

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
& COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD, V
SURVEY OF CFR MEMBERS
FINAL TOPLINE
October 2-November 16, 2009
N=642**

ASK ALL:

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No answer</u>	<u>Number of interviews</u>
CFR Members				
2009 (<i>Obama</i>)	77	20	3	(642)
2005 (<i>Bush</i>)	15	83	2	(96)
2001 (<i>Bush</i>)	20	66	14	(89)
1997 (<i>Clinton</i>)	72	19	9	(69)
1993 (<i>Clinton</i>)	54	36	10	(69)
<i>General public</i> ¹	51	36	13	<i>(2000)</i>

NO QUESTION 2

¹ For questions asked of both the CFR Members and the general public, comparable figures for the general public are included for comparison in this topline. The survey of the general public was conducted by telephone October 28-November 8, 2009. For more details about the survey, see the "About the Surveys" section at the back of the report. For general-public trends, see the topline for the survey of the general public, also at the back of this report.

ASK ALL:

Q.3 What is America's most important international problem today? [OPEN-END] [CODE UP TO 4 RESPONSES]

CFR

Members

<u>2009</u>		<i>GP</i> <u>2009</u>
28	Situation in Afghanistan	10
18	Situation in Pakistan	1
12	Nuclear proliferation/Control of nuclear weapons/Loose nuclear weapons/WMDs	2
12	Economic issues	19
10	International violence/Security problems/Threats of terrorism	9
9	Iran	3
7	Maintaining leadership role/Loss of leadership/Reestablishing relationships with allies	5
7	Environmental issues/Global warming/U.S. over-consumption of natural resources	1
6	Situation in Iraq	7
4	Middle East	3
4	U.S. image/Trust in the United States	3
3	Islamic fundamentalism	1
2	Dealing with an emerging China/Managing relationship with China	--
1	Energy crisis/Dependence on foreign oil	3
1	North Korea	1
1	Foreign policy/No clear plan	1
4	Other	
1	No answer	9

[N=999]

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

NO QUESTION 4

ASK ALL:

Q.5 So far, what are the **best** things about the Obama Administration's handling of foreign policy? [**OPEN-END**] [**CODE UP TO 4 RESPONSES**]

CFR

Members

2009

44	Engagement/Multilateral/Outreach/Emphasis on diplomacy
18	U.S. Image/respect/credibility
11	Realistic/Flexible/Compromise/Non-ideological
9	Approach to Muslim world (including speech in Cairo)
8	All mentions of Iran
7	Good foreign policy/defense appointments (e.g. Clinton/advisers/State Dept./DOD)
5	All mentions of Iraq
5	All mentions of Mideast/Israel-Palestinian conflict
5	Public diplomacy/communication/Other specific speeches
5	New course of action for United States/Reversal of Bush administration policies
4	All mentions of Afghanistan/The Taliban/Pakistan
3	All mentions of Russia
3	Nuclear non-proliferation/Support for reduction in number of missiles/Arms control
3	Environmental policy mentions/Climate change
3	All trade/economic mentions
3	Not deploying an East European missile defense system
2	All other mentions of ability to handle issues/problems
2	Cautious/patient
2	Supports United Nations/international institutions
2	All mentions of North Korea
2	Other specific country/international mentions
1	Approach to China
1	Shift in torture policy/Closing Guantanamo
1	All other mentions of foreign conflicts
1	All mentions of Cuba
9	Other
*	Nothing/None
2	No answer

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

2005 TREND FOR COMPARISON

So far, what are the BEST things about the Bush Administration's handling of foreign policy? **[OPEN-END]** **[CODE UP TO 4 RESPONSES]**

	2005 <u>CFR Members</u>
Focus/War on terrorism	12
Humanitarian concerns/Foreign aid	12
Decisive/strong/resolve	9
Working to establish relations/ meet world leaders	9
Clarity of U.S. position	8
North Korea	7
Mideast/peace talks	6
Right track with China	6
Afghanistan/Taliban	5
Promote democracy/freedom	5
Proactive/attack issues	5
Ability to handle issues/problems	4
Good foreign policy appointments	3
Bases decisions on values/honest	2
Iraq/Hussein	1
All other mentions	22
Nothing	16
No opinion	6
ABILITY TO HANDLE ISSUES (NET)	43
HANDLING OF FOREIGN CONFLICTS (NET)	32
TRADE/ECONOMICS (NET)	6
DEMONSTRATES CAUTION (NET)	4

[N=96]

ASK ALL:

Q.6 So far, what are the **WORST** things about the Obama Administration's handling of foreign policy?
[OPEN-END] [CODE UP TO 4 RESPONSES]

CFR Members

2009

27 All mentions of Afghanistan/Pakistan
13 All mentions of Mideast/Mideast peace talks
10 Indecisive/Slow/All talk/Not making tough decisions
6 Lacks foreign policy direction/goals/No clear vision/Inability to articulate policy/No clarity
6 Trade policies
5 All mentions of Iran
5 Trying to do too much/Too much attention to domestic issues; not enough to foreign/Inattention
5 Overemphasis on diplomacy/engagement
5 Made bad decisions selecting/not selecting his foreign policy/defense appointments and staff/Too slow on appointments/Who is really in charge?/Too many special envoys
4 All mentions of Iraq
4 All mentions of Latin America
3 Downplaying global human rights situation/democratization
3 All mentions of Russia
3 Mishandling of the European missile defense decision
2 Lacks knowledge/experience/Too idealistic
2 Hasn't failed yet/Too early to tell/Needs more time
2 Handling of climate change/global warming
2 Too focused on what others think/Seeking international popularity/Can't go it alone/Wants to appease everyone
2 All mentions of North Korea/Korea situation
2 Failure to close Guantanamo/find countries to take detainees
2 Apologizing for past actions of the United States/all things American/Blaming Bush
1 All mentions of Africa
1 Other countries/conflicts
1 No tangible progress in any area
1 Obama's trip to Copenhagen in support of Chicago's Olympic bid
1 All mentions of China
1 Failure to decide on future of USAID/Work on an international development policy/foreign aid
1 Failure to stop use of rendition/torture through CIA/Failure to reverse Bush policies on torture
1 Failure to consult with our allies/the international community/Worsens relations
1 All other mentions of indecisive/slow/inexperienced/ignorant
1 Economic policies
1 All mentions of Cuba
1 Continuing Bush policies
1 Terrorism
1 At fault over a domestic issue (e.g. health care)/Hampers image overseas
10 Other
4 Nothing
7 No answer

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

2005 TREND FOR COMPARISON

So far, what are the WORST things about the Bush Administration's handling of foreign policy? [OPEN-END] [CODE UP TO 4 RESPONSES]

	2005 <u>CFR Members</u>
Iraq/Hussein	54
Worsens relations with allies	28
Arrogance	16
Unilateralism	10
Slow/indecisive/ignorant	8
War on terrorism	7
Other foreign conflicts	7
Disdain for international agreements	7
Mideast (unspecific)	6
Lack of U.N. cooperation	6
Environment	5
Fails to communicate honestly	4
Relations with EU/Europe	3
Lack of knowledge/understanding	2
All/Everything	3
Other	13
Nothing	1
No opinion	2
HANDLING OF FOREIGN CONFLICTS (NET)	63
INDECISIVE/SLOW/INEXPERIENCED (NET)	43
TRADE/ECONOMICS (NET)	3

[N=96]

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling policy in each of the following areas?

RANDOMIZE LIST

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a.	Iraq			
	CFR Members 2009	83	13	3
	<i>General public</i>	41	48	12
b.	Afghanistan			
	CFR Members 2009	42	47	11
	<i>General public</i>	36	49	15
c.	Pakistan			
	CFR Members 2009	66	26	8
d.	Iran			
	CFR Members 2009	76	21	3
	<i>General public</i>	43	40	17
e.	Relations with China			
	CFR Members 2009	79	16	5
	<i>General public</i>	33	34	33
f.	Terrorism			
	CFR Members 2009	77	18	5
	<i>General public</i> ²	52	34	14
g.	Immigration policy			
	CFR Members 2009	58	28	14
	<i>General public</i>	31	48	21
h.	International trade issues			
	CFR Members 2009	49	40	11
	<i>General public</i>	36	35	28

² The item in the general public questionnaire asked about, "Terrorist threats."

Q.7 CONTINUED...

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No answer</u>
i.	Global climate change			
	CFR Members			
	2009	73	22	5
	<i>General public</i>	44	32	24
j.	The Israeli/Palestinian conflict			
	CFR Members			
	2009	59	35	6

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.8 AND Q.9

ASK ALL:

Q.8 Do you approve or disapprove of Barack Obama’s plan to close the U.S. military prison in Guantanamo Bay?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members			
2009	81	17	2
<i>General public</i>	39	49	12

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.8 AND Q.9

ASK ALL:

Q.9 Do you approve or disapprove of Barack Obama’s decision to change U.S. policy on missile defense in Eastern Europe?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members			
2009	80	17	3

ASK ALL:

Q.10 Overall, is the Obama administration’s approach to foreign policy...?

	<u>Too assertive</u>	<u>Not assertive enough</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members				
2009	1	31	67	1
TREND FOR COMPARISON	<u>Too tough</u>	<u>Not too tough</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
<i>General public</i> ³	3	47	43	7

³ The question in the general public questionnaire read, “Do you think Barack Obama is too tough, not tough enough or about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues?”

ASK ALL:

Q.10A Do you think Barack Obama’s policy of greater engagement with problem countries will advance U.S. interests…?

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not much</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	29	54	12	4	1

ASK ALL:

Q.11 It has been almost 20 years since the end of the Cold War. In your opinion, is the world now…?
RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2

	<u>More dangerous for the United States</u>	<u>Less dangerous for the United States</u>	<u>About as dangerous as 20 years ago</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	49	30	20	1
2001 ⁴	25	60	11	4
<i>General public</i>	58	12	26	4

ASK ALL:

Q.12 How much of a threat are each of the following international concerns to the well being of the United States?

RANDOMIZE LIST

	<u>Major threat</u>	<u>Minor threat</u>	<u>Not a threat</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a. China’s emergence as a world power				
CFR Members				
2009	21	49	29	1
2005	30	45	24	1
2001	38	35	20	7
<i>General public</i>	53	30	10	7
b. Growing tension between Russia and its neighbors				
CFR Members				
2009	12	76	11	1
TREND FOR COMPARISON:				
2005: <i>Growing authoritarianism in Russia</i>	18	65	17	0
2001: <i>Political and economic instability in Russia</i>	63	32	4	1
<i>General public</i>	38	44	9	9

⁴ For general public survey, response options not randomized.

Q.12 CONTINUED...

