationally” and not worry about other countries, and Democrats also are more apt to say we should “concentrate more on our own national problems.” But Republicans clearly take a more unilateralist position on other questions. When it comes to the U.N., Republicans are twice as likely as Democrats (56% vs. 24%) to say the U.S. does not need to cooperate fully with the international body.

Bush’s Foreign Policy Leadership

When asked to name the *best* things about President Bush’s foreign policy, opinion leaders cited a diverse array of decisions and leadership strengths. Nearly one-in-five news media leaders cited Afghanistan as the greatest success of the administration, and the same proportion of religious leaders referred to advances in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

Others referred to Bush’s leadership style as his greatest asset. Many governors and mayors applaud the administration’s efforts to make America’s foreign policy clear and straightforward, and many military leaders cite the president’s decisiveness as the best aspect of his foreign policy.

But a sizable minority of opinion leaders could think of nothing to say when asked what has been best about Bush’s handling of foreign policy. Fully 37% of scientists and engineers volunteered that they had “nothing” good to say, or offered a sarcastic response such as “Well, he hasn’t bombed Antarctica yet.”

BEST Things about Bush’s Foreign Policy		
	<u>Top mentions</u>	<u>% saying “Nothing”</u>
News media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Afghanistan/Taliban • Decisiveness 	13
Foreign affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War on terrorism • Humanitarian aid 	16
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relations with others • Promoting democracy • War on terrorism 	19
State/Local government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clarity of US positions • Decisiveness 	25
Academic/ Think tank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political appointments • Mideast peace talks • Afghanistan/Taliban 	10
Religious leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mideast peace talks • Political appointments 	14
Scientists/ Engineers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Afghanistan/Taliban • Mideast peace talks 	37
Military	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decisiveness • North Korea situation 	17

Roughly half of news media, foreign affairs, security and academic leaders, along with scientists and engineers, cite Iraq as the worst aspect of Bush's foreign policy so far. But a number of other concerns were raised consistently across all groups. Between 17% and 34% in every group cited weakened relations with allies as Bush's greatest failure, and between 9% and 18% referred to what they see as an "arrogant" foreign policy stance. The administration is also criticized for being indecisive and unilateral.

	<u>Iraq</u>	<u>Weakened alliances</u>	<u>Arro-gance</u>	<u>Indeci-siveness</u>	<u>Unilat-eralism</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
News media	53	21	18	7	6
Foreign affairs	54	28	16	8	10
Security	60	22	16	10	19
State/Local govt	36	20	13	7	9
Academic/Th. tank	48	27	11	12	11
Religious leaders	36	17	11	8	3
Scientists/Engineers	50	18	9	7	4
Military	45	34	11	21	6

The Public's Views of Bush's Foreign Policy

Public views of Bush's foreign policy generally mirror the views of opinion leaders. While Bush's overall job approval rating stood at 40% in October (Oct. 12-24), a narrow majority (52%) says he is doing a good job handling terrorist threats.

But Bush gets negative marks for his handling of other foreign policy issues. About half (51%) disapprove of Bush's handling of the nation's overall foreign policy, and 57% disapprove of his handling of Iraq.

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis-approve</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Overall job	40	52	8=100
Terrorism	52	40	8=100
Iraq	37	57	6=100
Foreign policy	36	51	13=100
Economy	36	56	8=100
Immigration policy	24	54	22=100

Public opinion is decidedly negative over Bush's immigration policy. Just 24% say they approve of his job performance on immigration, while 54% disapprove (22% volunteer no opinion).

Even Republicans, on balance, disapprove of Bush's handling of immigration; 36% approve of the job he is doing in this area, while 43% disapprove. Seven-in-ten Democrats (72%) and half about half of independents (52%) also give Bush negative ratings on immigration.

This dissatisfaction is politically relevant because the general public places a far higher priority on issues of immigration than do opinion leaders. Fully 51% of Americans say reducing illegal immigration should be a top foreign policy priority for the nation.

II. Global Policy Goals and Threats

The existential threats posed by terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction rate as leading long-term U.S. policy concerns, in the view of both opinion leaders and the public. But there also is a widely shared belief that decreasing the nation’s dependence on imported energy should be a major policy objective.

Fully 87% of mayors and other state and local government officials say that reducing U.S. dependence on imported energy sources is a top priority; comparable numbers of scientists and engineers (83%) and members of the news media (82%) agree. More than 60% in each group of influentials – and two-thirds of the public (67%) – view energy independence as a major long-term policy objective. Among the public, comparable percentages of Republicans, Democrats and independents say that reducing U.S. dependence on foreign energy is a top priority.

Top Foreign Policy Priorities*			
<u>News media</u>	<u>State/Local government</u>	<u>Scientists/Engineers</u>	<u>Academic/Think tank</u>
89 Terrorism defense	87 Energy independence	86 Global climate change	80 Spread of WMD
85 Spread of WMD	82 Terrorism defense	83 Energy independence	74 Terrorism defense
82 Energy independence	73 Spread of WMD	71 Spread of WMD	66 Energy independence
58 Spread of AIDS	64 Protect American jobs	63 Terrorism defense	63 Global climate change
56 Stop genocide	55 Global climate change	63 Spread of AIDS	58 Spread of AIDS
54 Global climate change	53 Spread of AIDS	54 Strengthen UN	59 Raise living standards
		52 Raise living standards	51 Stop genocide
<u>Military</u>	<u>Security</u>	<u>Foreign affairs</u>	<u>Religious leaders</u>
96 Terrorism defense	90 Terrorism defense	89 Spread of WMD	89 Stop genocide
85 Spread of WMD	86 Spread of WMD	84 Terrorism defense	89 Terrorism defense
72 Energy independence	74 Energy independence	67 Energy independence	75 Energy independence
	62 Global climate change	56 Global climate change	72 Spread of WMD
<u>General public</u>		54 Spread of AIDS	72 Defend human rights
86 Terrorism defense			69 Spread of AIDS
84 Protect American jobs			64 Raise living standards
75 Spread of WMD			55 Protect American jobs
72 Spread of AIDS			53 Combat drugs
67 Energy independence			
59 Combat drugs			
51 Illegal immigration			

* Only items cited by 50% or more are listed.

There are wide differences between opinion leaders and the public – and among the groups themselves – over the importance of other goals. For the public, protecting the jobs of American workers ranks about equally important as important as defending the nation against terrorism (84% vs. 86%), and more cite jobs as a top priority than say that about preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction (75%). But this goal is a far lower priority for influentials; only among state and local government officials (64%) and religious leaders (55%) do majorities believe that protecting U.S. jobs is a top long-term priority.

The public also continues to view the goals of reducing the spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases, and combating international drug trafficking, as more important priorities than do most opinion leaders.

In addition, the public views reducing illegal immigration as a much more important long-term goal than do opinion leaders. About half of Americans (51%) say that reducing illegal immigration should be a top priority; that compares with 34% of military leaders, a third of religious leaders, and far lower percentages in other groups.

Differences among Influentials

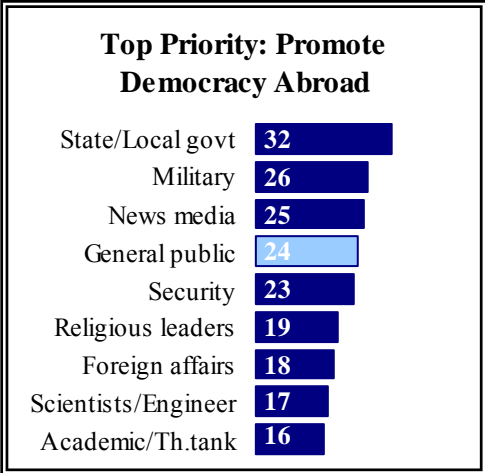
The hierarchy of policy concerns varies among the groups of opinion leaders. Nearly nine-in-ten religious leaders (89%) say that protecting groups or nations threatened with genocide should be a top priority. This objective is viewed as a much lower priority by other groups and the general public. In addition, far more religious leaders rate defending human rights in other countries as a top priority than do those in other groups. Military leaders, security and foreign affairs experts, in particular, see the advancement of human rights abroad as a low-ranking objective.

Dealing with global climate change is a dominant concern for scientists and engineers, but is viewed as less important by other groups. Fully 86% of scientists and engineers say dealing with global climate change should be a top long-term priority; the only objective that draws comparable concern among scientists and engineers is reducing American dependence on imported energy (83%).

Among military leaders, there is broad agreement that defending the U.S. against terrorism (96%), preventing the spread of WMD (85%), and reducing dependence on imported energy (72%) are major priorities. Beyond these three issues, however, other potential goals rate as far less important for military leaders.

The survey finds that the goal of strengthening the U.N. is a relatively low priority among both opinion leaders and the public. A narrow majority of scientists and engineers (54%) view bolstering the U.N. as a top priority, but there is far less support for this objective elsewhere. Just 40% of Americans say that strengthening the U.N. is a top priority, down from 48% in July 2004.

Even smaller percentages of opinion leaders and the public view the promotion of democracy in other nations as a top long-range priority. No more than three-in-ten in any group rates the promotion of democracy abroad as major long-term goal of the United States (32% of state and local officials).



National Threats

There is no consensus, among opinion leaders or the public, as to which country represents the greatest danger to the United States. Three countries are cited most frequently by opinion leaders – North Korea, China and Iran. This marks a change from the previous survey in August 2001, when pluralities in each group pointed to China as posing the biggest danger to the United States.

Academics and think tank leaders mention China most frequently as the country presenting the greatest danger to the U.S. (34%). But even among this group, the percentage citing China has fallen from 46% in 2001.

A relatively large proportion of scientists and engineers (21%) cite the U.S. itself as the nation that poses the greatest danger. Only China (at 23%) was mentioned more frequently by scientists and engineers.

	North				
	China	Korea	Iran	Iraq	US
	%	%	%	%	%
News media	24	22	22	4	10
2001	45	3	3	23	4
Foreign affairs	23	26	21	3	5
2001	33	2	7	15	6
Security	19	14	9	3	10
2001	24	2	0	17	3
State/Local government	27	23	18	2	5
2001	39	6	6	20	5
Academic/Think tank	34	22	14	4	3
2001	46	1	1	15	5
Religious leaders	14	19	11	0	6
2001	41	8	8	10	4
Scientists/Engineers	23	9	9	4	21
2001	40	5	9	14	5
Military leaders	23	15	23	0	4
(no trend)					
General public	16	13	9	18	7
2001	32	1	5	16	2

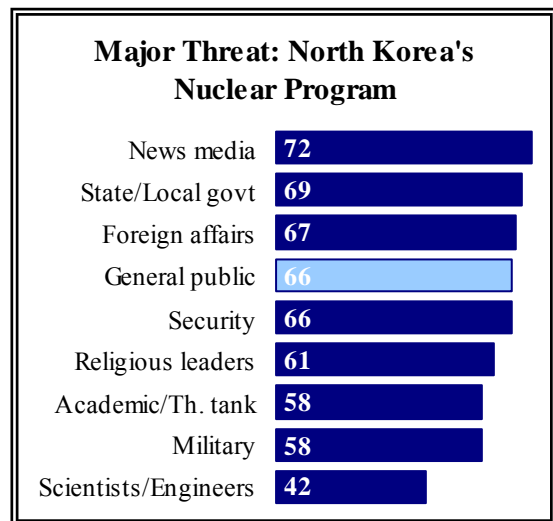
Among the general public, roughly equal numbers name Iraq and China as the country representing the greatest danger to the U.S. (18% and 16%, respectively); another 13% pointed to North Korea.

Americans who demonstrate a relatively high degree of awareness of current international issues, based on their responses to several knowledge questions, are divided in their evaluations of national threats, with about one-in-five each citing China, Iran or North Korea. Among those who have little awareness of international issues, a plurality cites Iraq as the country posing the biggest danger to the U.S. (33%).

Specific Threats: N. Korea, Iran

When assessing specific threats to the U.S., opinion leaders and the public express a high level of concern over the nuclear programs of North Korea and Iran. Majorities in all but one group view North Korea’s nuclear program as a major threat to the U.S.; the only exception is scientists and engineers (42%).

Smaller majorities in most groups see Iran’s nuclear program as a major threat; again, scientists and engineers are far less likely to express this view (28%). The general public generally regards both countries’ nuclear programs as worrisome: 66% view North Korea’s nuclear program as a major threat, and 61% say the same about Iran’s nuclear ambitions.



Other possible international threats – including China’s emergence as a world power – trigger less concern. Influentials are deeply divided over whether China’s growing power represents a major threat to the U.S. Far more journalists see China’s increasing power as a major threat than did so four years (64% now, 45% in 2001). But several other groups express far less concern, and the percentage of security experts who view China’s emergence as a world power as a major threat has declined, from 38% to 21%, since 2001.

Percent saying “major threat” to US...	Aug	Oct	Change
	2001	2005	
News media	45	64	+19
Foreign affairs	38	30	-8
Security	38	21	-17
State/Local government	45	52	+7
Academic/Think tank	42	51	+9
Religious leaders	39	36	-3
Scientists/Engineers	37	41	+4
Military	na	30	--
General public	51*	52	+1

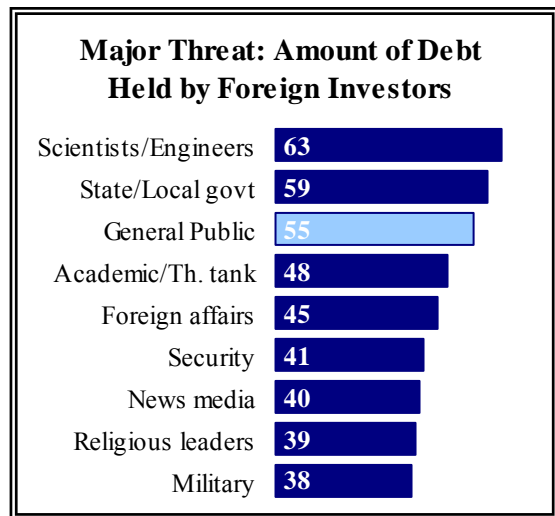
* From May 2001

Public attitudes toward the potential threat

posed by China also have not changed in recent years. About half of Americans (52%) continue to perceive China’s emergence as a serious threat. Nearly six-in-ten Republicans (58%) view China’s growing power as a major threat, compared with about half of Democrats (51%) and 45% of independents.

The public is even less concerned over a possible military clash between China and Taiwan. Only about a third of Americans (34%) regard this scenario as a major threat to the U.S., which is virtually unchanged from May 2001 (36%). However, a possible conflict between China and Taiwan does trigger considerable concern among two groups of opinion leaders – security experts and military leaders. Six-in-ten security experts (62%) say such a clash represents a major threat to the U.S., while about half of military leaders agree (51%).

More Americans see the amount of U.S. debt held by foreign investors as a major threat than say that about a possible China-Taiwan conflict and other long-standing foreign policy concerns. More than half of the public (55%) rates U.S. indebtedness to foreign investors as a major threat to the United States. This is generally less of concern to opinion leaders, although majorities of scientists and engineers (63%) and state and local government officials (59%) also regard U.S. indebtedness as a serious threat.



Relatively small percentages among opinion leaders perceive a possible military conflict between India and Pakistan and growing authoritarianism in Russia as major threats to the United States. Just a third of the public (32%) views a possible India-Pakistan conflict as a major threat, while 23% say that about growing authoritarianism in Russia.

