

# **America After 9/11:**

## **Public Opinion on The War on Terrorism, The War with Iraq, and America's Place in the World**

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***THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN:*** Polls should not be used to make policy whether the issue is sending troops into battle or shoring up Social Security. They are too crude for that purpose. That said, policy makers need to be aware of what the public is thinking. That is what this collection is designed to do. We are very grateful for the cooperation the pollsters have given us in making the collection possible. The document is a work in progress. We began putting it together in late September 2001, and we have updated it almost every week, adding new sections as new issues have arisen. With 14 national pollsters in the field on a regular basis, the polling environment has become very competitive. The different ways that pollsters approach a topic and the responses they receive are often useful in understanding what Americans are thinking.

Many early observers of our democracy predicted that public opinion would be fickle, making democratic governance and particularly the prosecution of war difficult. The data below contradict that assumption. Americans are never spoiling for a fight. But once convinced of the justness of a cause, they are resolute. They give their Presidents considerable latitude in the conduct of foreign policy once a basic level of trust has been established. The magnitude of the 9/11 attacks, the personal response of President Bush, and the response of his team gave the administration instant credibility in an area where the President previously had average marks. His ratings stayed high for quite some time.

Since the start of the military campaign in Afghanistan on October 7, 2001, large majorities of Americans have been supportive of the Bush administration's actions in the war on terrorism. The proportion of Americans that believes the United States is winning the war against terrorism, however, has fluctuated. Americans expect this struggle to be a long one.

Americans initially viewed the war with Iraq as part of the war on terrorism (51 percent said it was a major part and 11 percent a minor part in an April 2003 CBS News poll). In October 2004, in a CBS News poll, 38 percent said it was a major part and 10 percent a minor part.

- Who do you think is currently winning the war against terrorism - the U.S. and its allies, neither side, or the terrorists?

		U.S. And Allies	Neither Side	The Terrorists
Oct. 27-31, 2002	CBS News/NYT	34	47	14
Nov. 20-24, 2003	CBS News/NYT	31	43	20
Jan. 4-6, 2003	CBS News/NYT	32	44	17
Jan. 19-22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	41	38	15
Mar. 4-5, 2003	CBS News/NYT	41	33	16
Mar. 7-9, 2003	CBS News/NYT	45	34	14
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	62	25	7
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	59	27	10

May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	61	26	9
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	53	35	9
Dec. 14-15, 2003	CBS News/NYT	52	33	9
July 30-Aug, 1, 2004	CBS News	37	38	18
Sept. 6-8, 2004	CBS News	41	38	14
Nov. 18-21, 2004	CBS News/NYT	44	38	12
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS News/NYT	39	41	17

- Who do you think is currently winning the war against terrorism – the U.S. and its allies, neither side, or the terrorists?

		U.S. And Allies	Neither Side	The Terrorists
Oct. 11-14, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	44	11
Nov. 8-11, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	33	11
Dec. 6-9, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	28	5
Jan. 7-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	25	7
Mar. 4-7, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	34	10
Mar. 22-24, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	35	12
Apr. 22-24, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	39	10
May 28-29, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	35	15
Jun. 21-23, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	33	49	14
Jul. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	39	43	16
Aug. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	46	14
Oct. 14-17, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	32	44	21
Dec. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	33	46	19
Jan. 31-Feb. 2, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	44	16
Mar. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	43	17
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	28	5
May 19-21, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	32	11
Jul. 18-20, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	34	15
Oct. 10-12, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	42	13
Jan. 12-15, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	35	14
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	41	16
Oct. 9-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	38	41	19
Jan. 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	42	20

- On another subject, do you think the United States is winning or losing the war on terrorism?

		Winning	Losing	Neither/Draw
October 2-6, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	47	24	21
March 4-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	56	27	14
April 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	54	30	13
July 8-11, 2004	Washington Post	46	38	13
July 22-25, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	51	34	10
Aug. 26-29, 2004	ABC News/ Wash Pos	54	31	12
Sept. 6-8, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	55	25	10
Sept. 8-14, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	52	28	9

- As of right now, do you think the U.S. and its allies are winning the war against terrorism?