		<u>Major threat</u>	<u>Minor threat</u>	<u>Not a threat</u>	<u>No answer</u>
c.	Political instability in Pakistan				
	CFR Members				
	2009	85	14	*	*
	<i>General public</i>	49	38	6	8
d.	North Korea's nuclear program				
	CFR Members				
	2009	44	53	3	*
	2005	67	31	0	2
	<i>General public</i>	69	23	3	5
e.	Iran's nuclear program				
	CFR Members				
	2009	64	34	2	*
	2005	54	41	5	0
	<i>General public</i>	72	20	3	6
f.	International financial instability				
	CFR Members				
	2009	74	23	2	1
	2001 ⁵	65	29	5	1
	<i>General public</i>	61	28	4	8
g.	Global climate change				
	CFR Members				
	2009	59	30	10	*
	TREND FOR COMPARISON:				
	2001: <i>Global environmental problems</i>	69	27	2	2
	<i>General public</i>	44	36	15	5
h.	Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda				
	CFR Members				
	2009	77	23	0	*
	TREND FOR COMPARISON:				
	June 21-Sept 10, 2001: <i>The rising power of fundamentalist Islamic political movements across the Middle East and Central Asia</i>	41	54	3	2
	<i>General public</i>	76	18	2	3

⁵ June 21-September 10, 2001 asked about "The possibility of international financial instability."

Q.12 CONTINUED...

	<u>Major threat</u>	<u>Minor threat</u>	<u>Not a threat</u>	<u>No answer</u>
i. The Taliban's growing strength in Afghanistan				
CFR Members				
2009	49	47	4	1
<i>General public</i>	70	22	3	4

ASK ALL:

Q.13 Compared to 10 years ago, do you think the United States plays...?

	<u>A more important and powerful role as a world leader today</u>	<u>A less important and powerful role as a world leader today</u>	<u>About as important a role as it did</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members				
2009	16	44	40	*
2001	35	25	40	0
1997	48	17	35	0
1993	26	41	32	1
<i>General public</i>	25	41	30	4

ASK ALL:

Q.14 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?

ASK IF 2 "SHARED LEADERSHIP ROLE" IN Q.14:

Q.15 Would you say the United States should be the most assertive of the leading nations, or should it be no more or less assertive than other leading nations?

	<u>Single leader</u>	<u>Shared leadership</u>	<i>----- If Shared Leadership -----</i>			<u>No leadership</u>	<u>No answer</u>
			<u>Most assertive</u>	<u>No more or less assertive</u>	<u>No answer</u>		
CFR Members							
2009	7	92	62	25	5	*	1
2005	13	85	55	26	4	0	2
2001	9	91	55	22	14	0	0
1997	15	84	54	24	6	1	0
1993	7	92	68	16	7	*	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON

	<u>Single leader</u>	<u>Shared leadership</u>	<i>----- If Shared Leadership -----</i>			<u>No leadership</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
			<u>More Active</u>	<u>About as active</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>		
<i>General public</i> ⁶	14	70	19	48	2	11	6

⁶ The follow up question in the general public questionnaire read, "Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be about as active as other leading nations?"

ASK ALL:

Q.16 In the future... U.S. policies should try to keep it so America is the only military superpower
 [OR] It would be acceptable if China, another country or the European Union became as militarily powerful as the U.S.

ASK IF RESPONDENT SELECTS 1 “KEEP U.S. AS ONLY MILITARY SUPERPOWER” IN Q.16:

Q.17 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 <u>military superpower</u>	<i>- If keep U.S. as only superpower -</i>			OK if another country became <u>as powerful</u>	No <u>answer</u>
		<i>Even if risks alienating <u>allies</u></i>	<i>Not if risks alienating <u>allies</u></i>	<i>No <u>answer</u></i>		
CFR Members						
2009	49	26	21	3	43	8
2005	54	27	26	1	35	11
<i>General public</i>	57	23	28	6	29	14

ASK ALL:

Q.18 How important is the image of the United States around the world to the successful conduct of foreign policy?

	Very <u>important</u>	Somewhat <u>important</u>	Not too <u>important</u>	Not at all <u>important</u>	No <u>answer</u>
CFR Members					
2009	73	22	4	*	1

ASK ALL:

Q.19 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; RECORD UP TO 7 MENTIONS**]

CFR Members <u>2009</u>		CFR Members <u>2005</u>
58	China	31
55	India	43
37	Brazil	17
21	Europe (unspecified country)	--
19	European Union/Europe/European countries	23
1	Eastern European countries	--
1	Other Europe mentions	--
17	Russia	16
16	Japan	32
10	Britain/United Kingdom/England	27
10	Turkey	9
9	Germany	3
8	Mexico	7
5	Canada	7
5	Indonesia	--
5	Pakistan	1
5	Australia	8
5	France	3
4	South Korea/Korea	2
4	Israel	1
3	South Africa	--
3	Saudi Arabia	0
2	Latin America	--
2	Egypt	3
2	Iraq	1
1	Iran	1
1	BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China)	--
*	NATO countries	--
*	North Korea	0
*	Spain	0
*	Italy	0
*	Taiwan	0
15	Other country/region	
*	Many/all will be important	0
2	Other Comment	--
1	None	--
5	No answer	6

[N=96]

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

ASK ALL:

Q.20 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; RECORD UP TO 7 MENTIONS]

CFR Members <u>2009</u>		CFR Members <u>2005</u>
18	France	31
17	Britain/United Kingdom/England	2
16	Japan	7
16	Europe (unspecified country)	--
13	European Union/Europe/European countries	5
1	Eastern European countries	--
2	Other mentions of Europe	--
9	Israel	8
8	Germany	21
7	Italy	4
5	Russia	5
5	Saudi Arabia	9
4	South Korea	3
3	Taiwan	3
2	Canada	3
2	Pakistan	6
2	Spain	3
2	Australia	2
2	Egypt	1
2	Latin America	--
1	Iraq	0
1	NATO countries	--
1	Mexico	1
*	China	1
*	Turkey	1
*	Iran	0
*	South Africa	--
*	Indonesia	--
*	Brazil	1
*	India	0
*	North Korea	0
7	Other country/region	
8	None/All will be important	7
3	Other comment	--
22	No answer	22

[N=96]

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

ASK ALL:

Q.21 How much priority do you think the U.S. should give to each of the following long-range foreign policy goals?

RANDOMIZE LIST

		<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				
	CFR Members				
	2009	88	12	0	1
	2005	89	10	0	1
	2001	83	17	0	0
	1997	88	12	0	0
	1993	90	10	*	*
	<i>General public</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>2</i>
b.	Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks				
	CFR Members				
	2009	81	18	0	1
	2005	84	16	0	0
	2001	62	36	2	0
	<i>General public</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
c.	Protecting the jobs of American workers				
	CFR Members				
	2009	21	57	20	2
	2005	19	60	21	0
	2001	17	70	11	2
	1997	16	65	12	7
	1993	19	65	10	6
	<i>General public</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
d.	Strengthening the United Nations				
	CFR Members				
	2009	18	58	23	1
	2005	29	57	14	0
	2001	37	53	10	0
	1997	32	55	12	1
	1993	45	48	7	*
	<i>General public</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>2</i>
e.	Dealing with global climate change				
	CFR Members				
	2009	57	35	7	1
	2005	56	41	3	0
	2001 ⁷	56	41	3	0
	1997	49	44	7	0
	1993	42	55	3	*
	<i>General public</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>3</i>

⁷ In 2001 the item was "dealing with global warming." In 1997 and 1993 the item was "Improving the global environment."

Q.21 CONTINUED...

		<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No answer</u>
f.	Combating international drug trafficking				
	CFR Members				
	2009	22	69	8	2
	2005	21	67	12	0
	2001	35	59	6	0
	1997	36	52	12	0
	<i>General public</i>	56	35	8	2
g.	Helping improve the living standards in developing nations				
	CFR Members				
	2009	35	59	4	1
	2005	47	50	2	1
	2001	48	50	1	1
	1997	31	62	4	3
	1993	25	66	9	*
	<i>General public</i>	26	57	14	2
h.	Promoting democracy in other nations				
	CFR Members				
	2009	10	71	17	1
	2005	18	73	8	1
	2001	44	54	2	0
	1997	32	56	9	3
	1993	28	62	10	*
	<i>General public</i>	21	54	22	3
i.	Promoting and defending human rights in other countries				
	CFR Members				
	2009	21	73	5	1
	2005	22	76	2	0
	2001	43	53	3	1
	1997	28	65	4	3
	1993	22	71	7	*
	<i>General public</i>	29	54	14	3
j.	Reducing our dependence on imported energy sources				
	CFR Members				
	2009	65	28	5	1
	2005	67	30	3	0
	<i>General public</i>	64	28	3	5
k.	Reducing illegal immigration				
	CFR Members				
	2009	11	64	24	1
	2005	12	63	23	2
	1997	16	67	16	1
	<i>General public</i>	46	43	9	2

ASK ALL:

Q.22 When it comes to spending on national defense, do you think that the U.S. should...?

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF OPTIONS 1 AND 2

	<u>Increase defense spending</u>	<u>Cut back on defense spending</u>	<u>Keep defense spending about the same</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	7	40	51	2
<i>General public</i> ⁸	26	23	46	5

ASK ALL:

Q.23 Do you think the danger of attack on the United States with a nuclear, biological, or chemical weapon is ...?

	<u>Greater now than it was 10 years ago</u>	<u>Less now than it was 10 years ago</u>	<u>About the same</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	61	9	29	2
<i>General public</i>	52	10	35	3

ASK ALL:

Q.24 Would you approve or disapprove of the use of U.S. military forces in the following situations?

RANDOMIZE LIST

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a. If an ethnic group in Africa were threatened by genocide			
CFR Members			
2009	57	38	5
2001	66	23	11
<i>General public</i>	58	32	10
b. If it were certain that Iran had produced a nuclear weapon			
CFR Members			
2009	33	61	6
<i>General public</i>	63	30	7
c. If extremists were poised to take over Pakistan			
CFR Members			
2009	63	31	6
<i>General public</i>	51	37	13

⁸ For general public survey, response options not randomized.

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about the situation in Iraq...

Q.25 Do you think Barack Obama is removing troops from Iraq ...?

	<u>Too quickly</u>	<u>Not quickly enough</u>	<u>Handling it about right</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	8	11	80	1
<i>General public</i>	15	29	49	8

ASK ALL:

Q.26 How much longer do you think a significant number of U.S. troops should remain in Iraq?

	<u>Less than a year</u>	<u>One to less than two years</u>	<u>Two to five years</u>	<u>More than five years</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	11	40	37	8	4
<i>General public</i>	34	31	17	7	9

ASK ALL:

Q.27 All things considered, how likely is it that Iraq will be able to maintain a stable government after most U.S. forces leave the country?