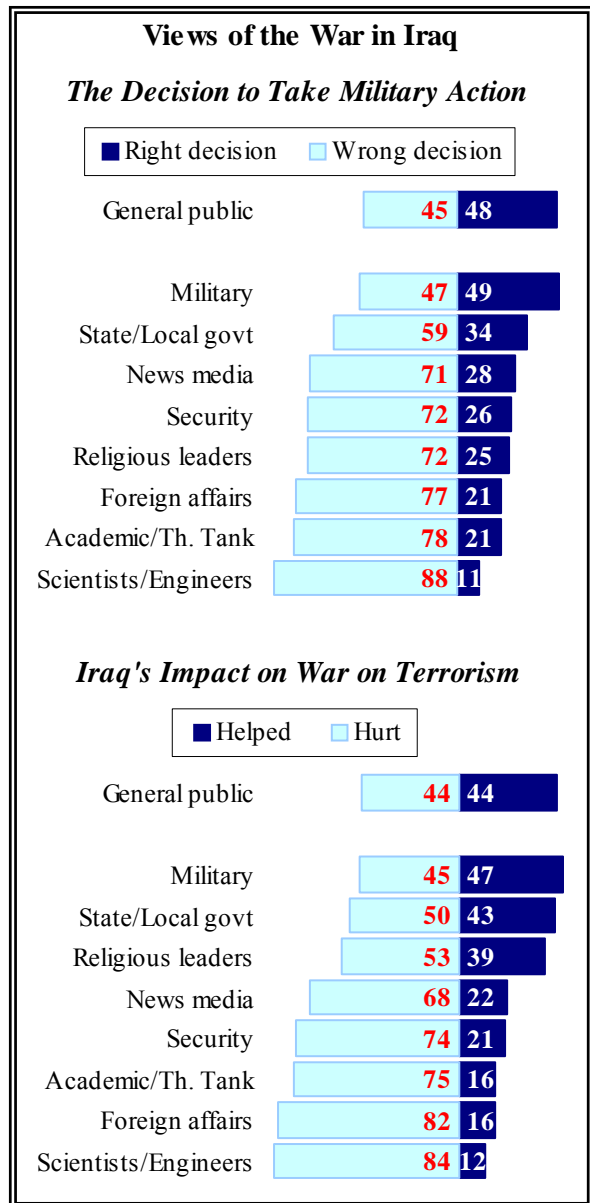
III. Iraq and the War on Terrorism

Opinion leaders express deep doubts about the decision to go to war in Iraq, and most of them believe the war has undermined the struggle against terrorism. Influentials are divided on whether to keep troops in Iraq, but most think that the U.S. will ultimately fail in its effort to create a stable democratic government there. In contrast, the public is more divided on whether the war was a mistake and on how it has affected the war on terrorism. A small majority of the public believes that the U.S. will ultimately succeed in establishing a democratic government in Iraq.

Only one group of influentials, military leaders, is divided over the decision to go to war (49% right decision, 47% wrong decision). In all other groups at least 59% think using force was the wrong decision. Similarly, only in the military sample is there an even division on the impact of the Iraq invasion on the war on terrorism. Half or more in other groups think the war has hurt America's effort to combat terrorism.

The attitudes of influentials toward the war, like their views of Bush, are politically polarized. Democratic members of the influentials sample are nearly unanimous in the view that the war was a mistake (93%), while a smaller majority of Republicans (72%) think it was the right thing to do. A similar split is seen on Iraq's impact on the war on terrorism and on the prospects for eventual success in Iraq.

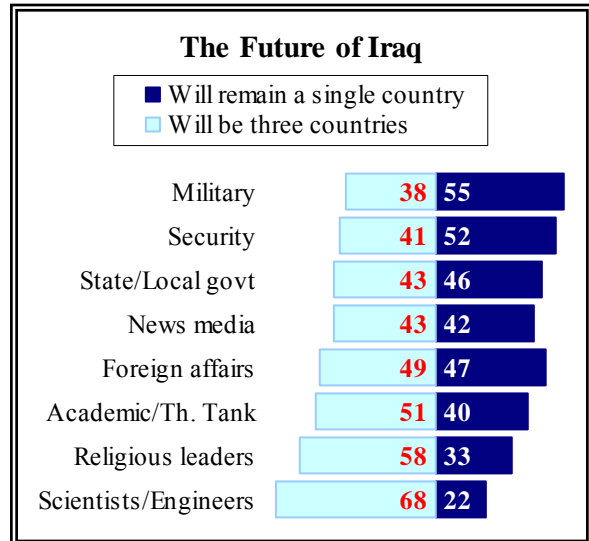
Opinion leaders generally believe the war was a mistake, but they are divided over whether to maintain troops in Iraq. About as many favor a withdrawal of all or some U.S. forces in Iraq (45%) as say the troops should remain, or even be augmented (49%). Except for scientists and engineers, fewer than a quarter in all groups



favor a complete U.S. troop withdrawal. Similarly, just 26% of the public supports a total pullout of forces.

Iraq's Future

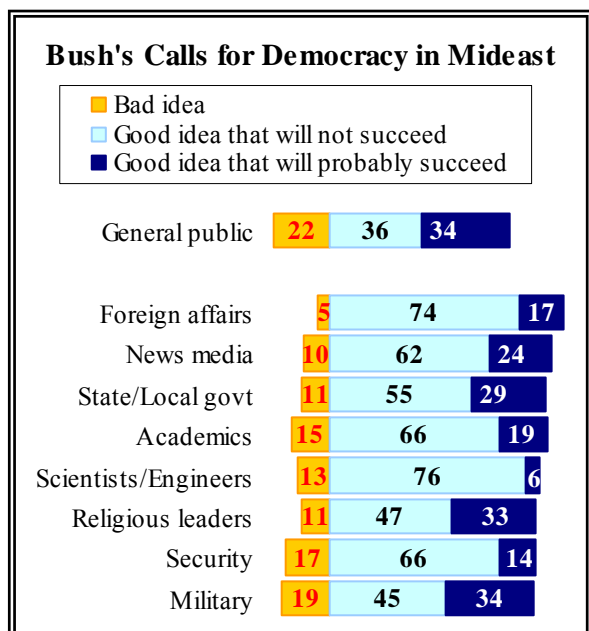
The opinion leaders are somewhat skeptical that Iraq will remain a single nation in the future. Military officers and security specialists are the most likely to think Iraq will hold together (55% and 52%, respectively), while religious leaders and scientists and engineers are most apt to think the country will end up divided (58% and 68%, respectively). Among influentials, Republicans (67%) are much more likely than Democrats (30%) to think the country will stay intact.



Asked what a future democracy in Iraq might look like, large majorities in nearly all influential groups believe it would be a religious rather than a secular democracy. Only among religious leaders do as few as half expect an Iraqi democracy to be religious in nature – but even among this group, only 36% think it would be a secular democracy.

Bush's Calls for Democracy

By wide margins, both the American public and opinion leaders believe that George W. Bush's calls for more democracy in the Middle East are a good idea, but there is widespread doubt about whether this idea will ultimately succeed, especially among opinion leaders. Except for religious and military leaders, majorities in every group say that Bush's calls for more democracy are a good idea that will probably fail; even among those two groups, pluralities express this view.



The general public is more divided over this question than any influential group. While a third (34%) are optimistic that Bush's calls for democracy will probably succeed, 22% believe his calls for democracy are a bad idea altogether.

Assessing the Terrorist Threat

More than four years after the 9/11 attacks, most influentials feel the ability of terrorists to launch another major strike against the U.S. remains undiminished. Only among military leaders does a slim majority (51%) say that the ability of terrorists to attack the U.S. is less than it was around the time of 9/11.

The public is skeptical that the terrorists’ capabilities to attack have been degraded. Overall, 41% say terrorists have the same ability to launch a major strike on the U.S., 26% believe terrorists now have greater ability to engineer a major attack, while just 29% say terrorists’ capabilities are less than they were at the time of 9/11.

Large majorities of influentials say that the absence of another terrorist attack on the U.S. since 9/11 is either a result of good luck or the fact that America is inherently a difficult target for terrorists, rather than due to government efforts to protect the country. Overall, about half (48%) credit luck, and a quarter (24%) say the U.S. is a difficult target, while only one-fifth (22%) say the lack of terrorist attacks is due to the government’s good job in protecting the country. Military officers and state and local government officials are slightly more likely than other leaders to credit the government’s efforts for preventing a new terrorist attack.

<i>Ability of terrorists to launch major attack on the U.S. is...</i>	<u>Greater</u> %	The <u>same</u> %	<u>Less</u> %	No <u>answer</u> %
News media	15	36	43	6=100
Foreign affairs	13	43	44	0=100
Security	15	36	47	2=100
State/Local government	7	50	39	4=100
Academic/Think tank	18	38	44	0=100
Religious leaders	28	53	19	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	26	50	23	1=100
Military	17	30	51	2=100
General public	26	41	29	4=100

The general public’s views are not particularly different from those of the influentials, with nearly half (45%) saying the U.S. has been lucky thus far, and a third (33%) giving the government credit (33%). More generally, the public gives the government fairly good marks for its efforts to reduce the threat of terrorism. Two-thirds (67%) say the government is doing at least “fairly well” in protecting the country (17% “very well,” 50% “fairly well”), down from 2001 (following the attacks) but largely unchanged over the past year and a half.

Public More Willing to Accept Torture

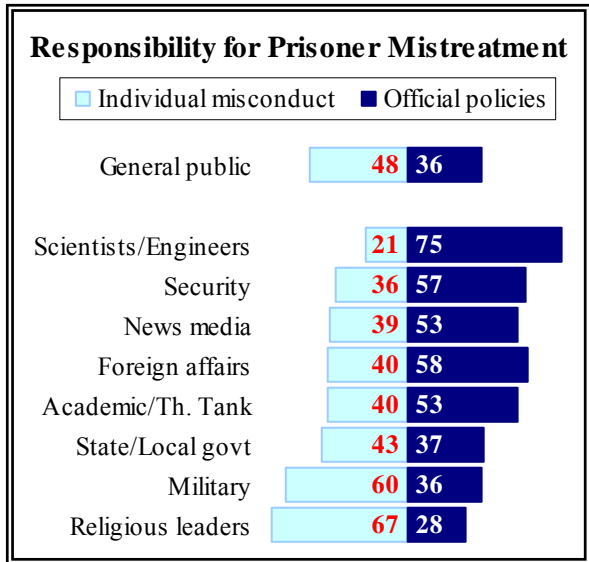
The American public is far more open than opinion leaders to the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information. Nearly half of the public (46%) says this can be either often (15%) or sometimes (31%) be justified. This is consistent with results of Pew surveys since July 2004.

By contrast, no more than one-in-four in any of the eight elite groups believes the torture of terrorist suspects can be sometimes or often justified. Strong opposition to torture is particularly pronounced among security experts, religious leaders and academics, majorities of whom say the use of torture to gain important information is *never* justified. Nearly half (48%) of scientists and engineers also take this position, as do military leaders (49%).

	Often %	Some- times %	Rarely %	Never %	DK %
General public	15	31	17	32	5=100
News media	3	18	42	36	1=100
Foreign affairs	0	12	46	42	0=100
Security	2	10	29	59	0=100
State/Local govt	7	18	43	29	3=100
Academic/Think tank	3	4	38	52	3=100
Religious leaders	0	19	17	56	8=100
Scientists/Engineers	2	9	39	48	2=100
Military	6	13	30	49	2=100

Responsibility for Prisoner Abuse

While influentials largely agree in opposing the use of torture, opinions differ widely on where the responsibility lies for cases of prisoner mistreatment in Iraq and Guantanamo Bay. By more than three-to-one (75%-21%) scientists and engineers say that these abuses were mostly the result of official policies. A majority of security (57%) and foreign affairs experts (58%) agree, along with about half of academics (53%) and news media leaders (53%). But most military (60%) and religious (67%) leaders believe cases of prisoner mistreatment were mostly the result of misconduct on the part of soldiers and contractors.



The general public is divided over this question – 48% believe soldiers and contractors are mostly to blame, while 36% blame official policies. Not surprisingly, the public’s views are highly differentiated by party. By a 67% to 20% margin, Republicans say these abuses mostly reflect misconduct by soldiers and contractors. Democrats and independents are more than twice as likely as Republicans to blame official policies (44% and 46% respectively).

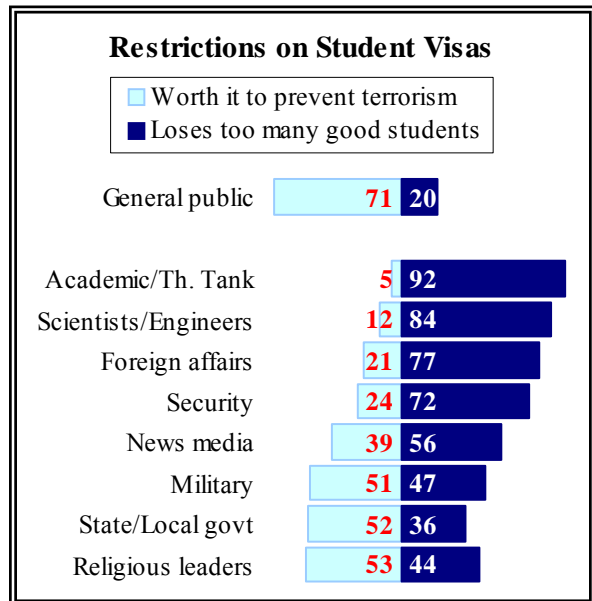
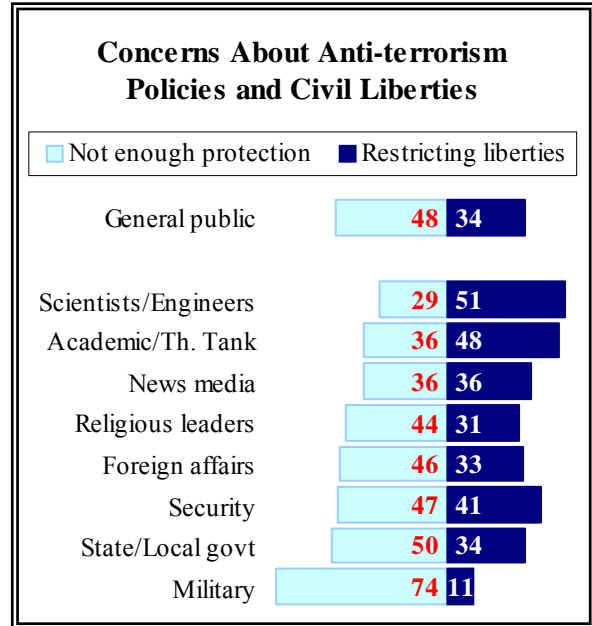
Terrorism and Civil Liberties

Opinion leaders and the public are split over the proper balance between protecting the nation against future terror attacks and maintaining basic civil liberties for all Americans. Asked which concerned them more about the current anti-terrorism policies, 48% of Americans are more concerned that they have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country, while 34% worry more that they have gone too far in restricting the average person’s civil liberties.

Several of the influential groups interviewed divide over this question in much the same way, but there are some important exceptions. Most notably, military leaders overwhelmingly say the bigger concern is inadequate protection against future attacks – 74% take this view. By contrast, roughly half of scientists and engineers (51%) and academics (48%) worry more that policies have gone too far in restricting civil liberties.