		Yes	No
Oct. 17-18, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	47	32
Nov. 14-15, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	62	18
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	67	15
Sep. 8-9, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	36	43
Nov. 19-20, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	37	42
Jun. 3-4, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	57	29
Sep. 9-10, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	55	33
Mar. 23-24, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	41	44

- Do you think that the U.S. campaign against terrorism is going very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?

		Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Too Well	Not Well At All
Jan. 25-27, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	32	56	8	4
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	21	63	10	6
Apr. 18-21, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	11	63	17	9
Jul. 11-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	15	60	16	8
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	10	60	21	8
Sep. 23-26, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	15	58	17	9
Apr. 27-30, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	26	57	10	6
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	12	57	19	10
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	8	54	23	14
Dec. 14, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	17	47	21	20

- Do you think of the war with Iraq as part of the war against terrorism, or as separate from the war against terrorism?

		Part	Separate
Apr. 16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	77	22
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	65	31
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	66	32
Oct. 26-29, 2003*	ABC News/Wash Post	61	37
Sept. 6-8, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	58	39
Sept. 11-13, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	66	32
Oct. 1-3, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	60	38

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "U.S. military presence in Iraq is part of the war...?"

- Who do you think is winning the war on terrorism - the U.S., the terrorists, or neither side?

		U.S.	Neither Side	The Terrorists
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	41	44	12

- Do you think the United States should or should not take military action in retaliation for the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon?

		Should	Should Not
Sep. 14-15, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	88	8
Sep. 21-22, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	89	7

● Do you favor or oppose the United States taking direct military action in Afghanistan?

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 21-22, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	82	13
Oct. 5-6, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	82	14
Oct. 11-14, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	88	10

● Do you approve or disapprove of the current U.S. military action in Afghanistan?

		Approve	Disapprove
Oct. 19-21, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	88	10
Nov. 2-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	86	11
Nov. 26-27, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	92	6
Dec. 6-7, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	88	9
Jan. 25-27, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	89	9
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	91	7
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	83	13
Dec. 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	25

● Do you think the U.S. should take military action against whoever is responsible for the attacks?

		Should	Should Not
Sep. 13-14, 2001	CBS News/NYT	85	6
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	92	5

● Do you approve or disapprove of the military attacks led by the United States against targets in Afghanistan?

		Approve	Disapprove
Oct. 8, 2001	CBS News	87	6
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/NYT	88	8
Nov. 13-14, 2001	CBS News/NYT	89	7
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	91	5
Jan. 5-6, 2002	CBS News/NYT	89	8
Jan 15-17, 2002	CBS News/NYT	87	10
Jan. 21-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	87	9
Feb. 24-26, 2002	CBS News	87	8
Apr. 1-2, 2002	CBS News	88	9

● Do you support or oppose the U.S. military action being taken in response to the terrorist attacks?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 19-20, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	89	6
Oct. 3-4, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	82	8
Oct. 17-18, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	89	6
Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	87	8
Nov. 14-15, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	91	6
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	91	5
Dec. 12-13, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	91	6
Jan. 9-10, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	90	5
Jan. 30-31, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	89	7
Feb. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	82	11
Mar. 12-13, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	91	6

NOTE: All Fox News/Opinion Dynamics polls in this document are asked of registered voters, unless otherwise noted.

- If the United States can identify the groups or nations responsible for today's attacks, would you support or oppose taking military action against them?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 11, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	94	3
Sep. 13, 2001*	ABC News/Wash Post	93	5
Sep. 20, 2001*	ABC News/Wash Post	90	6
Sep. 25-27, 2001*	Wash Post	90	7

NOTE: \*Question wording varied slightly.

- Do you support or oppose the U.S. military action in Afghanistan?

		Support	Oppose
Oct. 7, 2001*	ABC News/Wash Post	94	4
Oct. 8-9, 2001*	ABC News	92	6
Nov. 5-6, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	90	9
Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	91	7
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	91	8

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "Do you support or oppose the U.S.-led air strikes on Afghanistan that began this week?"