	<u>Very likely</u>	<u>Somewhat likely</u>	<u>Not too likely</u>	<u>Not at all likely</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	3	60	33	3	2
<i>General public</i>	8	44	22	20	7

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about Afghanistan...

Q.28 Do you think the United States' initial decision to use force in Afghanistan was the right decision or the wrong decision?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	87	10	3
<i>General public</i>	56	34	10

ASK ALL:

Q.29 How well is the U.S. military effort in Afghanistan going?

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	*	8	63	27	2
<i>General public</i>	4	32	41	16	6

ASK ALL:

Q.30 Over the next year, do you think the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan should be...?

	<u>Increased</u>	<u>Decreased</u>	<u>Kept the same as it is now</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	50	24	19	7
<i>General public</i>	32	40	19	8

ASK ALL:

Q.31 In the long run, how likely is it that Afghanistan can become a country that is stable enough to withstand the threat posed by the Taliban or other extremist groups?

	<u>Very likely</u>	<u>Somewhat likely</u>	<u>Not too likely</u>	<u>Not at all likely</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	2	39	45	12	2
<i>General public</i>	10	36	29	18	8

ASK ALL:

Q.32 How important is each of the following to making Afghanistan a country that is stable enough to withstand the threat posed by the Taliban or other extremist groups?

RANDOMIZE LIST

	<u>Very important</u>	<u>Somewhat important</u>	<u>Not too important</u>	<u>Not at all important</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a. Strengthening Afghan security forces CFR Members 2009	80	15	1	0	4
b. Establishing a democratic government CFR Members 2009	21	43	29	4	4
c. Establishing a stable economy CFR Members 2009	74	20	2	*	4
d. Eliminating the opium trade CFR Members 2009	26	47	18	4	5
e. Capturing or killing Osama bin Laden CFR Members 2009	14	31	34	16	4
f. Establishing political and educational rights for women CFR Members 2009	41	40	12	4	3

ASK ALL:

Q.33 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more...?

	<u>Israel</u>	<u>The Palestinians</u>	<u>Both equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	26	16	41	12	4

TREND FOR COMPARISON

	<u>Israel</u>	<u>The Palestinians</u>	<u>(VOL.) Both equally</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither</u>	<u>(VOL.) Don't know/ Refused</u>
<i>General public</i> ⁹	51	12	4	14	19

ASK ALL:

Q.34 Historically, do you think U.S. policies in the Middle East have...?

RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2

	<u>Favored Israel too much</u>	<u>Favored the Palestinians too much</u>	<u>Struck the right balance</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	67	2	24	7
<i>General public</i>	30	15	29	27

ASK ALL:

Q.35 Thinking about the situation in the Middle East these days, do you think Barack Obama is...

RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2

	<u>Favoring Israel too much</u>	<u>Favoring the Palestinians too much</u>	<u>Striking about the right balance</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	13	12	69	6
<i>General public</i>	7	16	51	26

RANDOMIZE Q.36 AND Q.37

ASK ALL:

Q.36 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today? Do you think China is...

	<u>An adversary</u>	<u>A serious problem, but not an adversary</u>	<u>Not much of of a problem</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	5	58	31	5
2005	9	62	29	0
2001	9	66	24	1
1997	10	67	20	3
<i>General public</i>	19	41	30	9

⁹ For surveys asked of the general public, "both" and "neither" were volunteered options that were not read. CFR Members were offered all four options.

RANDOMIZE Q.36 AND Q.37

ASK ALL:

Q.37 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of Russia today? Do you think Russia is...

	<u>An adversary</u>	<u>A serious problem, but not an adversary</u>	<u>Not much of a problem</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	13	61	22	4
<i>General public</i>	15	32	42	11

ASK ALL:

Q.38 In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA and the policies of the World Trade Organization have been...?

	<u>A good thing for the United States</u>	<u>A bad thing for the United States</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	88	5	6
TREND FOR COMPARISON:¹⁰			
2005	85	7	8
2001	89	3	8
1997	91	7	2
<i>General public</i>	43	32	25

NO QUESTION 39

ASK ALL:

Q.40 In dealing with climate change, do you think Barack Obama will or will not get the United States to take significant measures to reduce carbon emissions?

	<u>Will</u>	<u>Will not</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members 2009	58	37	5

NO QUESTIONS 41-44

¹⁰ In 2005, 2001 and 1997 question was worded: "So far, do you think NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?"

ASK ALL:

Q.45 Thinking about the issue of terrorism for a moment...
Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is ...?
RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2

	Greater than at the time of the September 11 th <u>terrorist attacks</u>	Less than at the time of the September 11 th <u>terrorist attacks</u>	The <u>same</u>	No <u>answer</u>
CFR Members				
2009	11	56	30	3
2005 ¹¹	13	44	43	0
<i>General public</i> ¹²	29	29	38	4

ASK ALL:

Q.46 So far, there has not been another terrorist attack in America since 2001. Is this mostly because ...?

	The government is doing a good job <u>protecting the country</u>	America is inherently a difficult target <u>for terrorists</u>	America has been lucky <u>so far</u>	No <u>answer</u>
CFR Members				
2009	44	19	31	6
2005	17	26	53	4
<i>General public</i>	44	11	35	9

ASK ALL:

Q.47 What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism policies?
RANDOMIZE OPTIONS

	They have gone too far in restricting the average person's <u>civil liberties</u>	They have not gone far enough to adequately protect <u>the country</u>	(VOL.) <u>Both</u> ¹³	(VOL.) <u>Neither/ Approve of policies</u>	No <u>answer</u>
CFR Members					
2009	46	33	0	0	21
2005 ¹⁴	33	46	6	4	11
<i>General public</i>	36	40	4	8	11

¹¹ In 2005, the response options were not randomized.

¹² For the general public survey, the question wording was, "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?" and the response options were not randomized.

¹³ The volunteered "Both" and "Neither/Approve of policies" response categories were accepted exclusively in the telephone survey and not in the online survey mode.

¹⁴ In 2005, response categories in the elite questionnaire were not randomized.

ASK ALL:

Q.48 Do you think increased security measures that have made it more difficult for foreign students to get visas to study in American universities ...

	<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>
CFR Members			
2009	80	13	7
2005	77	21	2
<i>General public</i>	22	67	11

ASK ALL:

Q.49 Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can ...

	<u>Often be justified</u>	<u>Sometimes be justified</u>	<u>Rarely be justified</u>	<u>Never be justified</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members					
2009	2	11	38	44	4
2005	0	12	46	42	0
<i>General public</i>	19	35	16	25	5

ASK ALL:

Q.50 Do you think that using military force against countries that may seriously threaten our country, but have not attacked us, can ...

	<u>Often be justified</u>	<u>Sometimes be justified</u>	<u>Rarely be justified</u>	<u>Never be justified</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members					
2009	4	27	55	11	4
2005	8	34	53	5	0
<i>General public</i>	16	36	24	17	8

ASK ALL:

Q.51 Which statement comes closer to your own view?

	<u>The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers</u>	<u>The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members			
2009	42	51	7
<i>General public</i>			
August 11-17, 2009 ¹⁵	38	45	15

¹⁵ In the August 11-17, 2009 general public survey, 1% of respondents volunteered "neither" in response to the question.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
& COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD, V
GENERAL PUBLIC SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
October 28-November 8, 2009
N=2000**

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.1 AND Q.2

ASK ALL:

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>		Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	67	7	December, 2004	39	54	7
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	25	67	7	Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6
September 10-15, 2009 ¹⁶	30	64	7	July, 2004	38	55	7
August 20-27, 2009	28	65	7	May, 2004	33	61	6
August, 11-17, 2009	28	65	7	Late February, 2004*	39	55	6
July 22-26, 2009	28	66	6	Early January, 2004	45	48	7
June 10-14, 2009	30	64	5	December, 2003	44	47	9
April 28-May 12, 2009	34	58	8	October, 2003	38	56	6
April 14-21, 2009	23	70	7	August, 2003 ²	40	53	7
January 7-11, 2009	20	73	7	April 8, 2003	50	41	9
December, 2008	13	83	4	January, 2003	44	50	6
Early October, 2008	11	86	3	November, 2002	41	48	11
Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6	September, 2002	41	55	4
August, 2008	21	74	5	Late August, 2002	47	44	9
July, 2008	19	74	7	May, 2002	44	44	12
June, 2008	19	76	5	March, 2002	50	40	10
Late May, 2008	18	76	6	Late September, 2001	57	34	9
March, 2008	22	72	6	Early September, 2001	41	53	6
Early February, 2008	24	70	6	June, 2001	43	52	5
Late December, 2007	27	66	7	March, 2001	47	45	8
October, 2007	28	66	6	February, 2001	46	43	11
February, 2007	30	61	9	January, 2001	55	41	4
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7	October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7
Early January, 2007	30	63	7	September, 2000	51	41	8
December, 2006	28	65	7	June, 2000	47	45	8
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8	April, 2000	48	43	9
Early October, 2006	30	63	7	August, 1999	56	39	5
July, 2006	30	65	5	January, 1999	53	41	6
May, 2006*	29	65	6	November, 1998	46	44	10
March, 2006	32	63	5	Early September, 1998	54	42	4
January, 2006	34	61	5	Late August, 1998	55	41	4
Late November, 2005	34	59	7	Early August, 1998	50	44	6
Early October, 2005	29	65	6	February, 1998	59	37	4
July, 2005	35	58	7	January, 1998	46	50	4
Late May, 2005*	39	57	4	September, 1997	45	49	6
February, 2005	38	56	6	August, 1997	49	46	5
January, 2005	40	54	6	January, 1997	38	58	4
				July, 1996	29	67	4
				March, 1996	28	70	2
				October, 1995	23	73	4
				June, 1995	25	73	2

¹⁶ In September 10-15, 2009, and other surveys noted with an asterisk, the question was worded "Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?"

Q.1 CONTINUED ...

	Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
April, 1995	23	74	3
July, 1994	24	73	3
March, 1994	24	71	5
October, 1993	22	73	5
September, 1993	20	75	5
May, 1993	22	71	7
January, 1992	28	68	4
November, 1991	34	61	5
Late February, 1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	66	31	3
August, 1990	47	48	5
May, 1990	41	54	5
January, 1989	45	50	5
September, 1988 (<i>RVs</i>)	50	45	5
January, 1993	39	50	11

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.1 AND Q.2

ASK ALL:

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama 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 Barack Obama is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	Dis- <u>approve</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	51	36	13
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	52	36	12
September 10-15, 2009	55	33	13
August 20-27, 2009	52	37	12
August, 11-17, 2009	51	37	11
July 22-26, 2009	54	34	12
June 10-14, 2009	61	30	9
April 14-21, 2009	63	26	11
March 31-Apr 6, 2009	61	26	13
March 9-12, 2009	59	26	15
February 4-8, 2009	64	17	19

QUESTIONS 3-7 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

QUESTION 8 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

Q.9 Right now, which is more important for President Obama to focus on... domestic policy or foreign policy?