There is a broader split between the public and influential groups over the specific policy that increased restrictions on student visas as part of terrorism defenses. By a 71% to 20% margin, the American public believes these increased security measures are worth it in order to prevent terrorists from getting into the country. But most opinion leaders (67%), including 92% of academic and think-tank leaders and 84% of scientists and engineers, are of the view that such measures go to far because the U.S. loses too many good students to other countries.

While concern about losing too many good students prevails among many influential groups, about half of military leaders (51%), religious leaders (53%) and governors and mayors (52%) say these types of restrictions are worth the costs.



IV. Allies, Trade and International Institutions

Looking into the future, many opinion leaders see China and India, with their huge populations and rapidly expanding economies, as increasingly important partners for the U.S. Pluralities in four of the eight opinion leader groups identify China as a country that will be more important to the U.S. in the future, while pluralities in another three groups name India. The United Kingdom, traditionally a strong U.S. ally, is the most commonly mentioned country among religious and military leaders. Many influentials also mention Japan, the EU, and Russia as countries that will become more important to the U.S.

France, on the other hand, is widely named as a country that will be less important to the U.S. in the years to come. A majority of military leaders see this as an alliance in decline, as do roughly three-in-ten media, foreign affairs and religious leaders. Many also believe Germany will be less relevant to the U.S, particularly those with military backgrounds and from think tanks and the academy. In addition to these two traditional western European allies, Russia, the EU, Great Britain, and Saudi Arabia are also mentioned with some frequency as less important U.S. allies in the future.

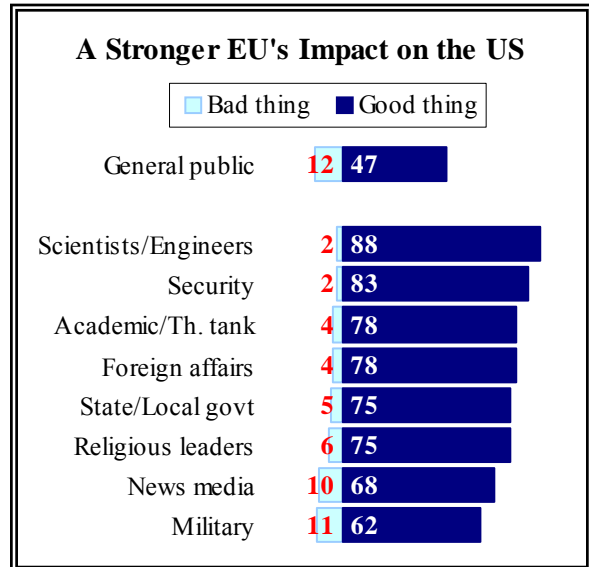
Strong EU Good for the U.S.

Despite the growing importance of Asia, and tensions in recent years between the U.S. and many European allies over the Iraq war and other issues, both opinion leaders and the public strongly believe that the U.S. and Western Europe should

America's Allies in the Future				
	%	More Important	%	Less Important
News media	39	China	31	France
	39	India	19	Germany
	25	Japan	11	Russia
	24	Britain	10	Britain
Foreign affairs	43	India	31	France
	32	Japan	21	Germany
	31	China		
	27	Britain		
	23	Europe/EU		
Security	45	India	16	France
	36	Europe/EU	14	South Korea
	33	Japan	10	Germany
	28	China	10	Europe/EU
	28	Britain		
	22	Russia		
State/Local government	21	Australia		
	34	China	21	France
	27	Britain	14	Germany
	20	India		
Academic/ Think tank	40	China	26	Germany
	38	India	21	France
	27	Japan	14	Britain
	26	Europe/EU	12	Russia
			10	Saudi Arabia
Religious leaders	50	Britain	31	France
	33	China	11	Germany
	22	Israel	11	Russia
	22	Europe/EU		
Scientists/ Engineers	42	China	18	France
	28	Britain		
	27	Europe/EU		
	23	India		
Military	40	Britain	53	France
	38	China	30	Germany
	36	Japan		
	32	India		
	21	Australia		

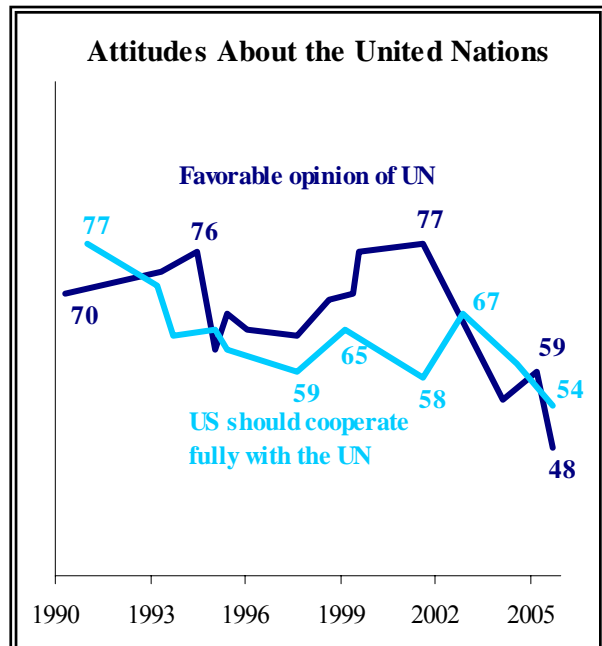
maintain a close relationship. Fully 84% of the public and over 78% in each group of opinion leaders say it is important for the U.S.-Western Europe partnership to be as close as it has been in the past.

Moreover, there is a solid consensus among influentials that a stronger EU is a good thing for the U.S. In each of the eight groups, at least 60% say a stronger EU would be good for the U.S., while no more than 11% believe this would be a bad thing. The public is slightly less enthusiastic about a strong EU; still, 47% believe this would be a good thing, while 28% say it would not matter and only 12% say it would be bad for the U.S.



One-third of the public has a favorable opinion of the EU, while just over a quarter (27%) hold an unfavorable view. Opinions about the EU have grown slightly less positive since February 2004, when 39% had a favorable view and 26% an unfavorable one. Certain segments of the American public are particularly likely to have a positive outlook toward Europe. Those with higher incomes, the college educated, white men, and Democrats – especially liberal Democrats – give the EU high favorability ratings and are particularly likely to back a strong EU.

Many Americans, however, are unfamiliar with the EU, as a plurality currently say they have either never heard of it (14%) or do not know enough about it to offer an opinion (26%). Pew surveys have generally found that Americans pay relatively little attention to European affairs; for instance, only 16% followed the recent German elections very or fairly closely, and similarly low numbers followed the 2002 French elections (19%) and the 2001 Labour Party victory in Great Britain (15%).



Public Approval of the U.N. Declines

The public's view of the United Nations

has soured since March, continuing a slide that has been relatively steady over the last few years. In March, 59% held a favorable opinion of the U.N.; today just under half (48%) have a positive view. The decline has been steepest among groups that had been some of the U.N.'s strongest supporters, including Democrats (now at 58% favorable, down 17 points since March), blacks (49%, down 20 points), and those with household incomes below \$20,000 (48%, down 19 points).

Enthusiasm for U.S.-U.N. cooperation is also waning. An early October Pew survey found that slightly more than half (54%) of the public agrees with the statement “the United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations,” down six points from August. Meanwhile, the percentage disagreeing has risen from 30% to 39%.

The importance Americans attach to strengthening the U.N. has also slipped. Four-in-ten say a stronger U.N. should be a top long-range priority for U.S. foreign policy, down from 48% in July 2004. Opinion leaders also tend to regard strengthening the U.N. as a second tier goal, although there is some variation among groups. For example, 54% of scientists and engineers consider this a top priority, compared with only 14% of security experts.

Opinions about the U.N. break sharply along partisan lines. Among the general public, Democrats have a more favorable view of the institution, are more likely to believe the U.S. should cooperate with the U.N., and place a higher priority on strengthening the U.N. Meanwhile, Republicans are the least enthusiastic about the U.N., with independents occupying a middle ground.

Among influentials, Democrats are considerably more likely than Republicans or independents to rate strengthening the U.N. as a top priority. There are also significant partisan divisions among influentials on the issue of expanding the U.N. Security Council, with 70% of Democrats and 62% of independents favoring a larger Council, compared to 48% of Republicans. Overall, majorities of seven opinion leader groups support enlarging the Security Council, with state and local government leaders the only exception (39% favor, 48% oppose).

Even larger partisan differences emerge over another international institution, the International Criminal Court (ICC). Roughly nine-in-ten (88%) Democratic opinion leaders say

Partisan Divisions over the U.N.			
	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%
<i>General Public</i>			
Favorable view of UN	40	58	50
U.S. should cooperate fully w/ UN	39	68	52
Strengthening UN a top priority	29	49	40
	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Opinion Leaders*</i>			
Strengthening UN a top priority	17	44	21
Favor expanding Security Council	48	70	62

* Opinion leaders from all groups categorized according to partisan identification.

the U.S. should join the ICC, compared with 62% of independents and just 33% of Republican influentials. There is also a great deal of variation among the eight groups over this issue, with scientists and engineers (83% favor) and foreign affairs (81% favor) the most supportive, and military (45%) and state and local government leaders (45%) the least supportive.

Influentials, Public Differ Over Trade

Consistently, opinion leaders are more likely to embrace free trade than the general public. Just 44% of the public believes that NAFTA has been a good thing for the U.S., while 34% say it has been a bad thing; these views have been relatively consistent across time (in December 2004, 47% said “good thing” and 34% “bad thing”). Opinions on NAFTA are also fairly consistent across demographic and political categories, with the exception of age – those under 50 (51% good, 29% bad) have a much more favorable opinion of trade agreements than do those over 50 (34% good, 41% bad).

Seven of the opinion leader groups think NAFTA has been a good thing for the U.S. Only religious leaders mirror the mixed feelings of the public. This enthusiasm for free trade extends to CAFTA, the recently passed Central American Free Trade Agreement. Solid majorities of every group except religious leaders favor CAFTA (a 44% plurality of religious leaders support the treaty). Interestingly, the sharp partisan divisions that exist on many other issues are largely muted on trade – 83% of Republican opinion leaders think NAFTA has been good for the U.S., compared with 73% of Democrats and 74% of independents; 84% of GOP leaders approve of CAFTA, compared with 69% of Democrats and 73% of independents.

Another reflection of the gap between influentials and the public on trade can be seen in the relative importance each places on the protection of American jobs. The public rates this as nearly as important as defending the country against terrorism (86% terrorism, 84% jobs). In contrast, few opinion leaders consider jobs a top-tier foreign policy concern. In only two groups, state and local government leaders (64%) and religious leaders (55%), do majorities rate this as a top priority.

Public Divided over Use of Nuclear Weapons

By a 70% to 24% margin, the American public widely supports the idea of the U.S. signing a treaty with other nations to reduce and eventually eliminate all nuclear weapons, including our own. This receives majority support from Republicans (63%) as well as Democrats (77%) and independents (73%). (This question was not asked of opinion leaders).

Despite this general support for multilateral disarmament, many Americans remain willing to use nuclear weapons preemptively if America or one of its allies were faced with a serious threat. Just under half (46%) say the U.S. would be justified in using nuclear

weapons first if another nation seriously threatened to use nuclear weapons against us, and nearly as many (41%) say this would also be justified if that serious threat were against a U.S. ally.

The likelihood of nuclear weapons being used against the U.S. or its allies is a real one to some Americans. Nearly a quarter say that within the next few years America is very likely (8%) or fairly likely (16%) to be the target of a nuclear attack. Even more see the possibility of an attack against one or more of America’s allies as very (14%) or fairly (26%) likely.

Public Perceptions of Nuclear States

Large majorities of the public believe that Russia (79%), China (74%), and North Korea (74%) possess nuclear weapons. But more than half (55%) also believe Iran currently has nuclear weapons. This is comparable to the percentage saying that Pakistan, India and Great Britain have nuclear weapons capabilities.

By a 48% to 22% margin, more say Israel does have nuclear weapons than say it does not. Fewer than half list Japan (44%), Germany (43%), and France (38%) as members of the nuclear club. At the other end of the spectrum, fewer than one-in-five believe that South Africa and Brazil are in possession of nuclear weapons.

<i>Sign multilateral disarmament treaty</i>		
	%	
Favor	70	
Oppose	24	
Don't know	<u>6</u>	
	100	
<i>US using nuclear weapons first if a serious nuclear threat</i>		
	Against the US	Against a US ally
	%	%
Justified	46	41
Not justified	43	48
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Russia	79	9	12=100
China	74	9	17=100
North Korea	74	12	14=100
Pakistan	59	20	21=100
Iran	55	25	20=100
Great Britain	52	22	26=100
India	51	22	27=100
Israel	48	22	30=100
Japan	44	31	25=100
Germany	43	32	25=100
France	38	30	32=100
Libya	30	36	34=100
South Africa	18	46	36=100
Brazil	13	46	41=100

While many Americans believe such countries as North Korea, Iran and Libya have developed nuclear capabilities, those who hold this view are no more likely to say that America would be justified in using nuclear weapons preemptively if attacked.

Knowledge of Foreign Affairs

In addition to measuring public attitudes about America’s place in the world, the survey also gauged basic public knowledge about international political issues. For example, when asked what issue has been the focus of international talks with North Korea, 57% correctly identified nuclear weapons. Other questions were less widely known. Just under half (46%) could name Israel as the country that recently ceded control of the Gaza Strip to the Palestinians, and 37% could recall Vladimir Putin as the name of Russia’s president. Overall, 28% answered all three questions correctly, while 38% could answer one or two of the questions correctly, and 34% got none of the questions right.

Public’s Knowledge of Foreign Affairs	
<i>Percent correctly identifying...</i>	<i>%</i>
Nuclear weapons as the main issue under discussion with North Korea	57
Israel as nation turning over control of Gaza Strip to the Palestinians	46
Putin as the president of Russia	37

Informed Public Views World Differently

In general, those who are most knowledgeable about international affairs (those who answered all three of these questions correctly) express a somewhat more internationalist perspective on world affairs. By contrast, people who have relatively little knowledge about these issues (those who answered none of the questions correctly) see the world as a more threatening place, and place more emphasis on taking care of America first.

When asked to characterize what role the U.S. should play in world affairs, 81% of those in the high-knowledge group favor a shared leadership role. Fewer low-knowledge Americans agree (65%). The generally multilateral outlook of those who are most knowledgeable is also visible in

	--General Public--			Opinion leaders
	<i>Questions correct</i>			
	<u>None</u>	<u>1-2</u>	<u>All 3</u>	
Shared leadership role for US	65	76	81	88
US less respected than in past	50	72	78	N/A
...see this as a “major problem”	32	48	51	
Stopping genocide a top priority	37	47	56	51
Acceptable if other country rivals US military power	28	34	43	44
Favorable opinion of the EU*	47	55	59	N/A
Stronger EU good for America	34	52	55	77
Terrorists’ ability to attack US greater than at time of 9/11	34	26	16	17

* Favorability ratings based on those able to rate the group.

their stronger support for taking action to stop genocide and global climate change. On all of these issues, knowledgeable Americans largely share the outlook of the opinion leaders surveyed.

Also like opinion leaders, the most knowledgeable Americans express considerable concern over how the United States is viewed globally. More than three-quarters (78%) say America is less respected than in the past, and most (51%) believe this is a major problem. By comparison, just half of low-knowledge Americans think that America has lost respect in the world. In assessing the reasons why America is disliked, those who are knowledgeable about international affairs far more often point to America’s support for Israel as a cause – a view expressed by a majority of opinion leaders as well.