- Do you approve or disapprove of the current U.S. military action against terrorism?

		Approve	Disapprove
Oct. 11-12, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	89	8
Oct. 18-19, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	88	9
Oct. 25-26, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	88	8
Nov. 1-2, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	86	10
Nov. 8-9, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	88	10
Nov. 15-16, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	88	11
Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	89	7
Dec. 6-7, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	88	9
Dec. 12-13, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	89	7

● Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose launching cruise missiles at Afghanistan?

Oct. 2001		Zogby International							
	Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose		Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Oct. 10	62	18	6	7	Oct. 20	55	23	7	6
Oct. 11	60	20	7	6	Oct. 21	54	24	6	
									1
Oct. 12	59	22	8	5	Oct. 22	53	24	5	0
									1
Oct. 13	59	21	9	5	Oct. 23	54	24	6	0
									9
Oct. 14	57	21	9	6	Oct. 24	55	22	7	
									8
Oct. 15	56	21	8	8	Oct. 25	57	21	9	
									7
Oct. 16	55	23	7	7	Oct. 26	55	22	7	8
Oct. 17	57	22	6	8	Oct. 27	56	21	11	6
Oct. 18	55	23	7	8	Oct. 28	57	20	9	7
Oct. 19	56	21	8	7					

● Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the effort to topple the Taliban government in Afghanistan?

Oct. 2001		Zogby International							
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree		Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Oct. 10	79	12	3	2	Oct. 20	77	11	5	3
Oct. 11	76	12	5	3	Oct. 21	76	14	3	4
Oct. 12	75	14	4	3	Oct. 22	77	15	3	3
Oct. 13	74	14	4	4	Oct. 23	76	15	3	4
Oct. 14	73	15	4	4	Oct. 24	78	13	3	3
Oct. 15	75	14	3	4	Oct. 25	77	13	3	3
Oct. 16	75	14	3	3	Oct. 26	78	13	3	3
Oct. 17	76	13	4	3	Oct. 27	79	11	3	4
Oct. 18	75	12	6	3	Oct. 28	81	10	3	3
Oct. 19	76	11	6	3					

● Do you support the military attacks in Afghanistan, or do you oppose them?

Nov. 10-13, 2001	L.A. Times	Support 87	Oppose 10
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- In your opinion, has the current U.S. military action in Afghanistan been successful, unsuccessful, or somewhere in between?

		Successful	In Between	Unsuccessful
Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive	39	46	6
Jan. 23-24, 2002	Harris Interactive	48	46	5
Mar. 13-14, 2002	Harris Interactive	42	49	7
Jun. 20-21, 2002	Harris Interactive	23	61	12
Aug. 28-29, 2002	Harris Interactive	25	61	12
Oct. 23-24, 2002	Harris Interactive	29	57	11
Sep. 20-26, 2004	Harris Interactive	31	41	27

- What is your impression of how the war in Afghanistan is going for the United States right now - very well, somewhat well, somewhat badly, or very badly?

		Very Well	Somewhat Well	Somewhat Badly	Very Badly
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/NYT	25	58	11	2
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	51	42	4	1
Jan. 5-6, 2002	CBS News/NYT	43	49	4	2
Jan. 15-17, 2002	CBS News/NYT	40	49	6	2
Jan. 21-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	38	51	7	2
May 13-14, 2002	CBS News	18	55	17	3
Jun. 18-20, 2002	CBS News	14	51	21	8
Jul. 8-9, 2002	CBS News	13	54	21	7
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	14	58	16	3
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	19	53	20	3
Oct. 27-31, 2002	CBS News/NYT	11	58	21	6

- Do you think that the U.S. military action in Afghanistan is going very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?

		Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Too Well	Not Well At All
Nov. 5-6, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	23	62	8	4
Jan. 25-27, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	42	51	3	2
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	24	61	10	3

- In terms of U.S. military action in Afghanistan, do you think the most difficult part is over, or do you think the most difficult part is yet to come?