		Domestic <u>policy</u>	Foreign <u>policy</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>Both</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	73	12	1	10	3
Obama	January 7-11, 2009 ¹⁷	71	11	*	14	4
	September, 2008 ¹⁸	60	21	*	15	4
	May, 2008	61	22	*	15	4
GW Bush	January, 2008	56	31	1	8	4
GW Bush	January, 2007	39	40	1	15	5
GW Bush	August, 2006	50	32	1	12	5
GW Bush	January, 2006	57	25	1	13	4
GW Bush	October, 2005	64	20	1	12	3
GW Bush	Early January, 2005	53	27	1	16	3
GW Bush	January, 2002	52	34	*	11	3
Clinton	Early September, 1998	56	30	0	11	3
Clinton	January, 1997	86	7	*	5	2
Clinton	December, 1994	85	7	2	4	2
Clinton	October, 1993	76	13	*	7	4

ASK ALL:

And thinking about the world...

Q.10 All in all, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the WORLD these days?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Oct <u>2005</u>	July <u>2004</u>	GAP Sept <u>2002</u>	Early Sept <u>2001</u>	Sept <u>1997</u>	Oct <u>1993</u>	Sept <u>1993</u>
15	Satisfied	16	21	17	27	29	12	28
79	Dissatisfied	77	74	79	64	65	81	66
4	Neither satisfied/dissatisfied (VOL.)	3	2	--	6	4	4	*
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	3	4	3	2	3	6

¹⁷ January 7-11, 2009, survey asked about "president-elect Obama."

¹⁸ September and May 2008 surveys asked about priorities for the "next president."

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.11F1 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.]**

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Late Oct <u>2005</u>
19	Economic issues	6
16	War/Wars (including getting out/ending)	--
10	Situation in Afghanistan	--
9	Threats of terrorism/Security problems/International violence	16
7	Situation in Iraq	22
5	U.S. Leadership role [NET]	8
3	Too big a role as peacekeeper/Too much intervention/"Bully"	2
1	Balance being world power with member of global community/Cooperation	1
1	Maintaining world peace/Peace keeper/Resolution of international disputes	1
1	Loss of leadership/Declining as world leader/Power	*
3	Situation in Iran	--
3	Middle East	2
3	AIDS/World health problems	*
3	Energy concerns/Dependence on foreign oil	7
3	U.S. Image/Trust in U.S. [NET]	5
2	Global image	3
1	Our/U.S. credibility/Maintaining the respect of other nations	1
2	Domestic policy/problem	3
2	Nuclear proliferation/Loose nuclear weapons	*
1	Immigration/Controlling immigration to U.S./Displaced people	1
1	Situation in Pakistan	--
1	Too much foreign aid/Better to take care of our problems at home	3
1	U.S. Armed Forces/Stretched to our limits/Defense	*
1	Morals/Religion/Ethics/Corruption	--
1	Obama/President	--
1	Foreign policy/No clearly articulated plan	*
1	Islamic fundamentalism	*
1	North Korea/South Korea	*
1	International drug trafficking/Drugs	1
1	Developed vs. undeveloped/Gap between rich and poor nations/Inequality/Poverty	2
1	Environmental issues/Global warming/U.S. consuming too many resources	1
*	Nothing	*
*	Other	5
9	Don't know/Refused	11

[N=1003]

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.12F2 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.**]

		Mid-			Late	Early					
Oct 28-Nov 8		Sep	Feb	Feb	Oct	Sep	Sep	Apr	Jan	Feb	Mar
<u>2009</u>		<u>2008</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1990</u>
21	Iran	21	25	27	9	5	7	7	6	4	6
14	Iraq	13	19	17	18	16	18	14	17	12	--
14	Afghanistan	5	2	1	2	*	--	--	--	--	--
11	China	16	14	20	16	32	11	7	9	8	8
10	North Korea	6	17	11	13	1	1	--	--	--	--
5	United States	4	5	5	7	2	*	6	6	3	4
3	Pakistan	1	*	1	*	*	--	--	--	--	--
2	Al Qaeda/Terrorist groups	3	1	4	2	*	--	--	--	--	--
2	Russia/Former Soviet Union	14	2	3	2	9	8	16	13	13	32
*	Japan	1	1	1	1	3	11	9	8	31	8
3	Other										
4	None/Not just one country	5	3	2	8	2	6	12	9	5	6
16	Don't know/Refused	14	13	10	17	20	24	17	21	13	13

ASK ALL:

Thinking about some issues...

Q.13 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling [**INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS**] How about [**NEXT ITEM**]? [**REPEAT INTRODUCTION AS NECESSARY**]

FORM 1 ITEMS BASED ON N=999
FORM 2 ITEMS BASED ON N=1001

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>approve</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	The economy			
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	42	52	5
Obama	July 22-26, 2009	38	53	9
Obama	June 10-14, 2009	52	40	8
Obama	April 14-21, 2009	60	33	7
Obama	February 4-8, 2009	56	24	20
GW Bush	April, 2007	38	52	10
GW Bush	December, 2006	39	53	8
GW Bush	August, 2006	33	59	8
GW Bush	June, 2006	33	57	10
GW Bush	March, 2006	34	57	9
GW Bush	February, 2006	38	55	7
GW Bush	December, 2005	38	55	7
GW Bush	Late October, 2005	36	56	8
GW Bush	Early September, 2005	33	60	7
GW Bush	July, 2005	38	53	9
GW Bush	Mid-May, 2005	35	57	8
GW Bush	February, 2005	43	50	7
GW Bush	January, 2005	45	50	5
GW Bush	Mid-October, 2004	38	55	7
GW Bush	Early September, 2004	44	49	7
GW Bush	August, 2004	42	52	6

Q.13a CONTINUED...

		<u>Approve</u>	Dis- <u>approve</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
GW Bush	July, 2004	42	52	6
GW Bush	June, 2004	43	50	7
GW Bush	Early April, 2004	39	53	8
GW Bush	Mid-January, 2004	47	47	6
GW Bush	September, 2003	43	48	9
GW Bush	February, 2003	43	48	9
GW Bush	January, 2003	47	45	8
GW Bush	Early October, 2002	49	40	11
GW Bush	June, 2002	53	36	11
GW Bush	January, 2002	60	28	12
GW Bush	Early September, 2001	47	44	9
GW Bush	February, 2001	50	22	28
Clinton	January, 1996	50	42	8
Clinton	June, 1995	46	46	8
Clinton	October, 1994 ¹⁹	45	46	9
Clinton	July, 1994	38	56	6
Bush, Sr.	August, 1992	40	52	8
Bush, Sr.	May, 1990	42	47	11
b.F1 Health care policy				
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	43	47	10
Obama	July 22-26, 2009	42	43	14
Obama	April 14-21, 2009	51	26	23
GW Bush	August, 2006	31	54	15
GW Bush	March, 2006	26	57	17
GW Bush	February, 2006	28	57	15
GW Bush	February, 2005	36	51	13
GW Bush	Gallup: November, 2004	37	57	6
GW Bush	Gallup: January, 2004	43	49	8
GW Bush	September, 2003	33	46	21
GW Bush	Gallup: January, 2003	41	44	15
GW Bush	June, 2002	37	46	17
Clinton	July, 1994	39	54	7
Bush, Sr.	May, 1990 ²⁰	30	59	11
c.F2 The nation's foreign policy				
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	44	38	18
Obama	July 22-26, 2009	47	32	21
Obama	June 10-14, 2009	57	31	12
Obama	April 14-21, 2009	61	22	17
Obama	February 4-8, 2009	52	17	31
GW Bush	April, 2007	30	55	15
GW Bush	December, 2006	30	59	11
GW Bush	August, 2006	37	49	14
GW Bush	June, 2006	37	51	12
GW Bush	Late October, 2005	36	51	13
GW Bush	July, 2005	36	49	15
GW Bush	Mid-May, 2005	38	46	16
GW Bush	February, 2005	43	46	11

¹⁹ Item wording in October 1994 and in previous surveys was "Economic conditions in this country."

²⁰ In May 1990, the question asked about "health care."

Q.13cF2 CONTINUED...

		<u>Approve</u>	Dis- <u>approve</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
GW Bush	January, 2005	48	43	9
GW Bush	Mid-October, 2004	37	49	14
GW Bush	Early September, 2004	47	42	11
GW Bush	August, 2004	42	49	9
GW Bush	July, 2004	40	48	12
GW Bush	Mid-January, 2004	53	36	11
GW Bush	March, 2003	53	36	11
GW Bush	Early April, 2002	69	20	11
GW Bush	<i>Gallup</i> : October, 2001	81	14	5
GW Bush	Early September, 2001	46	34	20
GW Bush	August, 2001 ²¹	45	32	23
GW Bush	June, 1999	52	37	11
Clinton	May, 1999	46	43	11
Clinton	April, 1999	51	39	10
Clinton	March, 1999	56	34	10
Clinton	September, 1998	61	30	9
Clinton	September, 1997	54	34	12
Clinton	January, 1996	52	39	9
Clinton	June, 1995	39	52	9
Clinton	October, 1994	50	42	8
Clinton	July, 1994	38	53	9
Clinton	October, 1993	39	46	15
Clinton	September, 1993	47	33	20
Clinton	August, 1993	52	25	23
Clinton	<i>Newsweek</i> : June 30-July 1, 1993	49	35	16
Bush, Sr.	May, 1990	58	30	12
d.F1 The federal budget deficit				
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	31	58	11
Obama	July 22-26, 2009	32	53	15
Obama	April 14-21, 2009	50	38	12
GW Bush	April, 2007	22	60	18
GW Bush	February, 2006	27	60	13
GW Bush	February, 2005	41	46	13
GW Bush	<i>Gallup</i> : December, 2003	32	60	8
GW Bush	<i>Gallup</i> : August, 2003	39	55	6
GW Bush	<i>Gallup</i> : January, 2003 ²²	43	47	10
GW Bush	<i>Gallup</i> : March, 2002	51	37	12
GW Bush	<i>Gallup</i> : April, 2001	52	37	11
Clinton	July, 1994	31	58	11
Bush, Sr.	May, 1990	22	64	14
e.F2 Energy policy				
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	50	34	16
Obama	July 22-26, 2009	46	31	22
GW Bush	June, 2006	26	56	18
GW Bush	February, 2006	30	55	15

²¹ In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about George W. 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 and are combined.