Americans who do not know much about international affairs tend to see the world as a scarier place – they believe that the threat of terrorism is on the rise, and they strongly oppose allowing other countries to become as militarily powerful as the U.S. Less knowledgeable Americans also place a far higher priority on protecting American jobs, and most do not believe that a stronger European Union is a good thing for the United States’ interests. Knowledgeable people view the EU much more favorably, and are far more willing to accept a future in which other countries rival America’s military power.

Both high- and low-knowledge Americans are equally likely to say taking military action in Iraq was the right decision, to say it has helped the war on terrorism, and that U.S. efforts there will ultimately be successful. In all these regards, even the most knowledgeable Americans take a decidedly different view than do opinion leaders.

There is one aspect of Iraq policy where knowledgeable and less knowledgeable Americans disagree, and the knowledgeable share the view of opinion leaders. While two-thirds of low-knowledge Americans favor removing either some or all troops from Iraq now, just 45% of the knowledgeable agree – the same as the share of influentials overall who take this position.

Informed Public More Critical of U.N.				
	--General Public--			All Opinion Leaders
	<i>Questions correct</i>			
	<u>None</u>	<u>1-2</u>	<u>All 3</u>	
	%	%	%	%
Iraq was right decision	48	49	48	25
Iraq helped war on terrorism	40	44	47	24
U.S. will succeed in Iraq	54	58	56	33
Bring troops home from Iraq	66	55	45	45
Favorable opinion of the U.N*	67	57	43	n/a
Strengthening UN a top priority	51	39	28	31
China an adversary	8	17	24	9
China poses danger to the U.S.	6	24	19	24

* Favorability ratings based on those able to rate the group.

Despite their generally multilateral outlook, knowledgeable Americans are deeply skeptical of the United Nations. Most express an unfavorable view of the institution, and just 28% say strengthening the U.N. should be considered a top priority. By comparison, people with less knowledge of foreign affairs see the United Nations more favorably, and consider it a higher public policy priority.

Survey Methodology

The Opinion Leaders Survey Sample

The results of the *opinion leaders survey* are based on Americans who are influential in their chosen field. The sample was designed to represent these influentials in eight professional areas of expertise: media; foreign affairs; national security; state and local government; university administration and think tanks; religious organizations; science and engineering; and military. Every effort was made to make the sample as representative of the leadership of each particular field as possible. However, because the goal of the survey was to identify people of particular power or influence, the sampling was purposive in overall design, but systematic with regard to respondent selection wherever possible.

The final selected sample was drawn from eight subsamples. Subsamples were split into replicates, and quotas were set for the number of completed interviews from each subsample. These quotas were set because the size of the sampling frame for each subsample varied a great deal. In order to ensure adequate representation of the smaller groups in the final sample of complete interviews, it was necessary to set quotas. The subsamples and final completed interviews for each are listed below:

The specific sampling procedures for each subsample are outlined below.

News Media

The media sample included people from all types of media: newspapers, magazines, television and radio. Various editors (editors, editors of the editorial page, managing editors) and D.C. bureau chiefs were selected from: the top daily newspapers (based on circulation); additional newspapers selected to round out the geographic representation of the sample; news services; and different types of magazines including news, literary, political, and entertainment and cultural magazines.

For the television sample, people such as D.C. bureau chiefs, news directors or news editors, anchors, news executives, and executive producers were selected from television networks, chains and news services.

The radio sample included news directors and/or D.C. bureau chiefs at several top radio stations.

Top columnists listed in the Leadership Directories' News Media Yellow Book and Bacon's MediaSource were also selected as part of the media subsample.

In each part of the media subsample, it is possible that more than one individual at an organization was interviewed.

Foreign Affairs

The Foreign Affairs sample was randomly selected from the membership roster of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Security

The Security sample was randomly selected from a list of American members of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

State and Local Government

Governors of the 50 states were drawn for the sample, as well as a random sample of mayors of cities with a population of 80,000 or more.

Academic and Think Tank Leaders

The heads of various influential think tanks listed in National Journal's *The Capital Source* were selected. For the academic sample, officers (President, Provost, Vice-President,

Number of Interviews	
News media	72
Foreign affairs	96
Security	58
State/Local government	56
Academic/Think tank	73
Religion	36
Scientists/Engineers	82
Military	47
	520

Dean of the Faculty) of the most competitive schools overall and the most competitive state schools (as identified in *Peterson's Guide to Four-Year Colleges 2006*) in the United States were selected.

Religious Leaders

For the religion sample, leaders of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and Muslim organizations with membership over 700,000 each were sampled. Top U.S. figures in each national body were selected in addition to the leading people at the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Scientists and Engineers

The science sample was a random sample of scientists drawn from the membership of the National Academy of Sciences.

The engineering sample was a random sample of engineers drawn from the membership of the National Academy of Engineering.

Military

The military leaders sample was drawn from a Lexis-Nexis search of retired generals and admirals quoted in American news sources in the past year. Also included was a sample of outstanding officers selected to participate in the Council on Foreign Relations' Military Fellowship program since 2000.

The Opinion Leaders Survey Process

Each person sampled for this survey was mailed an advance letter on a joint Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and Council on Foreign Relations letterhead and signed by Andrew Kohut and Richard Haass. These letters were intended to introduce the survey to prospective respondents, describe the nature and purpose of the survey, and encourage participation in the survey.

Unlike previous America's Place in the World telephone mode surveys, in 2005 respondents were given the option to take this survey via the Internet. The advance letter contained a URL and a password to complete the survey online, a toll-free number to call in to do the survey by phone, as well as notification that interviewers would be calling as well. As soon as the letters were mailed, a website was available for respondents to complete the interview online.

A follow-up email invitation was sent six days after letters were mailed to those for whom email addresses were available, repeating the substance of the letter and providing a URL to click to take the survey.

	Survey Mode by Sample Group	
	<i>Completed Survey...</i>	
	<u>Telephone</u>	<u>Online</u>
	%	%
All elite groups	42	58=100
News media	54	46=100
Foreign affairs	36	64=100
Security	33	67=100
State/Local government	48	52=100
Academic/Think tank	40	60=100
Religion	69	31=100
Scientists/Engineers	27	73=100
Military	49	51=100

Approximately one week after the letter was mailed, calling began to sample members who had not yet taken the survey online and had not been sent an email invitation. Interviewers attempted to conduct the survey over the telephone or set up appointments to conduct the survey at a later date. Approximately four days later, interviewers began calling sample members who were sent an email invitation and had not yet taken the survey online.

For groups not meeting the target number of interviews, follow-up letters and emails were sent to those who refused encouraging them to reconsider. Another letter was sent to those who had not participated but had not explicitly refused. Interviewers also continued to call those respondents in the remaining groups who did not explicitly refuse in an attempt to complete the interview.

The “Don’t know/Refused” response category was volunteered exclusively in the telephone survey, while in the online survey mode not selecting a response category and clicking ahead to the next question constituted a “No answer” response.

Interviewers who administered the telephone survey were experienced, executive, and specially trained to ensure their familiarity with the questionnaire and their professionalism in dealing with professionals of this level. The interviewing was conducted from September 5 through October 31, 2005.

About the General Public Survey

Results for the *general public survey* are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 2,006 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 12 - 24, 2005. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=1003) or Form 2 (N=1003), the sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. For Q.42 the forms are further divided into Form 1A, 1B, 2A and 2B (N is approximately 500) with a sampling error of plus or minus 5 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

General Public Survey Methodology in Detail

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing one or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. The use of replicates also ensures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

As many as 10 attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home." If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the youngest female, 18 years of age or older,

who is now at home." This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 2004). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

PUBLIC TREND IN FAVORABILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

	<i>Early Sept 2001</i>		<i>October 2005</i>		<i>Change in Fav.</i>
	<u>Fav.</u> %	<u>Unfav.</u> %	<u>Fav.</u> %	<u>Unfav.</u> %	
Total	77	18	48	39	-29
Sex					
Male	76	23	45	46	-31
Female	79	14	52	32	-27
Race					
White	77	18	48	40	-29
Non-white	76	16	50	33	-26
Black	77	15	49	36	-28
Hispanic*	84	8	55	32	-29
Race and Sex					
White Men	75	24	45	47	-30
White Women	80	13	51	33	-29
Age					
Under 30	78	16	58	29	-20
30-49	80	16	50	39	-30
50-64	75	22	48	41	-27
65+	73	20	34	46	-39
Sex and Age					
Men under 50	78	20	49	43	-29
Women under 50	81	12	57	27	-24
Men 50+	71	28	38	49	-33
Women 50+	76	16	47	38	-29
Education					
College Grad.	77	22	53	40	-24
Some College	77	18	47	41	-30
High School Grad.	76	18	47	40	-29
< H.S. Grad.	80	14	48	24	-32
Family Income					
\$75,000+	78	21	49	44	-29
\$50,000-\$74,999	78	20	50	39	-28
\$30,000-\$49,999	78	18	52	36	-26
\$20,000-\$29,999	81	16	53	37	-28
<\$20,000	73	16	48	33	-25

* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Is your overall opinion of the United Nations very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Continued on next page...

	<i>Early Sept 2001</i>		<i>October 2005</i>		<i>Change in Fav.</i>
	<u>Fav.</u>	<u>Unfav.</u>	<u>Fav.</u>	<u>Unfav.</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
Total	77	18	48	39	-29
Region					
East	81	16	49	39	-32
Midwest	76	19	48	39	-28
South	76	19	48	38	-28
West	76	18	50	38	-26
Religious Affiliation					
Total White Protestant	75	22	46	41	-29
- Evangelical	70	26	40	46	-30
- Non-Evangelical	80	17	52	36	-28
White Catholic	82	14	45	45	-37
Secular	81	14	55	30	-26
Party ID					
Republican	67	29	40	51	-27
Democrat	85	10	58	30	-27
Independent	78	17	50	38	-28
Party and Ideology					
Conservative Rep.	58	39	35	58	-23
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	83	14	50	39	-33
Conserv./Mod. Dem.	85	11	56	30	-29
Liberal Democrat	89	7	61	32	-28
Bush Approval					
Approve	74	23	42	48	-32
Disapprove	83	14	56	33	-27
Registered Voter					
Yes	76	20	47	40	-29
No	80	13	53	33	-27
Male Veterans					
Male Veteran	72	26	37	52	-35
Male Non-Veteran	77	21	47	44	-30
Parent					
Yes	80	16	50	38	-30
No	75	19	48	38	-27
Labor Union					
Union Household	76	23	48	36	-28
Non-union Household	78	17	49	39	-29
Know about Internatl Matters					
High	68	31	41	54	-27
Medium	83	13	51	39	-32
Low	77	14	52	26	-25
Interest in Internatl Matters					
High	79	20	57	36	-22
Medium	76	21	46	44	-30
Low	77	15	44	38	-33

PUBLIC TREND IN UNILATERALISM VS. MULTILATERALISM

	-----Agree that-----								
	<i>U.S. should mind own business internationally</i>			<i>U.S. should cooperate fully with United Nations</i>			<i>U.S. should go own way in international matters</i>		
	Dec <u>2002</u> %	Aug <u>2004</u> %	Oct <u>2005</u> %	Dec <u>2002</u> %	Aug <u>2004</u> %	Oct <u>2005</u> %	Dec <u>2002</u> %	Aug <u>2004</u> %	Oct <u>2005</u> %
Total	30	34	42	67	60	54	25	28	32
Sex									
Male	27	32	40	63	58	49	26	28	31
Female	33	36	44	70	61	59	23	28	34
Race									
White	28	30	39	65	57	52	24	26	32
Non-white	43	52	57	74	70	61	33	36	32
Black	49	54	62	71	71	64	34	37	36
Hispanic*	39	47	57	73	64	64	29	27	36
Race and Sex									
White Men	25	30	37	61	56	47	26	26	30
White Women	31	29	40	68	59	57	21	27	34
Age									
Under 30	32	44	54	71	64	66	23	31	34
30-49	29	36	42	63	59	52	24	29	32
50-64	27	24	35	64	57	52	27	22	30
65+	35	33	40	72	60	49	26	31	35
Sex and Age									
Men under 50	27	36	45	63	58	53	27	28	34
Women under 50	33	41	47	69	64	61	20	31	32
Men 50+	27	26	34	64	58	43	27	27	27
Women 50+	34	30	40	71	58	56	27	26	36
Education									
College Grad.	16	20	27	64	54	50	13	21	21
Some College	25	28	41	64	58	54	22	27	32
High School Grad.	35	43	50	68	62	53	27	30	38
< H.S. Grad.	50	48	55	71	66	66	45	40	40
Family Income									
\$75,000+	17	-	28	65	-	49	17	-	27
\$50,000-\$74,999	24	-	40	69	-	57	19	-	33
\$30,000-\$49,999	25	-	41	60	-	50	20	-	26
\$20,000-\$29,999	38	-	49	72	-	56	34	-	36
<\$20,000	47	-	56	76	-	63	35	-	41

* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Questions: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.

The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations.

Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not.

Continued on next page...

	-----Agree that-----								
	<i>U.S. should mind own business internationally</i>			<i>U.S. should cooperate fully with United Nations</i>			<i>U.S. should go own way in international matters</i>		
	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Oct</u>
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	30	34	42	67	60	54	25	28	32
Region									
East	28	30	45	68	66	53	24	26	36
Midwest	35	32	35	66	58	56	24	27	28
South	30	36	46	65	60	56	27	29	34
West	26	35	42	68	55	51	23	30	32
Religious Affiliation									
Total White Protestant	27	27	34	62	54	51	24	30	34
- Evangelical	27	27	32	54	49	50	25	28	37
- Non-Evangelical	28	26	37	71	59	52	23	32	31
White Catholic	31	28	39	71	63	55	21	26	32
Secular	25	39	44	64	60	52	22	18	29
Party ID									
Republican	22	20	27	58	41	39	22	36	37
Democrat	40	41	55	80	75	68	30	22	34
Independent	27	41	42	65	62	52	21	29	29
Party and Ideology									
Conservative Rep.	21	-	22	52	-	36	26	-	40
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	22	-	37	69	-	44	14	-	31
Conserv./Mod. Dem.	39	-	58	80	-	65	29	-	37
Liberal Democrat	41	-	48	81	-	77	32	-	28
Bush Approval									
Approve	24	-	26	61	-	41	24	-	36
Disapprove	39	-	54	81	-	65	24	-	30
Registered Voter									
Yes	28	-	39	64	-	52	24	-	32
No	36	-	54	72	-	61	27	-	34
Male Veterans									
Male Veteran	-	-	36	-	-	40	-	-	31
Male Non-Veteran	-	-	42	-	-	52	-	-	31
Parent									
Yes	30	38	39	63	58	52	25	32	35
No	30	32	44	69	60	56	25	26	31
Labor Union									
Union Household	33	-	41	61	-	54	27	-	31
Non-union Household	29	-	42	68	-	54	24	-	33

PUBLIC VIEWS ON U.S. SUPERPOWER STATUS AND GLOBAL RESPECT

	U.S. only superpower	Another as powerful	DK/Ref	More respected	Same as the past	Less respected	DK/Ref
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	50	35	15=100	9	21	66	4=100
Sex							
Male	50	37	13	8	24	64	4
Female	50	33	17	10	19	67	4
Race							
White	51	34	15	8	22	66	4
Non-white	50	35	15	13	20	62	5
Black	49	37	14	13	22	59	6
Hispanic*	61	28	11	18	29	50	3
Race and Sex							
White Men	50	37	13	8	23	65	4
White Women	51	32	17	8	21	68	3
Age							
Under 30	45	40	15	9	23	65	3
30-49	49	38	13	11	21	65	3
50-64	54	31	15	10	20	67	3
65+	56	24	20	5	23	65	7
Sex and Age							
Men under 50	46	41	13	10	24	62	4
Women under 50	49	37	14	11	19	67	3
Men 50+	58	30	12	5	25	67	4
Women 50+	52	27	21	10	19	66	5
Education							
College Grad.	43	45	12	4	15	79	2
Some College	51	36	13	10	22	65	3
High School Grad.	55	29	16	11	25	60	4
< H.S. Grad.	52	26	22	15	25	53	7
Family Income							
\$75,000+	52	38	10	7	16	75	2
\$50,000-\$74,999	47	39	14	6	20	71	3
\$30,000-\$49,999	55	34	11	14	21	62	3
\$20,000-\$29,999	53	33	14	8	28	61	3
<\$20,000	45	35	20	14	26	55	5

* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Questions: In the future, should U.S. policies try to keep it so America is the only military superpower?