²² Between April 2001 and January 2003 the Gallup item was worded "the federal budget."

Q.13eF2 CONTINUED...

		<u>Approve</u>	Dis- <u>approve</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
GW Bush	Mid-May, 2005	31	49	20
GW Bush	Early April, 2004	29	48	23
GW Bush	<i>Gallup</i> : August, 2003	47	44	9
GW Bush	June, 2002	41	39	20
GW Bush	<i>CBS News</i> : August, 2001	43	42	15

f.F1 Terrorist threats

Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	52	34	14
Obama	April 14-21, 2009 ²³	57	26	17
Obama	February 4-8, 2009	50	21	29
GW Bush	April, 2007	46	43	11
GW Bush	December, 2006	48	44	8
GW Bush	August, 2006	50	39	11
GW Bush	June, 2006	47	41	12
GW Bush	March, 2006	42	49	9
GW Bush	February, 2006	53	40	7
GW Bush	December, 2005	49	44	7
GW Bush	Late October, 2005	52	40	8
GW Bush	Early September, 2005	49	41	10
GW Bush	July, 2005	49	40	11
GW Bush	Mid-May, 2005	57	35	8
GW Bush	February, 2005	59	34	7
GW Bush	January, 2005	62	33	5
GW Bush	Mid-October, 2004	49	40	11
GW Bush	Early September, 2004	62	32	6
GW Bush	August, 2004	58	37	5
GW Bush	July, 2004	54	40	6
GW Bush	June, 2004	56	35	9
GW Bush	Late April, 2004	55	36	9
GW Bush	Early April, 2004	53	38	9
GW Bush	<i>Gallup</i> : December, 2003	65	33	2
GW Bush	September, 2003	64	28	8
GW Bush	February, 2003	67	25	8
GW Bush	January, 2003	69	23	8
GW Bush	Early October, 2002	71	22	7
GW Bush	June, 2002	74	18	8
GW Bush	Mid-September, 2001 ²⁴	85	6	9
Clinton	Early September, 1998	72	20	8

g.F2 The nation's immigration policy

Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	31	48	21
GW Bush	April, 2007	26	59	15
GW Bush	June, 2006	32	52	16
GW Bush	April, 2006	25	62	13
GW Bush	February, 2006	23	57	20
GW Bush	Late October, 2005	24	54	22

²³ In the surveys conducted February 4-8, 2009, and April 14-21, 2009, the item was worded "the threat of terrorism."

²⁴ 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?"

Q.13 CONTINUED...

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
h.F1	Global climate change			
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	44	32	24
i.F2	International trade issues			
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	36	35	28
GW Bush	July, 2004	33	45	22
GW Bush	Early September, 2001	38	34	28
Clinton	September, 1997	44	38	18
Clinton	September, 1993	38	39	23
Clinton	August, 1993	49	25	26
j.F1	The situation in Iraq			
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	41	48	12
Obama	July 22-26, 2009	47	38	15
GW Bush	April, 2007	30	63	7
GW Bush	December, 2006	23	71	6
GW Bush	August, 2006	32	61	7
GW Bush	June, 2006	35	57	8
GW Bush	March, 2006	30	65	5
GW Bush	February, 2006	38	57	5
GW Bush	December, 2005	36	58	6
GW Bush	Late October, 2005	37	57	6
GW Bush	Early September, 2005	34	58	8
GW Bush	July, 2005	35	57	8
GW Bush	Mid-May, 2005	37	56	7
GW Bush	February, 2005	40	53	7
GW Bush	January, 2005	45	50	5
GW Bush	Mid-October, 2004	37	56	7
GW Bush	Early September, 2004	47	45	8
GW Bush	August, 2004	43	52	5
GW Bush	July, 2004	42	53	5
GW Bush	June, 2004	42	51	7
GW Bush	Late April, 2004	44	48	8
GW Bush	Early April, 2004	40	53	7
GW Bush	Mid-January, 2004	59	37	4
GW Bush	September, 2003	52	40	8
GW Bush	April 10-16, 2003 ²⁵	77	17	6
GW Bush	April 8-9, 2003	71	23	6
GW Bush	--April 9, 2003	76	18	6
GW Bush	--April 8, 2003	65	28	7
GW Bush	April 2-7, 2003	73	21	6
GW Bush	March 28-April 1, 2003	69	26	5
GW Bush	March 25-27, 2003	73	23	4
GW Bush	March 23-24, 2003	72	22	6
GW Bush	March 20-22, 2003	70	23	7
GW Bush	February, 2003	56	37	7
GW Bush	January, 2003	56	36	8
GW Bush	Early October, 2002	56	34	10

²⁵ From March to April 2003 the item was worded: "... dealing with the war in Iraq?"

Q.13 CONTINUED...

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
k.F2	The situation in Afghanistan			
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	36	49	15
Obama	July 22-26, 2009	47	33	19
l.F1	Dealing with China			
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	33	34	33
GW Bush	Early September, 2001	38	31	31
Clinton	September, 1997	37	37	26
Bush, Sr.	May, 1990	44	29	27
m.F2	Dealing with Iran			
Obama	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	43	40	17
GW Bush	April, 2007	30	56	14

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.14F1 Do you approve or disapprove of Barack Obama’s plan to close the U.S. military prison in Guantanamo Bay?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Jun 10-14 ²⁶ <u>2009</u>	Apr 14-21 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>
39	Approve	45	51	46
49	Disapprove	46	38	39
12	Don’t know/Refused (VOL.)	7	11	15

²⁶ For the survey conducted June 10-14, 2009, the question referred to “Barack Obama’s plan to close the U.S. military prison in Guantanamo Bay within a year.” Prior to that, it referred to “Barack Obama’s decision to close the U.S. military prison in Guantanamo Bay within a year.”

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Now, thinking about foreign policy and national security...

Q.15F2 Do you think Barack Obama is too tough, not tough enough or about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		June 10-14 <u>2009</u>
3	Too tough	2
47	Not tough enough	38
43	About right	51
7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8

TREND FOR COMPARISON

Thinking about foreign policy and national security... Do you think Barack Obama **[ROTATED WITH JOHN MCCAIN]** would be too tough, not tough enough, or about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	Mid-Sept <u>2008</u>	Late May <u>2008</u>	Late Feb <u>2008</u>
Too tough	3	3	3
Not tough enough	45	43	43
About right	44	43	39
Don't know/Refused	8	11	15

QUESTIONS 16-19 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

On another subject...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.20F1 Do you think the United States plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role, or about as important a role as a world leader as it did 10 years ago?

	More <u>important</u>	Less <u>important</u>	As <u>Important</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	41	30	4
July, 2004	45	20	31	4
Early September, 2001	33	26	38	3
September, 1997	35	23	40	2
December, 1994	40	27	29	4
October, 1993	37	26	33	4
September, 1993	37	30	31	2
<i>Chicago Council on Foreign Relations</i> ²⁷ :				
November, 1990	37	35	24	4
November, 1986	41	26	29	4
November, 1982	27	25	44	5
November, 1978	29	41	24	6
December, 1974	28	39	27	6

ASK ALL:

Q.21 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 should it not play any leadership role?

IF ANSWERED 2 "SHARED LEADERSHIP ROLE" IN Q.21, ASK:

Q.22 Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be about as active as other leading nations?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Late		Mid-		Early		Oct <u>1993</u>	Sept <u>1993</u>	
		Oct <u>2005</u>	July <u>2004</u>	June <u>2003</u>	Oct <u>2001</u>	Sept <u>2001</u>	Sept <u>1997</u>			June <u>1995</u> ²⁸
14	Be the single world leader	12	11	13	12	13	12	13	9	10
70	Should it play a shared leadership role	74	74	76	79	75	73	74	78	81
19	Most active	25	27	30	33	25	22	25	23	27
48	About as active	47	44	44	45	49	50	47	53	52
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	3	2	1	1	1	2	2	2
11	Shouldn't play any leadership role	10	9	7	3	8	11	9	9	7
6	Don't know (VOL.)	4	6	4	6	4	4	4	4	2

²⁷ Surveys conducted December 1974 through November 1990 by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

²⁸ 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.23 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.23, ASK:

Q.24 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?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Late Oct <u>2005</u>
57	U.S. policies should keep U.S. as the only superpower	50
23	Even if risks alienating allies	23
28	Not if risks alienating allies	22
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5
29	OK if China/another country/EU became as powerful	35
14	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	15

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.26F1 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]? [READ THE ANSWER CHOICES AS NECESSARY AFTER THE FIRST TIME]

		<u>Major threat</u>	<u>Minor threat</u>	<u>Not a threat</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a.F1	China's emergence as a world power				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	53	30	10	7
	June 10-14, 2009	52	31	11	6
	January 7-11, 2009	46	36	13	5
	September, 2008	48	35	11	6
	Late May, 2008	50	31	10	9
	February, 2006	47	34	12	7
	Late October, 2005	52	31	10	7
	May, 2001	51	30	10	9
	July, 1999	53	33	10	4
b.F1	Growing tension between Russia and its neighbors				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	38	44	9	9
	January 7-11, 2009	37	48	8	7
	September, 2008	44	41	10	5
TRENDS FOR COMPARISON					
<i>Growing authoritarianism in Russia</i>					
	Late May, 2008	24	46	12	18
	February, 2006	22	45	16	17
	Late October, 2005	23	44	13	20
<i>Political and economic instability in Russia</i>					
	May, 2001	27	46	12	15
	July, 1999	40	42	14	4
c.F1	Political instability in Pakistan				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	49	38	6	8
	June 10-14, 2009	50	33	7	9
	January 7-11, 2009	47	37	8	8
	September, 2008	43	40	8	9
	Late May, 2008	41	40	9	10

Q.26F1 CONTINUED...

		<u>Major threat</u>	<u>Minor threat</u>	<u>Not a threat</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
d.F1	North Korea's nuclear program				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	69	23	3	5
	June 10-14, 2009	72	19	5	5
	January 7-11, 2009	53	32	8	7
	September, 2008	55	33	7	5
	Late May, 2008	55	32	7	6
	February, 2006	60	27	6	7
	Late October, 2005	66	24	4	6
e.F1	Iran's nuclear program				
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	72	20	3	6
	June 10-14, 2009	69	20	5	5
	January 7-11, 2009	65	23	6	6
	September, 2008	60	29	6	5
	Late May, 2008	62	25	8	5
	February, 2006	65	24	5	6
	Late October, 2005	61	27	5	7
f.F1	International financial instability				
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	61	28	4	8
	May, 2001	47	33	9	11
	July, 1999	52	35	7	6
g.F1	Global climate change				
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	44	36	15	5
	TREND FOR COMPARISON				
	<i>Global environmental problems</i>				
	May, 2001	53	32	6	9
h.F1	Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda				
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	76	18	2	3
	June 10-14, 2009	78	14	4	4
	January 7-11, 2009	77	15	4	4
	September, 2008	72	21	3	4
	Late May, 2008	72	18	4	6
i.F1	The Taliban's growing strength in Afghanistan				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	70	22	3	4

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.27F2 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? What about **[INSERT ITEM]**? **[READ THE ANSWER CHOICES AS NECESSARY AFTER THE FIRST TIME]**

		Top <u>priority</u>	Some <u>priority</u>	No <u>priority</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.F2	Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	74	20	5	2
	Mid-September, 2008	62	32	4	2
	Late October, 2005	75	19	4	2
	July, 2004	71	23	4	2
	Mid-October, 2001	81	14	2	3
	Early September, 2001	78	16	5	1
	September, 1997	70	23	6	1
	June, 1995	68	21	9	2
	September, 1993	69	24	5	1
b.F2	Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	85	13	1	1
	Mid-September, 2008	82	16	1	1
	Late October, 2005	86	12	1	1
	July, 2004	88	10	1	1
	Mid-October, 2001	93	6	*	1
	Early September, 2001	80	16	3	1
c.F2	Protecting the jobs of American workers				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	85	13	1	1
	Mid-September, 2008	82	16	1	1
	Late October, 2005	84	14	1	1
	July, 2004	84	13	2	1
	Mid-October, 2001	74	24	1	1
	Early September, 2001	77	19	3	1
	September, 1997	77	20	2	1
	June, 1995	80	17	2	1
	September, 1993	85	13	2	*
d.F2	Strengthening the United Nations				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	37	44	17	2
	Mid-September, 2008	32	46	19	3
	Late October, 2005	40	43	14	3
	July, 2004	48	38	11	3
	Mid-October, 2001	46	46	7	1
	Early September, 2001	42	43	13	2
	September, 1997	30	53	14	3
	June, 1995	36	45	17	2
	September, 1993	41	46	11	2
e.F2	Dealing with global climate change				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	40	39	19	3
	Mid-September, 2008	43	41	14	2
	Late October, 2005	43	43	10	4

Q.27F2 CONTINUED...

		<u>Top</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u>
		<u>priority</u>	<u>priority</u>	<u>priority</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	July, 2004 ²⁹	36	46	12	6
	Mid-October, 2001	31	51	13	5
	Early September, 2001	44	39	12	5
	September, 1997	50	42	6	2
	June, 1995	56	36	6	2
	September, 1993	56	37	6	1
f.F2	Combating international drug trafficking				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	56	35	8	2
	Late October, 2005	59	33	6	2
	July, 2004	63	29	7	1
	Mid-October, 2001	55	38	5	2
	Early September, 2001	64	26	9	1
	September, 1997	67	24	7	2
g.F2	Helping improve the living standards in developing nations				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	26	57	14	2
	Late October, 2005	31	57	10	2
	July, 2004	23	63	12	2
	Mid-October, 2001	20	67	12	1
	Early September, 2001	25	61	12	2
	September, 1997	23	63	13	1
	June, 1995	16	59	22	3
	September, 1993	19	60	20	1
h.F2	Promoting democracy in other nations				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	21	54	22	3
	Late October, 2005	24	54	19	3
	July, 2004	24	57	15	4
	Mid-October, 2001	24	61	12	3
	Early September, 2001	29	52	16	3
	September, 1997	22	57	18	3
	June, 1995	16	57	24	3
	September, 1993	22	52	24	2
i.F2	Promoting and defending human rights in other countries				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	29	54	14	3
	Mid-September, 2008	25	58	15	2
	Late October, 2005	37	50	11	2
	July, 2004	33	53	12	2
	Mid-October, 2001	27	61	10	2
	Early September, 2001	29	54	14	3
	September, 1997	27	56	15	2
	June, 1995	21	56	20	3
	September, 1993	22	54	22	2

29 In 2004 and 2001, the item was worded "Dealing with global warming" and in September 1993, June 1995 and September 1997 the item was worded "Improving the global environment."

Q.27F2 CONTINUED...

		<u>Top</u> <u>priority</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>priority</u>	<u>No</u> <u>priority</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
j.F2	Reducing our dependence on imported energy sources				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	64	28	3	5
	Mid-September, 2008	76	20	2	2
	Late October, 2005	67	28	2	3
	July, 2004 ³⁰	63	30	4	3
k.F2	Reducing illegal immigration				
	October 28-November 8, 2009	46	43	9	2
	Late October, 2005	51	39	8	2
	September, 1997	42	47	9	2

NO QUESTIONS 28-29

QUESTIONS 30-36 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

NO QUESTIONS 37-39

ASK ALL:

Thinking about another topic...

Q.40 In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA and the policies of the World Trade Organization, have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States? **[INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT ASKS WHAT NAFTA IS, "The North American Free Trade Agreement"]**

	<u>Good</u> <u>thing</u>	<u>Bad</u> <u>thing</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
October 28-November 8, 2009	43	32	25
March 31-April 21, 2009	44	35	21
April, 2008	35	48	17
November, 2007	40	40	20
December, 2006 ³¹	44	35	21
Late October, 2005	44	34	22
December, 2004	47	34	19
July, 2004	47	34	19
March, 2004	44	37	19
December, 2003	34	33	33
Early September, 2001	49	29	22
November, 1997	45	34	21
September, 1997	47	30	23

³⁰ In July 2004, the item referred to "imported oil sources."

³¹ In December 2006, December 2004, July 2004 and March 2004, the question wording asked about: "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the World Trade Organization," and did not mention "policies of" the World Trade Organization. In October 2005 the question asked: "So far, do you think that NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?" 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..."

ASK ALL:

Q.41 Thinking about the financial situation of you and your family... Do you think these free trade agreements have definitely helped, probably helped, probably hurt, or definitely hurt the financial situation of you and your family?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		April <u>2008</u>	Dec <u>2006</u>	July <u>2004</u>	Dec <u>2003</u>
4	Definitely helped	3	3	3	2
29	Probably helped	24	32	31	25
26	Probably hurt	32	24	25	24
14	Definitely hurt	16	12	16	14
11	Neither (VOL.)	13	11	12	15
17	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	12	18	13	20

ASK ALL:

Q.42 As I read some statements about free trade agreements, tell me what your impression is. First **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**?

a. Do free trade agreements make the price of products sold in the U.S. higher, lower or not make a difference?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		April <u>2008</u>	Dec <u>2006</u>
33	Higher	39	30
32	Lower	29	32
20	Not make a difference	18	23
1	Mixed/Depends (VOL.)	1	1
14	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	13	14

b. Do free trade agreements make the wages of American workers higher, lower, or not make a difference?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		April <u>2008</u>	Dec <u>2006</u>
11	Higher	8	11
49	Lower	56	44
24	Not make a difference	22	30
2	Mixed/Depends (VOL.)	2	1
15	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	12	14

c. Do free trade agreements create jobs in the U.S., lead to job losses, or not make a difference?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		April <u>2008</u>	Dec <u>2006</u>
13	Create jobs	9	12
53	Lead to job losses	61	48
19	Not make a difference	18	25
1	Mixed/Depends (VOL.)	2	2
14	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	13

Q.42 CONTINUED...

- d. Do free trade agreements make the American economy grow, slow the economy down, or not make a difference?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		April <u>2008</u>	Dec <u>2006</u>
25	Make the economy grow	19	28
42	Slow the economy down	50	34
18	Not make a difference	17	21
1	Mixed/Depends (VOL.)	2	2
14	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	12	15

- e. Are free trade agreements good for the people of developing countries, bad for the people of developing countries, or don't they make a difference?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		April <u>2008</u>	Dec <u>2006</u>
54	Good	58	57
8	Bad	12	9
20	Don't make a difference	19	19
2	Mixed/Depends (VOL.)	0	1
15	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	11	14

NO QUESTION 43

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

- Q.44F1 Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Keep same</u>	<u>Cut back</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
October 28-November 8, 2009	26	46	23	5
December, 2004	20	54	19	7
July, 2004	25	53	18	4
Mid-October, 2001	50	41	7	2
Early September, 2001	32	44	20	4
September, 2000 (RVs)	34	48	14	4
August, 1999	27	54	16	3
June, 1999	31	47	19	3
September, 1997	17	57	24	2
February, 1995 ³²	19	56	24	1
Chicago CFR: October, 1994	18	53	26	3
September, 1993	10	52	36	2
Chicago CFR: November, 1990	12	53	32	3
Chicago CFR: November, 1986	21	55	23	3
Chicago CFR: November, 1982	22	52	24	3
Chicago CFR: November, 1978	32	45	16	7
Chicago CFR: December, 1974	13	47	33	8

NO QUESTION 45

³² In 1995 and previous years, the question was worded: "Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same or cut it back?"

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.46F1 It has been almost 20 years since the end of the Cold War. In your opinion, is the world now...? **[READ]**

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Early Sep <u>2001</u> ³³
58	More dangerous for the United States	53
12	Less dangerous for the United States	14
26	About the same compared to 20 years ago	30
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.47F2 Do you think the danger of attack on the United States with a nuclear, biological, or chemical weapon is greater now than it was 10 years ago, less now than it was 10 years ago, or is it about the same?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Aug <u>2003</u>	Early Sep <u>2001</u>	Sep <u>1997</u>
52	Greater	64	51	36
10	Less	5	12	30
35	Same	29	34	32
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	3	2

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.48F2 Would you approve or disapprove of the use of U.S. forces in the following situations
[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]: What about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[READ OPTIONS AS NECESSARY
AFTER FIRST ITEM]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a.F2 If an ethnic group in Africa were threatened by genocide			
October 28-November 8, 2009	58	32	10
Early September 2001 omnibus	56	31	13
b.F2 If it were certain that Iran had produced a nuclear weapon			
October 28-November 8, 2009	63	30	7
c.F2 If extremists were poised to take over Pakistan			
October 28-November 8, 2009	51	37	13

NO QUESTIONS 49-52

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about Afghanistan...

Q.53 Do you think the United States' initial decision to use force in Afghanistan was the right decision or the wrong decision?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Jan 7-11 <u>2009</u> ³⁴	Feb <u>2008</u>	Dec <u>2006</u>	Jan <u>2006</u>
56	Right decision	64	65	61	69
34	Wrong decision	25	24	29	20
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	11	11	10	11

³³ In early September, 2001, the question was worded: "It has been ten years since the end of the Cold War. In your opinion, is the world now more dangerous, less dangerous or about the same compared to ten years ago?"