Compared with the past, would you say the U.S. is more respected by other countries these days, less respected or as respected as it has been in the past?

Continued on next page...

	<u>U.S. only superpower</u>	<u>Another as powerful</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>More respected</u>	<u>Same as the past</u>	<u>Less respected</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	50	35	15=100	9	21	66	4=100
Region							
East	51	36	13	6	16	73	5
Midwest	46	38	16	4	27	65	4
South	53	32	15	14	22	61	3
West	51	34	15	9	19	68	4
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	55	29	16	9	25	62	4
- Evangelical	63	21	16	10	29	56	5
- Non-Evangelical	47	36	17	9	20	68	3
White Catholic	55	35	10	5	23	70	2
Secular	35	50	15	8	13	76	3
Party ID							
Republican	62	27	11	13	34	50	3
Democrat	48	38	14	7	17	74	2
Independent	47	39	14	10	15	73	2
Party and Ideology							
Conservative Rep.	68	23	9	15	39	44	2
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	52	34	14	9	25	64	2
Conserv./Mod. Dem.	52	34	14	9	20	69	2
Liberal Democrat	40	48	12	4	11	85	0
Bush Approval							
Approve	61	27	12	14	34	50	2
Disapprove	44	42	14	6	12	80	2
Registered Voter							
Yes	54	33	13	9	22	66	3
No	41	39	20	11	21	62	6
Male Veterans							
Male Veteran	51	37	12	6	23	71	0
Male Non-Veteran	50	37	13	9	25	62	4
Parent							
Yes	53	35	12	12	22	64	2
No	49	35	16	8	21	66	5
Labor Union							
Union Household	53	32	15	6	15	74	5
Non-Union Household	50	35	15	10	23	64	3
Know about Internatl Matters							
High	47	43	10	4	15	78	3
Medium	53	34	13	5	21	72	2
Low	51	28	21	17	27	50	6
Interest in Internatl Matters							
High	51	37	12	--	--	--	--
Medium	51	34	15	--	--	--	--
Low	46	36	18	--	--	--	--

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
& COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD, IV – AMERICAN INFLUENTIALS
FINAL TOPLINE
September 5 - October 31, 2005
N=520**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Answer</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
News Media	21	68	11=100	(72)
June 21-Sept 10, 2001 ¹	40	40	20=100	(75)
July 7 - Sept 23, 1997 (<i>Clinton</i>)	45	25	30=100	(73)
July 7 - Aug 18, 1993 (<i>Clinton</i>)	38	40	22=100	(79)
Foreign Affairs	15	83	2=100	(96)
June 21-Sept 10, 2001	20	66	14=100	(89)
July 7 - Sept 23, 1997 (<i>Clinton</i>)	72	19	9=100	(69)
July 7 - Aug 18, 1993 (<i>Clinton</i>)	54	36	10=100	(69)
Security	26	74	0=100	(58)
June 21-Sept 10, 2001	40	52	8=100	(58)
July 7 - Sept 23, 1997 (<i>Clinton</i>)	55	40	5=100	(57)
July 7 - Aug 18, 1993 (<i>Clinton</i>)	47	46	7=100	(68)
State/Local Government	41	55	4=100	(56)
June 21-Sept 10, 2001	47	39	14=100	(64)
July 7 - Sept 23, 1997 (<i>Clinton</i>)	59	35	6=100	(75)
July 7 - Aug 18, 1993 (<i>Clinton</i>)	51	42	7=100	(69)
Academic/Think Tanks	12	82	6=100	(73)
June 21-Sept 10, 2001	23	60	17=100	(93)
July 7 - Sept 23, 1997 (<i>Clinton</i>)	79	16	5=100	(93)
July 7 - Aug 18, 1993 (<i>Clinton</i>)	63	27	10=100	(78)
Religious Leaders	36	50	14=100	(36)
June 21-Sept 10, 2001	55	31	14=100	(49)
July 7 - Sept 23, 1997 (<i>Clinton</i>)	50	42	8=100	(36)
July 7 - Aug 18, 1993 (<i>Clinton</i>)	45	40	15=100	(47)
Scientists/Engineers	6	87	7=100	(82)
June 21-Sept 10, 2001	30	61	9=100	(92)
July 7 - Sept 23, 1997 (<i>Clinton</i>)	78	12	10=100	(92)
July 7 - Aug 18, 1993 (<i>Clinton</i>)	69	22	9=100	(91)
Military	40	53	7=100	(47)
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	40	52	8=100	

¹ Selected *General Public* telephone survey results are presented for comparison with elite results and do not necessarily indicate the order in which questions were asked on the general public questionnaire. For the full trend of general public responses see the *America's Place in the World General Public* topline.

Q.2 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.]**

	News Media	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Govt.	Academic/ Think Tank	Religious Leaders	Scientists/ Engineers	Military	Gen Pub
MAINTAINING PEACE/ UNREST (NET)	72	57	67	52	48	69	56	68	47
International violence/terrorism	29	21	21	27	14	22	16	36	16
Iraq	17	19	26	16	18	31	24	13	22
Nuclear proliferation/"loose nukes"	8	8	12	2	4	0	7	4	*
Islamic fundamentalism	13	3	7	2	7	6	5	6	*
Middle East	6	3	3	2	4	3	1	2	2
Rich/poor gap	4	3	0	0	1	11	2	0	2
Threat of WMD	3	2	3	0	3	0	1	6	0
Dealing with emerging China	0	0	5	2	1	0	1	2	1
U.S. LEADERSHIP AND POLICY (NET)	29	39	31	36	41	28	37	17	10
Global image problem	10	5	14	13	8	17	7	2	3
Credibility/respect of others	10	9	3	13	3	0	2	6	1
Foreign policy/lack of plan	1	4	3	2	8	0	6	6	0
Cooperating/working with the world	3	0	2	4	11	3	6	0	1
Loss of trust/confidence in U.S	1	4	0	4	7	6	1	0	*
Unilateralism	0	5	5	2	1	0	5	0	0
Loss of leadership/power	0	4	0	4	10	0	0	0	*
Too big a role of peacekeeper	0	1	0	2	1	3	5	0	2
Responsibility of being a superpower	1	0	3	0	1	0	0	2	*
Isolationism	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	*
Maintain world leadership role	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0
SOCIAL ISSUES (NET)	4	2	2	4	4	3	2	0	8
AIDS/Health problems	3	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	*
Human rights issues	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	*
Immigration	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS(NET)	0	5	5	9	6	11	4	11	6
OTHER									
Maintaining/repairing relationships with allies and those we alienated	1	5	5	9	12	6	11	11	1
Energy/Oil crisis	6	3	2	9	3	0	5	6	7
Environmental issues	1	1	0	0	0	0	12	2	1
Domestic policy	0	2	0	5	1	0	2	4	3
U.S. military/overstretched	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
Globalization	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	*
Nothing	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	*
No opinion	1	0	0	0	3	3	1	2	11

Q.3 So far, what are the BEST things about the Bush Administration's handling of foreign policy? (**OPEN-END**) (**CODE UP TO 3 RESPONSES**)

	<u>News Media</u>	<u>Foreign Affairs</u>	<u>Security</u>	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>	<u>Academic/ Think Tank</u>	<u>Religious Leaders</u>	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>	<u>Military</u>
Focus/War on terrorism	10	12	10	7	8	11	7	11
Decisive/strong/resolve	15	9	7	13	7	3	4	17
Afghanistan/Taliban	21	5	9	5	10	0	9	6
Mideast/peace talks	13	6	3	5	10	19	9	4
Clarity of U.S. position	10	8	7	18	8	3	4	9
Working to establish relations/ meet world leaders	4	9	14	7	7	11	2	2
Humanitarian concerns/foreign aid	4	12	5	2	8	11	5	0
North Korea	3	7	7	5	4	0	5	15
Promote democracy/freedom	10	5	10	9	4	3	0	2
Good foreign policy appointments	3	3	2	5	11	14	0	6
Proactive/attack issues	6	5	0	4	6	0	1	9
Ability to handle issues/probs	1	4	5	2	1	9	5	2
Iraq/Hussein	8	1	2	7	1	3	4	4
Right track with China	4	6	7	0	4	0	1	2
Bases decisions on values/honest	3	2	3	7	0	0	0	6
Puts America's interests first	0	0	0	7	1	0	0	0
All other mentions ²	10	22	28	4	10	6	16	13
Nothing	13	16	19	25	10	14	37	17
No opinion	7	6	2	7	15	8	9	4
HANDLING OF FOREIGN CONFLICTS (NET)	43	32	29	27	30	31	28	38
ABILITY TO HANDLE ISSUES (NET)	39	43	40	32	32	31	22	43
TRADE/ECONOMICS (NET)	8	6	10	2	8	6	4	4
DEMONSTRATES CAUTION (NET)	0	4	5	0	3	0	1	2

² Comprised of categories which were mentioned by less than 3% of influentials overall.

Q.4 So far, what are the WORST things about the Bush Administration's handling of foreign policy? (OPEN-END) (CODE UP TO 3 RESPONSES)

	News Media	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Govt.	Academic/ Think Tank	Religious Leaders	Scientists/ Engineers	Military
Iraq/Hussein	53	54	60	36	48	36	50	45
Worsens relations with allies	21	28	22	20	27	17	18	34
Arrogance	18	16	16	13	11	11	9	11
Slow/indecisive/ignorant	7	8	10	7	12	8	7	21
Unilateralism	6	10	19	9	11	3	4	6
War on terrorism	10	7	10	4	4	6	7	6
Fails to communicate honestly	7	4	7	5	10	6	6	4
Lack of knowledge/understanding	7	2	12	4	10	0	5	2
Other foreign conflicts	4	7	9	2	3	0	9	4
Mideast (unspecific)	1	6	5	4	1	0	7	0
Lack of U.N. cooperation	3	6	3	0	6	3	6	0
Disdain for international agreements	1	7	3	4	1	6	4	0
Relations with EU/Europe	1	3	5	4	4	6	2	4
Environment	1	5	3	0	3	0	7	0
All other mentions ³	17	13	14	18	18	17	17	9
All/Everything	4	3	0	2	1	3	7	2
Nothing	0	1	2	4	0	0	1	2
No opinion	6	2	2	5	3	8	2	4
HANDLING OF FOREIGN CONFLICTS (NET)	65	63	74	46	58	39	61	55
INDECISIVE/SLOW/ INEXPERIENCED (NET)	44	43	52	36	47	28	35	55
TRADE/ECONOMICS (NET)	4	3	5	4	1	3	4	0

³ Comprised of categories which were mentioned by less than 3% of influentials overall.

Q.5 What country in the world, if any, represents the greatest danger to the United States? (**OPEN-END**)

	North				Pak- istan	Saudi Arabia	Mid- East	US	Russia/ Former Soviet	Japan	Other	No one		No Answer
	China	Korea	Iran	Iraq					Union			country	None	
News Media	24	22	22	4	0	3	0	10	3	0	4	4	3	4
2001	45	3	3	23	0	0	4	4	8	0	4	1	3	12
1993	9	4	13	15	0	0	4	8	8	9	4	8	19	1
Foreign Affairs	23	26	21	3	3	4	2	5	4	0	4	5	4	4
2001	33	2	7	15	0	0	9	6	16	0	10	3	2	14
1993	10	0	25	9	0	0	1	3	13	7	4	13	14	0
Security	19	14	9	3	3	5	0	10	0	0	10	10	14	5
2001	24	2	0	17	0	0	2	3	21	0	3	0	3	34
1993	21	1	15	3	0	0	0	1	22	9	2	7	19	0
State/Local Government	27	23	18	2	0	5	0	5	4	0	9	4	0	7
2001	39	6	6	20	0	2	17	5	3	0	12	5	2	8
1993	12	4	7	17	0	0	5	7	10	13	2	6	13	1
Academic/Think Tanks	34	22	14	4	6	1	0	3	3	0	6	10	1	4
2001	46	1	1	15	0	0	3	5	11	0	6	2	2	13
1993	17	1	8	10	0	0	7	4	13	10	0	17	10	3
Religious Leaders	14	19	11	0	0	8	0	6	3	0	8	17	8	8
2001	41	8	8	10	0	0	10	4	4	0	8	0	4	14
1993	9	0	13	15	0	0	9	9	0	6	6	9	13	13
Scientists/Engineers	23	9	9	4	1	4	0	21	2	0	10	6	9	6
2001	40	5	9	14	0	0	11	5	6	0	6	1	2	15
1993	12	1	19	11	0	0	2	8	7	10	2	11	19	1
Military	23	15	23	0	2	0	0	4	4	0	9	13	6	2
<i>General Public Oct, 2005</i>	16	13	9	18	*	1	7	7	2	1	5	8	*	17
<i>Early Sept, 2001</i>	32	1	5	16	*	2	7	2	9	3	9	1	1	20
<i>September, 1993</i>	11	1	7	18	--	--	1	*	8	11	13	--	6	24

Thinking more generally...

Q.6 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?

	Often <u>Justified</u>	Sometimes <u>Justified</u>	Rarely <u>Justified</u>	Never <u>Justified</u>	No answer
News Media	4	35	51	8	2=100
Foreign Affairs	8	34	53	5	0=100
Security	3	35	53	9	0=100
State/Local Government	16	36	39	7	2=100
Academic/Think Tanks	1	29	62	8	0=100
Religious Leaders	0	25	58	14	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	1	23	67	8	1=100

Q.8 CONTINUED...

	Often <u>Justified</u>	Sometimes <u>Justified</u>	Rarely <u>Justified</u>	Never <u>Justified</u>	No answer
Military	19	43	36	2	0=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	14	38	27	15	6=100

Q.7 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)**

	Major <u>threat</u>	Minor <u>threat</u>	Not a <u>threat</u>	No <u>Answer</u>
a. China's emergence as a world power				
News Media	64	26	7	3=100
2001	45	37	15	3=100
Foreign Affairs	30	45	24	1=100
2001	38	35	20	7=100
Security	21	53	24	2=100
2001	38	52	8	2=100
State/Local Government	52	34	9	5=100
2001	45	39	16	0=100
Academic/Think Tanks	51	33	15	1=100
2001	42	37	14	7=100
Religious Leaders	36	39	17	8=100
2001	39	43	14	4=100
Scientists/Engineers	41	43	11	5=100
2001	37	39	21	3=100
Military	30	60	8	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	52	31	10	7=100
b. Growing authoritarianism in Russia				
News Media	8	79	10	3=100
Foreign Affairs	18	65	17	0=100
Security	17	64	19	0=100
State/Local Government	14	77	5	4=100
Academic/Think Tanks	16	70	11	3=100
Religious Leaders	28	56	8	8=100
Scientists/Engineers	11	73	10	6=100
Military	15	66	17	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	23	44	13	20=100
c. Possible military conflict between China and Taiwan				
News Media	47	43	6	4=100
2001	37	55	7	1=100
Foreign Affairs	40	52	8	0=100
2001	43	48	9	0=100

Q.7 CONTINUED...

	<u>Major threat</u>	<u>Minor threat</u>	<u>Not a threat</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Security	62	29	9	0=100
2001	60	35	3	2=100
State/Local Government	34	54	7	5=100
2001	39	56	2	3=100
Academic/Think Tanks	45	48	6	1=100
2001	47	49	3	1=100
Religious Leaders	36	53	3	8=100
2001	47	47	4	2=100
Scientists/Engineers	28	61	10	1=100
2001	39	47	13	1=100
Military	51	47	0	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>15=100</i>
d. Possible military conflict between India and Pakistan				
News Media	29	61	6	4=100
2001	41	47	8	4=100
Foreign Affairs	27	62	10	1=100
2001	24	70	4	2=100
Security	26	53	21	0=100
2001	36	55	7	2=100
State/Local Government	21	75	2	2=100
2001	33	56	9	2=100
Academic/Think Tanks	32	60	7	1=100
2001	37	55	2	6=100
Religious Leaders	31	56	8	5=100
2001	23	63	10	4=100
Scientists/Engineers	23	61	13	3=100
2001	22	73	5	0=100
Military	36	53	11	0=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>14=100</i>
e. North Korea's nuclear program				
News Media	72	24	1	3=100
Foreign Affairs	67	31	0	2=100
Security	66	29	5	0=100
State/Local Government	69	29	0	2=100
Academic/Think Tanks	58	38	3	1=100

Q.7 CONTINUED...

	Major <u>threat</u>	Minor <u>threat</u>	Not a <u>threat</u>	No <u>Answer</u>
Religious Leaders	61	33	0	6=100
Scientists/Engineers	42	51	5	2=100
Military	58	38	2	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	66	24	4	6=100
f. Iran's nuclear program				
News Media	64	32	3	1=100
Foreign Affairs	54	41	5	0=100
Security	55	35	10	0=100
State/Local Government	66	29	2	3=100
Academic/Think Tanks	55	43	1	1=100
Religious Leaders	58	25	8	9=100
Scientists/Engineers	28	57	10	5=100
Military	62	36	0	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	61	27	5	7=100
g. The amount of American debt held by foreign investors				
News Media	40	43	14	3=100
Foreign Affairs	45	39	15	1=100
Security	41	47	10	2=100
State/Local Government	59	34	4	3=100
Academic/Think Tanks	48	40	11	1=100
Religious Leaders	39	39	8	14=100
Scientists/Engineers	63	29	5	3=100
Military	38	49	13	0=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	55	28	7	10=100

Q.8 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 ANSWERED 2 "SHARED LEADERSHIP ROLE" IN Q.8, ASK:

Q.9 Should the United States be the most assertive of the leading nations, or should it be no more or less assertive than other leading nations?

	Single <u>leader</u>	Shared <u>leadership</u>	-----If Shared Leadership----			No <u>leadership</u>	No <u>answer</u>
			<i>Most</i> <u>assertive</u>	<i>No more or</i> <u>less assertive</u>	<i>Don't</i> <u>know</u>		
News Media	14	82	44	28	10	1	3=100
2001	12	83	54	20	9	0	5=100
1997	15	80	52	21	7	1	4=100
1993	9	87	62	22	4	3	1=100
Foreign Affairs	13	85	55	26	4	0	2=100
2001	9	91	55	22	14	0	0=100
1997	15	84	54	24	6	1	0=100
1993	7	92	68	16	7	*	1=100
Security	10	90	43	40	7	0	0=100
2001	12	81	60	14	7	0	7=100
1997	17	81	60	18	3	0	2=100
1993	17	83	58	17	8	*	0=100

Q.8/9 CONTINUED...

	Single leader	Shared leadership	-----If Shared Leadership-----			No leadership	No answer
			Most assertive	No more or less assertive	Don't know		
State/Local Government	11	87	43	37	7	0	2=100
2001	11	87	61	20	6	0	2=100
1997	17	83	48	27	8	0	0=100
1993	1	99	77	17	4	*	*=100
Academic/Think Tanks	8	90	52	33	5	0	2=100
2001	6	93	59	25	9	0	1=100
1997	9	90	52	31	7	0	1=100
1993	7	93	60	25	9	*	*=100
Religious Leaders	0	100	36	58	6	0	0=100
2001	12	86	39	41	6	2	0=100
1997	8	89	36	42	11	0	3=100
1993	4	96	53	38	4	*	*=100
Scientists/Engineers	4	93	28	57	8	0	3=100
2001	6	90	33	54	3	2	2=100
1997	7	90	48	35	7	1	2=100
1993	7	91	48	40	3	2	*=100
Military	17	81	53	19	8	0	2=100
General Public October, 2005 ⁴	12	74	25	47	2	10	4=100
Early Sept, 2001	13	75	25	49	1	8	4=100
September, 1997	12	73	22	50	1	11	4=100
September, 1993	10	81	27	52	2	7	2=100

ASK ALL:

Q.10 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.10, ASK:

Q.11 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?

	U.S. policies should keep U.S. as only military superpower	-If keep U.S. as only superpower -			OK if another country became as powerful	No answer
		Even if risks alienating allies	Not if risks alienating allies	Don't Know		
News Media	44	23	17	4	39	17=100
Foreign Affairs	54	27	26	1	35	11=100
Security	46	22	22	2	40	14=100
State/Local Government	63	29	32	2	25	12=100
Academic/Think Tanks	34	18	12	4	58	8=100
Religious Leaders	34	17	14	3	61	5=100
Scientists/Engineers	22	7	15	0	60	18=100
Military	57	34	19	4	34	9=100
General Public October, 2005	50	23	22	5	35	15=100

⁴ In the follow-up question asked of the general public, “active” was used in place of “assertive.”

ASK ALL:

Q.12 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?

	Important to be as <u>close as in past</u>	Not <u>important</u>	No <u>answer</u>
News Media	78	18	4=100
Foreign Affairs	90	10	0=100
Security	83	12	5=100
State/Local Government	93	7	0=100
Academic/Think Tanks	93	6	1=100
Religious Leaders	94	3	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	93	6	1=100
Military	92	8	0=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>5=100</i>

Q.13 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?

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
a. Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction				
News Media	85	13	1	1=100
2001	82	17	0	1=100
1997	85	15	0	0=100
1993	86	13	1	*=100
Foreign Affairs	89	10	0	1=100
2001	83	17	0	0=100
1997	88	12	0	0=100
1993	90	10	*	*=100
Security	86	14	0	0=100
2001	90	8	0	2=100
1997	93	7	0	0=100
1993	78	22	*	*=100
State/Local Government	73	25	0	2=100
2001	91	9	0	0=100
1997	75	24	1	0=100
1993	86	14	*	*=100
Academic/Think Tanks	80	18	1	1=100
2001	87	13	0	0=100
1997	85	14	1	0=100
1993	86	14	*	*=100
Religious Leaders	72	25	0	3=100
2001	86	10	2	2=100
1997	83	17	0	0=100
1993	83	11	6	*=100

Q.13 CONTINUED...

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Scientists/Engineers	71	26	2	1=100
2001	79	20	0	1=100
1997	89	11	0	0=100
1993	85	14	1	*=100
Military	85	13	0	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	75	19	4	2=100
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	78	16	5	1=100
<i>September, 1997</i>	70	23	6	1=100
<i>September, 1993</i>	69	24	5	1=100
b. Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks				
News Media	89	10	0	1=100
2001	77	20	0	3=100
Foreign Affairs	84	16	0	0=100
2001	62	36	2	0=100
Security	90	8	0	2=100
2001	72	26	0	2=100
State/Local Government	82	16	0	2=100
2001	86	14	0	0=100
Academic/Think Tanks	74	23	0	3=100
2001	63	37	0	0=100
Religious Leaders	89	11	0	0=100
2001	69	31	0	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	63	37	0	0=100
2001	65	32	2	1=100
Military	96	2	0	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	86	12	1	1=100
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	80	16	3	1=100
c. Reducing our dependence on imported energy sources				
News Media	82	17	0	1=100
Foreign Affairs	67	30	3	0=100
Security	74	23	3	0=100
State/Local Government	87	11	0	2=100
Academic/Think Tanks	66	29	4	1=100
Religious Leaders	75	25	0	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	83	16	1	0=100
Military	72	26	0	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	67	28	2	3=100

Q.13 CONTINUED...

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
d. Protecting the jobs of American workers				
News Media	29	54	14	3=100
2001	37	50	9	4=100
1997	31	58	8	3=100
1993	34	52	11	3=100
Foreign Affairs	19	60	21	0=100
2001	17	70	11	2=100
1997	16	65	12	7=100
1993	19	65	10	6=100
Security	22	64	12	2=100
2001	19	67	9	5=100
1997	12	63	23	2=100
1993	21	54	22	3=100
State/Local Government	64	34	0	2=100
2001	39	56	5	0=100
1997	68	27	5	0=100
1993	61	33	3	3=100
Academic/Think Tanks	16	65	16	3=100
2001	20	69	9	2=100
1997	23	67	10	0=100
1993	26	65	5	4=100
Religious Leaders	55	42	3	0=100
2001	35	61	2	2=100
1997	39	56	5	0=100
1993	55	43	2	*=100
Scientists/Engineers	29	60	7	4=100
2001	35	56	9	0=100
1997	25	64	9	2=100
1993	32	62	4	2=100
Military	23	64	11	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	84	14	1	1=100
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	77	19	3	1=100
<i>September, 1997</i>	77	20	2	1=100
<i>September, 1993</i>	85	13	2	*=100

Q.13 CONTINUED...

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
e. Strengthening the United Nations				
News Media	25	56	18	1=100
2001	17	59	23	1=100
1997	21	60	19	0=100
1993	29	53	18	*=100
Foreign Affairs	29	57	14	0=100
2001	37	53	10	0=100
1997	32	55	12	1=100
1993	45	48	7	*=100
Security	14	76	10	0=100
2001	35	52	10	3=100
1997	14	70	16	0=100
1993	32	53	15	*=100
State/Local Government	34	43	20	3=100
2001	37	52	11	0=100
1997	24	53	23	0=100
1993	35	52	12	1=100
Academic/Think Tanks	27	59	11	3=100
2001	22	67	9	2=100
1997	17	65	18	0=100
1993	28	63	9	*=100
Religious Leaders	36	56	8	0=100
2001	41	49	10	0=100
1997	30	53	17	0=100
1993	46	43	9	2=100
Scientists/Engineers	54	39	6	1=100
2001	34	50	13	3=100
1997	29	58	12	1=100
1993	43	50	7	*=100
Military	19	70	9	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	40	43	14	3=100
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	42	43	13	2=100
<i>September, 1997</i>	30	53	14	3=100
<i>September, 1993</i>	41	46	11	2=100
f. Dealing with global climate change ⁵				
News Media	54	33	11	2=100
2001	49	44	5	2=100
1997	41	56	3	0=100
1993	34	60	6	*=100

⁵ In 2001 the item was “dealing with global warming.” In 1997 and 1993 the item was “Improving the global environment.”

Q.13 CONTINUED...

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Foreign Affairs	56	41	3	0=100
2001	56	41	3	0=100
1997	49	44	7	0=100
1993	42	55	3	*=100
Security	62	36	2	0=100
2001	50	43	5	2=100
1997	32	63	5	0=100
1993	25	68	7	*=100
State/Local Government	55	39	4	2=100
2001	50	45	5	0=100
1997	65	31	4	0=100
1993	45	52	3	*=100
Academic/Think Tanks	63	32	4	1=100
2001	53	42	4	1=100
1997	55	41	3	1=100
1993	42	54	4	*=100
Religious Leaders	44	56	0	0=100
2001	37	51	10	2=100
1997	55	42	3	0=100
1993	45	55	*	*=100
Scientists/Engineers	86	13	0	1=100
2001	57	40	3	0=100
1997	65	31	4	0=100
1993	63	34	3	*=100
Military	26	57	15	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>4=100</i>
<i> Early September, 2001</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i> September, 1997</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<i> September, 1993</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>1=100</i>
g. Combating international drug trafficking				
News Media	21	69	8	2=100
2001	40	54	3	3=100
1997	45	49	6	0=100
Foreign Affairs	21	67	12	0=100
2001	35	59	6	0=100
1997	36	52	12	0=100
Security	17	73	10	0=100
2001	39	57	2	2=100
1997	42	53	5	0=100

Q.13 CONTINUED...

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
State/Local Government	46	48	4	2=100
2001	55	40	5	0=100
1997	73	25	2	0=100
Academic/Think Tanks	16	71	10	3=100
2001	26	67	6	1=100
1997	36	59	5	0=100
Religious Leaders	53	47	0	0=100
2001	63	37	0	0=100
1997	75	22	3	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	20	68	10	2=100
2001	37	54	8	1=100
1997	37	55	8	0=100
Military	28	68	2	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	59	33	6	2=100
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	64	26	9	1=100
<i>September, 1997</i>	67	24	7	2=100
h. Reducing the spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases				
News Media	58	40	0	2=100
2001	56	41	1	2=100
Foreign Affairs	54	45	1	0=100
2001	58	42	0	0=100
Security	40	57	3	0=100
2001	55	41	2	2=100
State/Local Government	53	45	0	2=100
2001	69	31	0	0=100
Academic/Think Tanks	58	40	1	1=100
2001	62	38	0	0=100
Religious Leaders	69	31	0	0=100
2001	71	29	0	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	63	33	4	0=100
2001	63	37	0	0=100
Military	32	64	2	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	72	24	3	1=100
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	73	23	3	1=100

Q.13 CONTINUED...

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
i. Helping improve the living standards in developing nations				
News Media	40	54	3	3=100
2001	35	61	3	1=100
1997	23	71	4	2=100
1993	15	74	11	*=100
Foreign Affairs	47	50	2	1=100
2001	48	50	1	1=100
1997	31	62	4	3=100
1993	25	66	9	*=100
Security	38	57	5	0=100
2001	28	66	3	3=100
1997	12	76	12	0=100
1993	13	77	10	*=100
State/Local Government	32	61	5	2=100
2001	36	61	3	0=100
1997	27	69	3	1=100
1993	19	72	9	*=100
Academic/Think Tanks	59	38	1	2=100
2001	40	55	4	1=100
1997	37	60	3	0=100
1993	24	75	1	*=100
Religious Leaders	64	33	3	0=100
2001	53	45	2	0=100
1997	72	25	3	0=100
1993	43	55	2	*=100
Scientists/Engineers	52	44	4	0=100
2001	38	61	1	0=100
1997	34	63	3	0=100
1993	26	66	7	1=100
Military	36	60	2	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<i>September, 1997</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>1=100</i>
<i>September, 1993</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>1=100</i>
j. Protecting groups or nations that are threatened with genocide				
News Media	56	42	1	1=100
2001	45	52	0	3=100
Foreign Affairs	48	51	0	1=100
2001	49	51	0	0=100

Q.13 CONTINUED...