³⁴ In January 2009 and earlier the question was worded: "Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?"

ASK ALL:

Q.54 How well is the U.S. military effort in Afghanistan going? [**READ IN ORDER**]

Oct 28-Nov 8		Jan 7-11	Feb
<u>2009</u>		<u>2009</u>	<u>2008</u>
4	Very well	7	10
32	Fairly well	38	38
41	Not too well	34	31
16	Not at all well	11	10
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	11

ASK ALL:

Q.55 Over the next year, do you think the number of troops in Afghanistan should be increased, decreased, or kept the same as it is now?

Oct 28-Nov 8		Jan 7-11
<u>2009</u>		<u>2009</u>
32	Increased	33
40	Decreased	39
19	Kept the same as it is now	20
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8

ASK ALL:

Q.56 In the long run, how likely is it that Afghanistan can become a country that is stable enough to withstand the threat posed by the Taliban or other extremist groups? [**READ**]

Oct 28-Nov 8	
<u>2009</u>	
10	Very likely
36	Somewhat likely
29	Not too likely
18	Not at all likely
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Now thinking about the situation in Iraq...

Q.57F1 Do you think Barack Obama is removing troops from Iraq ...? **[READ]**

Oct 28-Nov 8

2009

15 Too quickly
 29 Not quickly enough
 49 Handling it about right
 8 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

TREND FOR COMPARISON

Do you think Barack Obama will remove troops from Iraq TOO QUICKLY, that he will wait TOO LONG, or do you think he will handle it about right?

Jan 7-11

2009

Remove troops from Iraq too quickly	19
Wait too long	6
Handle it about right	67
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.57aF1 How much longer do you think a significant number of U.S. troops should remain in Iraq? **[READ]**

Oct 28-Nov 8

2009

34 Less than a year
 31 One to less than two years
 19 Two to five years
 7 More than five years
 9 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.58F1 All things considered, how likely is it that Iraq will be able to maintain a stable government after most U.S. forces leave the country? **[READ]**

Oct 28-Nov 8

2009

8 Very likely
 44 Somewhat likely
 22 Somewhat unlikely
 20 Very unlikely
 7 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

Q.59 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

			(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Palestinians</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	51	12	4	14	19
January 7-11, 2009	49	11	5	15	20
May, 2007	49	11	5	17	18
August, 2006	52	11	5	15	17

Q.59 CONTINUED...

	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Palestinians</u>	(VOL.) <u>Both</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
July, 2006	44	9	5	20	22
May, 2006	48	13	4	14	20
Late October, 2005	43	17	5	16	19
July, 2005	37	12	5	19	27
July, 2004	40	13	7	18	22
Late February, 2004	46	12	8	15	19
Mid-July, 2003	41	13	8	18	20
April, 2002	41	13	6	21	19
Mid-October, 2001	47	10	8	18	17
Early September, 2001	40	17	6	23	14
September, 1997	48	13	5	16	18
September, 1993	45	21	3	18	12
<i>Chicago CFR 1990</i>	34	13	7	26	20
<i>Chicago CFR 1978</i>	38	12	8	15	13

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.60F2 In the past, do you think U.S. policies in the Middle East have...? [READ, RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]

Oct 28-Nov 8

2009

30	Favored Israel too much
15	Favored the Palestinians too much [OR]
29	Struck the right balance
27	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.61F2 Thinking about the situation in the Middle East these days, do you think Barack Obama is... [READ, RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]

Oct 28-Nov 8

2009

7	Favoring Israel too much
16	Favoring the Palestinians too much
51	Striking about the right balance
26	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Jun 10-14

2009

6
17
62
14

RANDOMIZE Q.62F1 AND Q.63F1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.62F1 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today... Do you think China is [READ]:

Oct 28-Nov 8		Mid-				Early						
		<u>Sept 2008</u>	<u>Oct 2005</u>	<u>July 2004</u>	<u>Feb 2002</u>	<u>Sept 2001</u>	<u>May 2001</u>	<u>March 2000</u>	<u>June 1999</u>	<u>March 1999</u>	<u>Sept 1997</u>	
<u>2009</u>	19	An adversary	19	16	14	17	23	19	17	18	20	14
	41	A serious problem, but not an adversary	49	45	40	39	48	51	44	53	48	46
	30	OR, Not much of a problem	26	30	36	33	23	22	26	22	25	32
	9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	9	10	11	6	8	13	7	7	8

RANDOMIZE Q.62F1 AND Q.63F1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.63F1 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of Russia today. . . Do you think Russia is [READ]:

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Mid- Sept <u>2008</u>
15	An adversary	18
32	A serious problem, but not an adversary	48
42	OR, Not much of a problem	28
11	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.64F1 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?

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>	Mid- Sept <u>2008</u>	Late- Feb <u>2008</u>	Dec <u>2006</u>	Aug <u>2006</u>	Jan <u>2006</u>	Late Oct <u>2005</u>	July <u>2005</u>	July <u>2004</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>
29	Greater	17	18	16	23	25	17	26	28	24	22
38	The same	44	43	41	41	37	39	41	40	39	39
29	Less	35	36	39	31	33	39	29	29	34	34
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	3	4	5	5	5	4	3	3	5

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.65F1 So far, there has not been another terrorist attack in America since 2001. Is this mostly because [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		Aug <u>2006</u>	Late Oct <u>2005</u>
44	The government is doing a good job protecting the country [OR]	39	33
11	America is a difficult target for terrorists [OR]	13	17
35	America has been lucky so far	40	45
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8	5

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.66F2 In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism? [READ]

	Very well	Fairly well	Not too well	Not at all well	(VOL.) DK/Ref
October 28-November 8, 2009	20	53	14	8	4
March 31-April 21, 2009	19	56	15	5	5
February 4-8, 2009	22	49	16	6	7
Late February, 2008	21	45	19	12	3
January, 2007	17	37	27	17	2
December, 2006	17	48	21	11	3
August, 2006	22	52	16	8	2
February, 2006	16	52	20	10	2
January, 2006	16	50	20	9	5
Late October, 2005	17	50	22	9	2
July, 2005	17	53	19	8	3
July, 2004	18	53	17	8	4
August, 2003	19	56	16	7	2

Q.66F2 CONTINUED...

	Very <u>well</u>	Fairly <u>well</u>	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at all <u>well</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Early November, 2002 (RVs)	15	54	19	8	4
June, 2002	16	60	16	4	4
Early November, 2001	35	46	9	5	5
October 15-21, 2001	38	46	9	4	3
October 10-14, 2001	48	40	6	2	4

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.67F2 What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism policies? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]** That they have gone too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties or that they have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country?

	Have gone too far in restricting <u>civil liberties</u>	Have not gone far enough <u>to protect county</u>	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ Approve <u>of policies</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
October 28-November 8, 2009	36	40	13	11
February 4-8, 2009 ³⁵	36	42	9	13
Late February, 2008	36	47	9	8
August, 2006	26	55	11	8
February, 2006	33	50	10	7
January, 2006	33	46	12	9
Late October, 2005	34	48	10	8
July, 2005	31	52	10	7
July, 2004	29	49	11	11

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.68F1 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; RANDOMIZE]**, OR do you think these restrictions **[NEXT OPTION]**?

		Late Oct <u>2005</u>
Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>		
22	Go too far because the U.S. loses too many good students to other countries	20
67	Are worth it in order to prevent terrorists from getting into the country	71
11	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	9

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.69F1 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?

		Early Jan <u>2007</u>	Late Oct <u>2005</u>	Dec <u>2004</u>	July <u>2004</u>	Aug <u>2003</u>	May <u>2003</u>
Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>							
16	Often justified	16	14	14	20	20	22
36	Sometimes justified	39	38	46	40	43	45
24	Rarely justified	24	27	21	22	19	17
17	Never justified	17	15	14	14	13	13
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	6	5	4	5	3

³⁵ In February 2009 the question asked whether the policies "go too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties" or "do not go far enough to adequately protect the country."

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.70F2 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?

	Often <u>justified</u>	Sometimes <u>justified</u>	Rarely <u>justified</u>	Never <u>justified</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
October 28-November 8, 2009	19	35	16	25	5
April 14-21, 2009	15	34	22	25	4
February 4-8, 2009	16	28	20	31	5
Late February, 2008	17	31	20	30	2
November, 2007	18	30	21	27	4
January, 2007	12	31	25	29	3
Early October, 2006	18	28	19	32	3
Late October 2005	15	31	17	32	5
Late March, 2005	15	30	24	27	4
July, 2004	15	28	21	32	4

ASK ALL:

PARTY

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

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?

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)		
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>DK/</u>	<i>Lean</i>	<i>Lean</i>
				<u>preference</u>	<u>party</u>	<u>Ref</u>	<i>Rep</i>	<i>Dem</i>
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	27	35	32	3	*	2	13	13
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	23	34	37	3	1	3	16	14
September 10-15, 2009	23	34	34	4	*	5	13	17
August 20-27, 2009	26	32	36	3	*	3	14	16
August 11-17, 2009	23	33	38	3	*	3	16	15
July, 2009	22	34	37	5	*	2	15	14
June, 2009	25	34	34	3	*	3	11	16
May, 2009	23	39	29	4	*	4	9	14
April, 2009	22	33	39	3	*	3	13	18
March, 2009	24	34	35	5	*	2	12	17
February, 2009	24	36	34	3	1	2	13	17
January, 2009	25	37	33	3	*	2	11	16
December, 2008	26	39	30	2	*	3	8	15
Yearly Totals								
2008	25.3	35.8	31.7	3.8	.3	3.1	10.5	15.4
2007	25.4	32.9	33.7	4.6	.4	3.1	10.7	16.7
2006	27.6	32.8	30.3	5.0	.4	3.9	10.2	14.5
2005	29.2	32.8	30.3	4.5	.3	2.8	10.2	14.9
2004	29.7	33.4	29.8	3.9	.4	2.9	11.7	13.4
2003	29.8	31.4	31.2	4.7	.5	2.5	12.1	13.0
2002	30.3	31.2	30.1	5.1	.7	2.7	12.6	11.6
2001	29.2	33.6	28.9	5.1	.5	2.7	11.7	11.4
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28.2	34.6	29.5	5.0	.5	2.1	11.7	12.5
2000	27.5	32.5	29.5	5.9	.5	4.0	11.6	11.6
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.5	33.2	31.9	4.6	.4	2.4	11.8	13.5
1997	28.2	33.3	31.9	4.0	.4	2.3	12.3	13.8
1996	29.2	32.7	33.0	5.2	--	--	12.7	15.6
1995	31.4	29.7	33.4	5.4	--	--	14.4	12.9
1994	29.8	31.8	33.8	4.6	--	--	14.3	12.6
1993	27.4	33.8	34.0	4.8	--	--	11.8	14.7
1992	27.7	32.7	35.7	3.9	--	--	13.8	15.8
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	4.5	--	--	14.6	10.8
1990	31.0	33.1	29.1	6.8	--	--	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--

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N=1003

QUESTIONS 1-6 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

NO QUESTIONS 7-9

ASK ALL:

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

Q.10 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. **[RANDOMIZE LIST]**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	(VOL.) <u>Dk/Ref</u>
a. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations			
November 12-15, 2009	51	38	11
December, 2006	57	35	8
October, 2005	54	39	7
August, 2004	60	30	10
December, 2002	67	28	5
Early September, 2001	58	31	11
March, 1999	65	26	9
September, 1997	59	30	11
June, 1995	62	30	8
February, 1995	65	29	6
October, 1993	64	28	8
April, 1993	71	22	7
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>) ³⁶	77	17	6
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	56	35	9
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	59	28	13
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	46	41	13
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	63	28	9
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	21	7
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	16	12
b. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies			
Nov 12-15, 2009	78	14	8
December, 2006	82	12	6
October, 2005	79	16	5
August, 2004	76	14	10
December, 2002	85	10	5
Early September, 2001	80	11	9
March, 1999	82	12	6
September, 1997	72	18	10
June, 1995	74	18	8
April, 1993	80	13	7
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	86	10	4
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	82	12	6
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	79	13	8

³⁶ 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.10 CONTINUED...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>Dk/Ref</u>
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	18	10
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	80	12	8
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	84	9	7
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	81	7	12
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			
November 12-15, 2009	44	51	5
December, 2006	28	68	4
October, 2005	32	63	5
August, 2004	28	65	7
December, 2002	25	72	3
Early September, 2001	32	62	6
March, 1999	26	69	5
September, 1997	32	62	6
June, 1995	34	60	6
April, 1993	34	63	3
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	29	66	5
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	26	70	4
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	26	66	8
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	29	62	9
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	22	72	6
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	23	72	5
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	19	70	11
d. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own			
November 12-15, 2009	49	44	7
December, 2006	42	53	5
October, 2005	42	51	7
August, 2004	34	59	7
December, 2002	30	65	5
Early September, 2001	37	55	8
March, 1999	35	57	8
September, 1997	39	54	7
June, 1995	41	51	8
April, 1993	37	58	5
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	33	60	7
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	34	59	7
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	30	61	9
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	41	49	10
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	35	56	9
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	27	66	7
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	18	70	12
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			
November 12-15, 2009	76	19	4
December, 2006	69	26	5
October, 2005	71	23	6
August, 2004	69	25	6

Q.10 CONTINUED...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	(VOL.) <u>Dk/Ref</u>
December, 2002	65	31	4
Early September, 2001	68	25	7
March, 1999	68	27	5
September, 1997	72	24	4
June, 1995	78	18	4
April, 1993	79	18	3
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	78	16	6
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	60	34	6
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	61	30	9
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	73	22	5
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	73	20	7
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	60	31	9
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	55	32	13

ASK ALL:

Q.11 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 (Q.11=2):

Q.12 Do you think less respect for America is a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem at all?

		(RV)							<i>Newsweek</i>
		Mid-			Late			May	Jan
Nov 12-15		Sep	May	Aug	Oct	July	May	Jan	
<u>2009</u>		<u>2008</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>1987³⁷</u>	<u>1984</u>	
21	More respected	5	7	7	9	10	19	27	
56	Less respected	70	71	65	66	67	55	36	
38	Major problem	48	56	48	43	43	--	--	
14	Minor problem	19	11	14	18	19	--	--	
4	Not a problem	2	3	2	4	4	--	--	
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	1	1	1	--	--	
20	As respected as in the past	22	18	23	21	20	23	29	
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	4	5	4	3	3	8	

QUESTIONS 13 AND 14 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

NO QUESTIONS 15-18

³⁷

In May 1987 the question asked "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 asked "Compared to four years ago..."

RANDOMIZE Q.19 AND Q.20

ASK ALL:

Q.19 Today, which ONE of the following do you think is the world's leading ECONOMIC power? [**READ AND RANDOMIZE**]

Nov 12-15 <u>2009</u>		Early Feb <u>2008</u>
44	China	30
27	The United States	41
13	Japan [OR]	10
5	The countries of the European Union	9
*	Other (VOL.)	*
1	None / There is no leading economic power (VOL.)	*
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Today, which one of the following do you think is the world's leading economic power?

	April <u>1990</u>	Jan <u>1989</u>
The United States	41	29
The Soviet Union	4	2
Japan [OR]	46	58
The countries of the European Economic Community	4	4
Don't know (VOL.)	5	7

RANDOMIZE Q.19 AND Q.20

ASK ALL:

Q.20 Today, which ONE of the following do you think is the world's leading MILITARY power? [**READ AND RANDOMIZE**]

Nov 12-15 <u>2009</u>	
63	The United States
18	China
6	Russia [OR]
2	The countries of the European Union
*	Other (VOL.)
1	None / There is no leading military power (VOL.)
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

QUESTION 30 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

QUESTION 40 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

PARTY

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

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)		
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>DK/</u>	<i>Lean</i>	<i>Lean</i>
				<u>preference</u>	<u>party</u>	<u>Ref</u>	<i>Rep</i>	<i>Dem</i>
Nov 12-15, 2009	25	38	30	5	1	1	11	12
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	27	35	32	3	*	2	13	13
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	23	34	37	3	1	3	16	14
September 10-15, 2009	23	34	34	4	*	5	13	17
August 20-27, 2009	26	32	36	3	*	3	14	16
August 11-17, 2009	23	33	38	3	*	3	16	15
July, 2009	22	34	37	5	*	2	15	14
June, 2009	25	34	34	3	*	3	11	16
May, 2009	23	39	29	4	*	4	9	14
April, 2009	22	33	39	3	*	3	13	18
March, 2009	24	34	35	5	*	2	12	17
February, 2009	24	36	34	3	1	2	13	17
January, 2009	25	37	33	3	*	2	11	16
December, 2008	26	39	30	2	*	3	8	15
Yearly Totals								
2008	25.3	35.8	31.7	3.8	.3	3.1	10.5	15.4
2007	25.4	32.9	33.7	4.6	.4	3.1	10.7	16.7
2006	27.6	32.8	30.3	5.0	.4	3.9	10.2	14.5
2005	29.2	32.8	30.3	4.5	.3	2.8	10.2	14.9
2004	29.7	33.4	29.8	3.9	.4	2.9	11.7	13.4
2003	29.8	31.4	31.2	4.7	.5	2.5	12.1	13.0
2002	30.3	31.2	30.1	5.1	.7	2.7	12.6	11.6
2001	29.2	33.6	28.9	5.1	.5	2.7	11.7	11.4
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28.2	34.6	29.5	5.0	.5	2.1	11.7	12.5
2000	27.5	32.5	29.5	5.9	.5	4.0	11.6	11.6
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.5	33.2	31.9	4.6	.4	2.4	11.8	13.5
1997	28.2	33.3	31.9	4.0	.4	2.3	12.3	13.8
1996	29.2	32.7	33.0	5.2	--	--	12.7	15.6
1995	31.4	29.7	33.4	5.4	--	--	14.4	12.9
1994	29.8	31.8	33.8	4.6	--	--	14.3	12.6
1993	27.4	33.8	34.0	4.8	--	--	11.8	14.7
1992	27.7	32.7	35.7	3.9	--	--	13.8	15.8
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	4.5	--	--	14.6	10.8
1990	31.0	33.1	29.1	6.8	--	--	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--

PEW GLOBAL ATTITUDES PROJECT
 SEPTEMBER 10-15, 2009
 N=1,006

QUESTIONS 1 THROUGH 9 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

Q.US10 Thinking about some countries around the world...Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of **(INSERT)**? How about **(NEXT ITEM)**?
[IF NECESSARY: "Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of (ITEM)?"]

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a. Iran					
Fall, 2009	1	10	25	52	12
Spring, 2009	4	17	28	35	15
Spring, 2008	5	15	27	37	16
Spring, 2007	2	12	26	45	14
Spring, 2006	8	17	26	31	18
b. France					
Fall, 2009	16	46	17	8	14
Spring, 2007	11	37	18	12	21
Spring, 2006	15	37	18	12	19
May, 2005	11	35	19	14	21
March, 2004	8	25	25	24	19
May, 2003	8	21	24	36	10
c. Germany					
Fall, 2009	21	45	14	5	16
Spring, 2007	15	46	11	5	23
Spring, 2006	20	46	9	4	21
May, 2005	15	45	13	4	23
March, 2004	8	42	19	9	23
May, 2003	8	36	27	15	14
d. Great Britain					
Fall, 2009	37	40	7	3	14
Spring, 2007	32	42	6	3	17
May, 2005	31	42	7	2	19
March, 2004	33	40	9	3	15
May, 2003	49	32	6	4	8
e. Japan					
Fall, 2009	21	46	13	7	13
Spring, 2008	25	45	8	3	18
Spring, 2006	22	44	9	4	21
May, 2005	17	46	12	5	21
f. Saudi Arabia					
Fall, 2009	3	21	35	26	16
g. Pakistan					
Fall, 2009	2	14	37	31	15
Spring, 2008	10	27	26	13	24

Q.10US CONTINUED ...

h. India						
Fall, 2009	10	46	16	8	19	
Spring, 2008	18	45	11	3	22	
i. Canada						
Fall, 2009	42	42	4	2	10	
Spring, 2007	35	43	6	2	13	
May, 2005	32	44	7	2	14	
May, 2003	25	40	16	8	11	
Summer, 2002	48	35	3	1	13	
j. Mexico						
Fall, 2009	9	35	28	17	11	
Spring, 2007	9	38	23	14	16	
k. Brazil						
Fall, 2009	11	46	13	4	26	

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MAY 27 – JUNE 10, 2009

N=1,000

RESULTS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED; SEE “CONFIDENCE IN OBAMA LIFTS U.S. IMAGE AROUND THE WORLD; MOST MUSLIM PUBLICS NOT SO EASILY MOVED,” RELEASED JULY 23, 2009

Q.11 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of (INSERT):

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
c. China					
Spring, 2009	9	41	25	13	13
Spring, 2008	9	30	26	16	19
Spring, 2007	8	34	25	14	18
Spring, 2006	12	40	19	10	19
May, 2005	9	34	22	13	22
e. Russia					
Spring, 2009	7	36	27	12	18
Spring, 2007	4	40	24	11	21



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