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Security	43	52	3	2=100
2001	46	50	2	2=100
State/Local Government	43	55	0	2=100
2001	53	42	0	5=100
Academic/Think Tanks	51	46	0	3=100
2001	40	59	0	1=100
Religious Leaders	89	11	0	0=100
2001	74	26	0	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	47	49	2	2=100
2001	40	53	1	6=100
Military	47	49	2	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	46	39	5	10=100
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	49	41	5	5=100
k. Promoting democracy in other nations				
News Media	25	64	10	1=100
2001	50	43	4	3=100
1997	25	70	5	0=100
1993	20	64	15	1=100
Foreign Affairs	18	73	8	1=100
2001	44	54	2	0=100
1997	32	56	9	3=100
1993	28	62	10	*=100
Security	23	67	10	0=100
2001	29	66	3	2=100
1997	16	79	5	0=100
1993	26	68	6	*=100
State/Local Government	32	61	5	2=100
2001	44	53	3	0=100
1997	31	64	5	0=100
1993	29	64	6	1=100
Academic/Think Tanks	16	77	4	3=100
2001	37	57	6	0=100
1997	22	69	9	0=100
1993	17	68	15	*=100
Religious Leaders	19	69	11	0=100
2001	35	61	4	0=100
1997	25	75	0	0=100
1993	15	66	19	*=100

Q.13 CONTINUED...

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Scientists/Engineers	17	68	12	3=100
2001	27	66	6	1=100
1997	18	72	9	1=100
1993	20	63	15	2=100
Military	26	62	6	6=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	24	54	19	3=100
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	29	52	16	3=100
<i>September, 1997</i>	22	57	18	3=100
<i>September, 1993</i>	22	52	24	2=100
1. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries				
News Media	40	58	0	2=100
2001	36	60	1	3=100
1997	36	63	1	0=100
1993	32	63	5	*=100
Foreign Affairs	22	76	2	0=100
2001	43	53	3	1=100
1997	28	65	4	3=100
1993	22	71	7	*=100
Security	22	73	5	0=100
2001	24	67	7	2=100
1997	14	79	7	0=100
1993	21	69	10	*=100
State/Local Government	32	61	4	3=100
2001	30	70	0	0=100
1997	28	67	5	0=100
1993	20	79	1	*=100
Academic/Think Tanks	37	62	0	1=100
2001	39	59	1	1=100
1997	23	77	0	0=100
1993	22	75	3	*=100
Religious Leaders	72	28	0	0=100
2001	71	25	4	0=100
1997	75	25	0	0=100
1993	56	38	4	2=100
Scientists/Engineers	29	64	2	5=100
2001	32	63	4	1=100
1997	21	74	5	0=100
1993	29	61	10	*=100
Military	15	81	2	2=100

Q.13 CONTINUED...

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	37	50	11	2=100
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	29	54	14	3=100
<i>September, 1997</i>	27	56	15	2=100
<i>September, 1993</i>	22	54	22	2=100
m. Reducing illegal immigration				
News Media	17	69	11	3=100
1997	29	67	4	0=100
Foreign Affairs	12	63	23	2=100
1997	16	67	16	1=100
Security	24	64	12	0=100
1997	26	58	14	2=100
State/Local Government	27	60	11	2=100
1997	52	44	4	0=100
Academic/Think Tanks	10	67	22	1=100
1997	13	72	15	0=100
Religious Leaders	30	53	17	0=100
1997	22	70	8	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	28	56	13	3=100
1997	19	65	15	1=100
Military	34	53	11	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	51	39	8	2=100
<i>September, 1997</i>	42	47	9	2=100

Turning to the subject of Iraq ...

Q.14 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>No answer</u>
News Media	28	71	1=100
Foreign Affairs	21	77	2=100
Security	26	72	2=100
State/Local Government	34	59	7=100
Academic/Think Tanks	21	78	1=100
Religious Leaders	25	72	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	11	88	1=100
Military	49	47	4=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	48	45	7=100

Q.15 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]

	Send MORE troops to Iraq	Keep the number of troops as it is now	Withdraw SOME troops	Withdraw ALL of its troops from Iraq	No Answer
News Media	12	36	28	13	11=100
Foreign Affairs	22	46	19	9	4=100
Security	17	31	40	10	2=100
State/Local Government	14	34	23	20	9=100
Academic/Think Tanks	15	25	38	14	8=100
Religious Leaders	5	42	33	17	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	15	15	28	33	9=100
Military	13	47	25	13	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>6=100</i>

Q.16 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>	(VOL) <u>No effect</u> ⁶	No <u>answer</u>
News Media	22	68	2	8=100
Foreign Affairs	16	82	0	2=100
Security	21	74	2	3=100
State/Local Government	43	50	5	2=100
Academic/Think Tanks	16	75	2	7=100
Religious Leaders	39	53	0	8=100
Scientists/Engineers	12	84	1	3=100
Military	47	45	4	3=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>6=100</i>

Q.17 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?

	Definitely <u>succeed</u>	Probably <u>succeed</u>	Probably <u>fail</u>	Definitely <u>fail</u>	No <u>Answer</u>
News Media	10	23	53	10	4=100
Foreign Affairs	4	24	65	6	1=100
Security	2	26	58	12	2=100
State/Local Government	12	39	36	9	4=100
Academic/Think Tanks	1	26	59	12	2=100
Religious Leaders	5	36	50	6	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	1	12	68	16	3=100
Military	13	51	28	4	4=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>7=100</i>

⁶ The volunteered "No effect" response category was accepted exclusively in the telephone survey and not in the online survey mode.

Q.18 What do you think is most likely for the future of Iraq? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

	Iraq will end up divided into three countries representing the <u>Sunnis, Shiites and Kurds</u>	Iraq will remain a single <u>country</u>	No <u>answer</u>
News Media	43	42	15=100
Foreign Affairs	49	47	4=100
Security	41	52	7=100
State/Local Government	43	46	11=100
Academic/Think Tanks	51	40	9=100
Religious Leaders	58	33	9=100
Scientists/Engineers	68	22	10=100
Military	38	55	7=100

Q.19 If democracy does take hold in Iraq, is it more likely to be a **[READ AND ROTATE]**?

	<u>Secular democracy</u>	<u>Religious democracy</u>	No <u>answer</u>
News Media	18	72	10=100
Foreign Affairs	21	73	6=100
Security	17	78	5=100
State/Local Government	27	66	7=100
Academic/Think Tanks	21	71	8=100
Religious Leaders	36	50	14=100
Scientists/Engineers	8	82	10=100
Military	32	60	8=100

On another subject...

Q.20 In the future, what countries in the world, if any, do you think will be more important as America's allies and partners? (OPEN-END; ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; USE PRECODES WHERE APPLICABLE)

	News Media	Foreign Affairs	Security	State/ Local Govt.	Academic/ Think Tank	Religious Leaders	Scientists/ Engineers	Military
<u>Europe</u>								
Great Britain	24	27	28	27	14	50	28	40
Europe/EU	11	23	36	13	26	22	27	13
Russia	15	16	22	11	10	8	17	9
Germany	4	3	3	11	6	14	11	15
France	6	3	2	9	8	8	7	4
Turkey	4	9	5	0	1	3	0	9
Italy	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	2
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2
<u>Middle East</u>								
Israel	6	1	0	2	4	22	5	4
Pakistan	3	1	3	5	1	3	0	9
Egypt	3	3	2	0	1	3	1	2
Saudi Arabia	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	9
Iraq	4	1	0	2	0	6	0	0
Iran	0	1	0	2	0	3	1	0
<u>Asia</u>								
China	39	31	28	34	40	33	42	38
India	39	43	45	20	38	11	23	32
Japan	25	32	33	13	27	11	20	36
Australia	6	8	21	4	3	3	6	21
South Korea	4	2	0	2	3	3	2	6
North Korea	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Taiwan	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0
<u>Latin America</u>								
Mexico	6	7	5	9	4	6	2	11
Brazil	1	17	3	4	4	3	4	2
<u>North America</u>								
Canada	1	7	7	13	3	8	12	9
Other	14	16	12	23	8	8	9	28
Many/all important	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	0
No Answer	15	6	9	14	15	11	12	4

Q.21 In the future, which of America's allies and partners, if any, do you think will be less important to the U.S.?
(OPEN-END; ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES; USE PRECODES WHERE APPLICABLE)

	<u>News Media</u>	<u>Foreign Affairs</u>	<u>Security</u>	<u>State/ Local Govt.</u>	<u>Academic/ Think Tank</u>	<u>Religious Leaders</u>	<u>Scientists/ Engineers</u>	<u>Military</u>
<u>Europe</u>								
France	31	31	16	21	21	31	18	53
Germany	19	21	10	14	26	11	9	30
Russia	11	5	5	7	12	11	6	4
Europe/EU	7	5	10	7	7	3	9	4
Great Britain	10	2	5	4	14	0	9	0
Italy	0	4	5	7	1	3	7	4
Spain	4	3	2	2	3	0	6	4
Turkey	0	1	2	0	1	3	1	0
<u>Middle East</u>								
Saudi Arabia	8	9	5	0	10	3	2	4
Israel	6	8	7	4	6	0	6	0
Pakistan	4	6	3	5	4	3	4	4
Egypt	4	1	2	0	3	3	0	2
Iraq	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0
Iran	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
<u>Asia</u>								
Japan	3	7	5	5	8	3	2	2
South Korea	3	3	14	0	6	3	2	2
Taiwan	1	3	5	0	1	0	4	4
Australia	3	2	3	2	0	3	1	0
China	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	2
India	3	0	2	0	1	3	0	0
North Korea	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Latin America</u>								
Mexico	1	1	3	4	1	0	5	2
Brazil	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2
<u>North America</u>								
Canada	4	3	2	4	3	0	2	0
Other	8	12	7	7	10	8	5	15
None will be important	1	7	7	7	1	3	6	4
No Answer	31	22	28	36	23	39	43	15

NO QUESTION 22

Q.23 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.?⁷

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>Doesn't matter</u>	<u>No answer</u>
News Media	68	10	19	3=100
2001	65	3	24	8=100
1997	67	6	26	1=100
Foreign Affairs	78	4	17	1=100
2001	84	4	10	2=100
1997	87	0	13	0=100
Security	83	2	15	0=100
2001	86	7	5	2=100
1997	79	3	16	2=100
State/Local Government	75	5	14	6=100
2001	75	3	14	8=100
1997	75	9	12	4=100
Academic/Think Tanks	78	4	18	0=100
2001	71	3	17	9=100
1997	78	3	17	2=100
Religious Leaders	75	6	11	8=100
2001	55	8	31	6=100
1997	69	20	8	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	88	2	9	1=100
2001	81	3	12	4=100
1997	70	0	25	5=100
Military	62	11	25	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	47	12	28	13=100

⁷ In 1997 and 2001 the question was worded "Is European economic and political integration a good thing for the U.S., a bad thing for the U.S., or doesn't it matter for the U.S.?"

Q.24 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today... Do you think China is (**READ, IN ORDER**):

	<u>An adversary</u>	<u>A serious problem, but not an adversary</u>	<u>Not much of a problem</u>	<u>No answer</u>
News Media	18	63	15	4=100
2001	8	80	11	1=100
1997	19	67	11	3=100
Foreign Affairs	9	62	29	0=100
2001	9	66	24	1=100
1997	10	67	20	3=100
Security	5	67	26	2=100
2001	7	74	19	0=100
1997	14	70	16	0=100
State/Local Government	16	68	12	4=100
2001	11	77	12	0=100
1997	16	72	11	1=100
Academic/Think Tanks	6	78	15	1=100
2001	10	73	17	0=100
1997	7	82	10	1=100
Religious Leaders	6	78	11	5=100
2001	10	78	12	0=100
1997	6	89	5	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	8	66	21	5=100
2001	11	67	21	1=100
1997	7	66	23	4=100
Military	4	79	13	4=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>9=100</i>
<i> Early September, 2001</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i> September, 1997</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>8=100</i>

Q.25 Do you favor or oppose expanding the United Nations' Security Council to include more member nations?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
News Media	67	26	7=100
Foreign Affairs	76	24	0=100
Security	64	31	5=100
State/Local Government	39	48	13=100
Academic/Think Tanks	71	23	6=100
Religious Leaders	69	25	6=100
Scientists/Engineers	52	34	14=100
Military	51	47	2=100

Q.26 Should the U.S. join the International Criminal Court, or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
News Media	62	32	6=100
Foreign Affairs	81	18	1=100
Security	74	26	0=100
State/Local Government	45	37	18=100
Academic/Think Tanks	66	22	12=100
Religious Leaders	64	25	11=100
Scientists/Engineers	83	12	5=100
Military	45	53	2=100

Q.27 Do you approve or disapprove of the recent passage of CAFTA, the Central American Free Trade Agreement?⁸

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
News Media	67	15	18=100
2001 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	79	12	9=100
1997 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	71	22	7=100
1993 (<i>support or oppose NAFTA</i>)	74	15	11=100
Foreign Affairs	83	11	6=100
2001 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	91	7	2=100
1997 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	78	13	9=100
1993 (<i>support or oppose NAFTA</i>)	97	3	*=100
Security	88	10	2=100
2001 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	85	12	3=100
1997 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	84	11	5=100
1993 (<i>support or oppose NAFTA</i>)	91	6	3=100
State/Local Government	61	20	19=100
2001 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	72	23	5=100
1997 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	61	37	2=100
1993 (<i>support or oppose NAFTA</i>)	81	10	9=100
Academic/Think Tanks	74	11	15=100
2001 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	85	10	5=100
1997 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	89	8	3=100
1993 (<i>support or oppose NAFTA</i>)	91	8	1=100
Religious Leaders	44	31	25=100
2001 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	80	18	2=100
1997 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	75	25	0=100
1993 (<i>support or oppose NAFTA</i>)	74	13	13=100

⁸ In 2001, the question was worded: "Do you favor or oppose expanding NAFTA to include other countries within the Western Hemisphere?" In 1997, the question was worded: "Would you favor or oppose expanding NAFTA to include other Latin American countries, such as Chile and Brazil?" The 1993 trend for comparison was worded: "Do you support or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that would bring the United States, Canada and Mexico into a single trading bloc?"

Q.27 CONTINUED...	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Scientists/Engineers	64	13	23=100
2001 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	75	10	15=100
1997 (<i>favor or oppose expanding NAFTA</i>)	75	16	9=100
1993 (<i>support or oppose NAFTA</i>)	88	7	5=100
Military	92	4	4=100

Q.28 So far, do you think that NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?

	<u>Good</u> <u>thing</u>	<u>Bad</u> <u>thing</u>	<u>No</u> <u>answer</u>
News Media	74	12	14=100
2001	80	5	15=100
1997	81	11	8=100
Foreign Affairs	85	7	8=100
2001	89	3	8=100
1997	91	7	2=100
Security	93	7	0=100
2001	91	2	7=100
1997	95	3	2=100
State/Local Government	59	29	12=100
2001	73	11	16=100
1997	76	20	4=100
Academic/Think Tanks	82	10	8=100
2001	92	3	5=100
1997	88	5	7=100
Religious Leaders	44	42	14=100
2001	82	6	12=100
1997	78	17	5=100
Scientists/Engineers	62	13	25=100
2001	76	3	21=100
1997	75	13	12=100
Military	87	9	4=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>22=100</i>
<i>Early September, 2001</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>22=100</i>
<i>September, 1997</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>23=100</i>

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

Q.29 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?

	<u>Greater</u>	<u>The same</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
News Media	15	36	43	6=100
Foreign Affairs	13	43	44	0=100
Security	15	36	47	2=100
State/Local Government	7	50	39	4=100
Academic/Think Tanks	18	38	44	0=100
Religious Leaders	28	53	19	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	26	50	23	1=100
Military	17	30	51	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	26	41	29	4=100

Q.30 So far, there has not been another terrorist attack in America since 2001. Is this mostly because **[READ AND ROTATE]**

	<u>The government is doing a good job protecting the country</u>	<u>America is inherently a difficult target for terrorists</u>	<u>America has been lucky so far</u>	<u>No answer</u>
News Media	22	26	42	10=100
Foreign Affairs	17	26	53	4=100
Security	26	26	41	7=100
State/Local Government	32	16	48	4=100
Academic/Think Tanks	22	36	37	5=100
Religious Leaders	28	19	53	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	7	21	65	7=100
Military	34	21	38	7=100
<i>General Public October, 2005⁹</i>	33	17	45	5=100

Q.31 What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism policies? **[READ, IN ORDER]**

	<u>They have gone too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties</u>	<u>They have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country</u>	<u>(VOL) Both¹⁰</u>	<u>(VOL) Neither/ Approve of policies</u>	<u>No answer</u>
News Media	36	36	11	8	9=100
Foreign Affairs	33	46	6	4	11=100
Security	41	47	3	0	9=100
State/Local Government	34	50	9	2	5=100
Academic/Think Tanks	48	36	3	5	8=100
Religious Leaders	31	44	6	8	11=100
Scientists/Engineers	51	29	6	5	9=100
Military	11	74	2	11	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	34	48	2	8	8=100

⁹ The response category in the general public questionnaire omitted the word "inherently."

¹⁰ The volunteered "Both" and "Neither/Approve of policies" response categories were accepted exclusively in the telephone survey and not in the online survey mode.

Q.32 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]**?

	<u>Go too far because the U.S. loses too many good students to other countries</u>	<u>Are worth it in order to prevent terrorists from getting into the country</u>	<u>No answer</u>
News Media	56	39	5=100
Foreign Affairs	77	21	2=100
Security	72	24	4=100
State/Local Government	36	52	12=100
Academic/Think Tanks	92	5	3=100
Religious Leaders	44	53	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	84	12	4=100
Military	47	51	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	20	71	9=100

Q.33 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?

	<u>Often justified</u>	<u>Sometimes justified</u>	<u>Rarely justified</u>	<u>Never justified</u>	<u>No answer</u>
News Media	3	18	42	36	1=100
Foreign Affairs	0	12	46	42	0=100
Security	2	10	29	59	0=100
State/Local Government	7	18	43	29	3=100
Academic/Think Tanks	3	4	38	52	3=100
Religious Leaders	0	19	17	56	8=100
Scientists/Engineers	2	9	39	48	2=100
Military	6	13	30	49	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	15	31	17	32	5=100

Q.34 Do you think cases of prisoner mistreatment in Iraq and Guantánamo Bay were **[READ AND ROTATE]**

	<u>Mostly the result of misconduct on the part of soldiers and contractors</u>	<u>Mostly the result of official policies</u>	<u>No answer</u>
News Media	39	53	8=100
Foreign Affairs	40	58	2=100
Security	36	57	7=100
State/Local Government	43	37	20=100
Academic/Think Tanks	40	53	7=100
Religious Leaders	67	28	5=100
Scientists/Engineers	21	75	4=100
Military	60	36	4=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	48	36	16=100

Q.35 Do you think each of the following is a major reason, a minor reason, or not much of a reason why there is discontent with the U.S. around the world? (First,) **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not much of a reason</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
a. U.S. support for Israel				
News Media	78	15	6	1=100
Foreign Affairs	69	30	0	1=100
Security	72	26	2	0=100
State/Local Government	53	34	4	9=100
Academic/Think Tanks	59	37	0	4=100
Religious Leaders	58	36	3	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	51	42	6	1=100
Military	72	28	0	0=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	39	39	13	9=100
b. U.S. support for authoritarian governments in Arab countries				
News Media	46	40	8	6=100
Foreign Affairs	42	46	11	1=100
Security	33	53	12	2=100
State/Local Government	36	43	16	5=100
Academic/Think Tanks	37	49	12	2=100
Religious Leaders	39	44	14	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	38	49	11	2=100
Military	17	68	13	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005¹¹</i>	33	37	20	10=100
c. The U.S.-led war on terrorism				
News Media	53	35	8	4=100
Foreign Affairs	38	47	14	1=100
Security	34	50	16	0=100
State/Local Government	28	50	20	2=100
Academic/Think Tanks	41	45	12	2=100
Religious Leaders	33	47	17	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	40	37	21	2=100
Military	30	40	30	0=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	54	29	12	5=100
d. The Iraq war				
News Media	86	7	4	3=100
Foreign Affairs	95	5	0	0=100
Security	93	5	2	0=100
State/Local Government	73	21	4	2=100
Academic/Think Tanks	89	10	0	1=100
Religious Leaders	83	11	0	6=100
Scientists/Engineers	90	8	2	0=100
Military	81	13	6	0=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	71	17	7	5=100

¹¹ General public item was worded "U.S. support for non-democratic governments in Arab countries."

Q.35 CONTINUED...

	<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not much of a reason</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
e. Globalization				
News Media	25	56	15	4=100
Foreign Affairs	29	49	22	0=100
Security	28	50	22	0=100
State/Local Government	18	43	32	7=100
Academic/Think Tanks	25	46	25	4=100
Religious Leaders	36	36	25	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	22	42	29	7=100
Military	23	53	24	0=100
<i>General Public October, 2005¹²</i>	25	39	23	13=100
f. American materialism				
News Media	27	47	22	4=100
Foreign Affairs	18	46	36	0=100
Security	10	69	21	0=100
State/Local Government	41	30	23	6=100
Academic/Think Tanks	23	56	18	3=100
Religious Leaders	61	30	6	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	29	53	17	1=100
Military	19	58	23	0=100
<i>General Public October, 2005¹³</i>	52	28	16	4=100
g. American religiosity				
News Media	7	60	28	5=100
Foreign Affairs	12	37	51	0=100
Security	14	52	34	0=100
State/Local Government	12	36	39	13=100
Academic/Think Tanks	8	48	41	3=100
Religious Leaders	14	41	42	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	26	43	30	1=100
Military	4	58	36	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005¹⁴</i>	22	38	35	5=100
h. America's wealth and power				
News Media	54	33	10	3=100
Foreign Affairs	51	39	10	0=100
Security	50	43	7	0=100
State/Local Government	62	32	4	2=100
Academic/Think Tanks	63	33	3	1=100
Religious Leaders	67	22	8	3=100
Scientists/Engineers	51	40	9	0=100
Military	60	32	8	0=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	60	25	11	4=100

¹² General public item was worded "America's support for globalization."

¹³ General public item was worded "America is very materialistic."

¹⁴ General public item was worded "America is very religious."

Q.36 How much confidence do you have that public diplomacy can change perceptions of the United States in the Middle East? A great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

	A great <u>deal</u>	A fair <u>amount</u>	Not very <u>much</u>	None <u>at all</u>	No <u>answer</u>
News Media	18	25	40	11	6=100
Foreign Affairs	3	23	60	13	1=100
Security	7	14	62	17	0=100
State/Local Government	20	30	43	4	3=100
Academic/Think Tanks	4	33	49	10	4=100
Religious Leaders	25	33	39	3	0=100
Scientists/Engineers	15	27	51	7	0=100
Military	19	30	45	6	0=100

Q.37 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?

	Good idea that will probably <u>succeed</u>	Good idea that will probably <u>NOT succeed</u>	Bad <u>idea</u>	No <u>answer</u>
News Media	24	62	10	4=100
Foreign Affairs	17	74	5	4=100
Security	14	66	17	3=100
State/Local Government	29	55	11	5=100
Academic/Think Tanks	19	66	15	0=100
Religious Leaders	33	47	11	9=100
Scientists/Engineers	6	76	13	5=100
Military	34	45	19	2=100
<i>General Public October, 2005</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>8=100</i>

**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	<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	71	23	6=100
Early October, 2005	38	56	6=100	<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	70	24	6=100
September 8-11, 2005	40	52	8=100	<i>March 20-24, 2003</i>	67	26	7=100
September 6-7, 2005	40	52	8=100	March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
July, 2005	44	48	8=100	February, 2003	54	36	10=100
June, 2005	42	49	9=100	January, 2003	58	32	10=100
Late May, 2005	42	48	10=100	2002			
Mid-May, 2005	43	50	7=100	December, 2002	61	28	11=100
Late March, 2005	49	46	5=100	Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
Mid-March, 2005	45	46	9=100	Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
February, 2005	46	47	7=100	Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
January, 2005	50	43	7=100	Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
2004				Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
December, 2004	48	44	8=100	August, 2002	67	21	12=100
Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100	Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
August, 2004	46	45	9=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
July, 2004	46	46	8=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
June, 2004	48	43	9=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
May, 2004	44	48	8=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100	2001			
Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
February, 2004	48	44	8=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100	Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100	Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
2003				Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
December, 2003	57	34	9=100	August, 2001	50	32	18=100
November, 2003	50	40	10=100	July, 2001	51	32	17=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100	June, 2001	50	33	17=100
September, 2003	55	36	9=100	May, 2001	53	32	15=100
Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100	April, 2001	56	27	17=100
Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100	March, 2001	55	25	20=100
Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100	February, 2001	53	21	26=100
Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100				
June, 2003	62	27	11=100				
May, 2003	65	27	8=100				
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	72	22	6=100				
<i>April 9, 2003</i>	74	20	6=100				
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	69	25	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 ¹⁵	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

¹⁵ 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 ¹⁶	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 ¹⁷	85	6	9=100
Clinton: Early September, 1998	72	20	8=100
e.F1 The nation's immigration policy	24	54	22=100

¹⁶ 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."

¹⁷ 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	67 65 71 58 50 64	23 25 19 27 32 22	7 6 7 9 13 8	3 3 3 5 5 5	*=100 1=100 *=100 1=100 *=100 1=100

Q.6F2 CONTINUED...

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK/Ref
August, 2004	52	29	10	8	1=100
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 ¹⁸	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

¹⁸ 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

Q.7 CONTINUED...

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			Never Heard of	Can't Rate
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly		
March, 1991	94	60	34	4	2	2	0	2=100
May, 1990	73	18	55	21	6	15	*	6=100
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

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>
	January, 1999	55	14	41	38	12	26	0	7=100
	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>	
									<u>Heard of</u>	<u>Rate/Ref</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	

Q.8 CONTINUED...

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL)	(VOL)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never	Can't
Early February, 2004	53	21	32	44	25	19	0	3=100
January 29-February 1, 2004	52	--	--	47	--	--	--	1=100
<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 ¹⁹	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

¹⁹ 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>
	January, 1992	37	9	28	15	4	11	27	21=100
	November, 1991	30	5	25	10	2	8	39	21=100
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 ²⁰	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 ²¹	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 ²²	57	--	--	11	--	--	14	18=100

²⁰ Trend numbers are based on registered voters.

²¹ In March 1991 and May 1990 the category was listed: "Richard Cheney."

²² 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>1995²³</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	

²³ 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)**

		Major Threat	Minor Threat	Not a Threat	(VOL) DK/Ref
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 ²⁴	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 ²⁵	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

²⁴ In May 2001 and July 1999, the item was listed as: "Political and economic instability in Russia."

²⁵ 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 ²⁶	36	46	12	6=100
Mid-October, 2001	31	51	13	5=100
Early September, 2001	44	39	12	5=100
September, 1997 ²⁷	50	42	6	2=100
June, 1995	56	36	6	2=100
September, 1993	56	37	6	1=100

²⁶ In 2004 and 2001, the item was worded "Dealing with global warming."

²⁷ In September 1993, June 1995 and September 1997 the item was worded "Improving the global environment."

Q.15F2 CONTINUED...

		<u>Top</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
		<u>Priority</u>	<u>Priority</u>	<u>Priority</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

Q.19 CONTINUED...

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
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
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>8=100</i>
<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>7=100</i>
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 ²⁸	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

²⁸ 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>	(VOL) <u>No effect</u>	Don't know/ <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 ²⁹	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>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<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> ³⁰
5	Around 500	Under 500	4	28
23	Around 1,000	500 to 1,000	13	55 (correct)
48	Around 2,000 (correct)	1,000 to 2,000	54 (correct)	6
19	Around 3,000	More than 2,000	24	4
1	Other (VOL.)		--	--
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)		<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
100			100	100

²⁹ 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?"

³⁰ 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	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>2004</u> ³¹	<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>1987</u> ³²	<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

³¹ 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...”

³² 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
				No Preference/		
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<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		

PARTY CONTINUED...

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent/ 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%

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We have a few questions about America's place in the world...

Q.26 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. **(RANDOMIZE LIST)**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
a. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations	54	39	7=100
August, 2004	60	30	10=100
December, 2002	67	28	5=100
Early September, 2001	58	31	11=100
March, 1999	65	26	9=100
September, 1997	59	30	11=100
June, 1995	62	30	8=100
February, 1995	65	29	6=100
October, 1993	64	28	8=100
April, 1993	71	22	7=100
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>) ³³	77	17	6=100
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	56	35	9=100
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	59	28	13=100
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	46	41	13=100
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	63	28	9=100
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	21	7=100
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	16	12=100
b. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies	79	16	5=100
August, 2004	76	14	10=100
December, 2002	85	10	5=100
Early September, 2001	80	11	9=100
March, 1999	82	12	6=100
September, 1997	72	18	10=100
June, 1995	74	18	8=100
April, 1993	80	13	7=100
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	86	10	4=100
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	82	12	6=100
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	79	13	8=100
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	18	10=100
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	80	12	8=100
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	84	9	7=100
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	81	7	12=100

³³ Trends for this series in 1991 and earlier are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research.

Q.26 CONTINUED...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
c. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not	32	63	5=100
August, 2004	28	65	7=100
December, 2002	25	72	3=100
Early September, 2001	32	62	6=100
March, 1999	26	69	5=100
September, 1997	32	62	6=100
June, 1995	34	60	6=100
April, 1993	34	63	3=100
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	29	66	5=100
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	26	70	4=100
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	26	66	8=100
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	29	62	9=100
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	22	72	6=100
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	23	72	5=100
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	19	70	11=100
d. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own	42	51	7=100
August, 2004	34	59	7=100
December, 2002	30	65	5=100
Early September, 2001	37	55	8=100
March, 1999	35	57	8=100
September, 1997	39	54	7=100
June, 1995	41	51	8=100
April, 1993	37	58	5=100
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	33	60	7=100
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	34	59	7=100
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	30	61	9=100
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	41	49	10=100
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	35	56	9=100
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	27	66	7=100
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	18	70	12=100
e. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home	71	23	6=100
August, 2004	69	25	6=100
December, 2002	65	31	4=100
Early September, 2001	68	25	7=100
March, 1999	68	27	5=100
September, 1997	72	24	4=100
June, 1995	78	18	4=100
April, 1993	79	18	3=100
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	78	16	6=100
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	60	34	6=100
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	61	30	9=100
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	73	22	5=100
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	73	20	7=100
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	60	31	9=100
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	55	32	13=100