		Over	Yet To Come
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	17	80
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	18	80
Sep. 5-8, 2002*	ABC News	16	82

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "Do you think the most difficult part of the war against terrorism is over, or do you think the most difficult part is yet to come?"

- When it comes to taking military action in the war against terrorism, do you think that most of the military action that needs to be taken is still ahead of us, or that most of the military action has been taken and is already behind us?

		Behind Us	Ahead Of Us
Jan. 18-21, 2002	NBC News/WSJ	26	64
Apr. 5-7, 2002	NBC News/WSJ	18	75
Sep. 3-5, 2002	NBC News/WSJ	18	74

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

- Do you favor or oppose taking military action, including the use of ground troops, to retaliate against whoever is responsible for the terrorist attack?

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	82	8
Nov. 13-19, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	85	8

- Do you favor or oppose the use of U.S. ground troops in Afghanistan?

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	64	28
Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive	71	21
Mar. 13-14, 2002	Harris Interactive	80	16

- Would you support or oppose sending a significant number of U.S. ground troops into Afghanistan?

		Support	Oppose
Oct. 7, 2001*	ABC News/Wash Post	75	21
Oct. 8-9, 2001*	ABC News	76	21
Nov. 5-6, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	71	26

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...to overthrow the Taliban government?"

- Do you support or oppose using U.S. ground troops in Afghanistan?

		Support	Oppose
Oct. 17-18, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	75	15

- Do you favor or oppose the United States taking direct military action using ground troops in Afghanistan?

		Favor	Oppose
Oct. 5-6, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	67	28

- Do you favor or oppose the U.S. using ground troops in Afghanistan?

		Favor	Oppose
Oct. 19-21, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	80	18

- Do you favor or oppose the U.S. sending large numbers of ground troops into combat in Afghanistan?

		Favor	Oppose
Nov. 2-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	28

- Do you approve or disapprove of the presence of U.S. ground troops in Afghanistan?

		Approve	Disapprove
Nov. 26-27, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	91	7

- Do you favor or oppose the U.S. sending troops into the caves of Afghanistan to hunt down Osama bin Laden?

		Favor	Oppose
Nov. 29, 2001	Zogby International	72	22
Nov. 30, 2001	Zogby International	73	21

- Would you say that you totally support, mainly support, have mixed feelings about or oppose the approach that President Bush and his administration are taking in the war on terrorism?

		Totally Support	Mainly Support	Have Mixed Feelings
Nov. 9-11, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	61	20	16

- Do you think of the war with Iraq as part of the war on terrorism, or do you think of it as separate from the war on terrorism? (If Part) Is it a major part of the war on terrorism or a minor part of the war on terrorism?

		Major Part	Minor Part	Not Part
Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	51	11	31
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	53	13	30
May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	51	14	32
Sep. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	43	9	43
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003	CBS News/NYT	47	10	37
Nov. 10-12, 2003	CBS News	46	14	35
Dec. 21-22, 2003	CBS News	46	15	33
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News	34	16	44
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	39	11	44
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	38	12	44
Sept. 6-8, 2004	CBS News	41	13	41
Oct. 1-3, 2004	CBS News/NYT	41	10	47
Oct. 14-17, 2004	CBS News/NYT	38	10	48
Oct. 28-30, 2004	CBS News/NYT	41	11	43
Oct. 29-Nov. 1, 2004	CBS News	42	11	42
Nov. 18-21, 2004	CBS News/NYT	34	9	51

- Do you think of the war with Iraq as part of the war against terrorism, or as separate from the war against terrorism?

		Part	Separate
Nov. 15-18, 2003	L.A. Times	60	36
Sep. 25-28, 2004	L.A. Times	51	46
Oct. 21-24, 2004	L.A. Times	49	48

- Do you consider the war in Iraq to be part of the war on terrorism which began on September 11, 2001, or do you consider it to be an entirely separate military action?

		Part	Separate
Sep. 20-22, 2002*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	42
Jan. 23-25, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	48
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	41
Mar. 26-28, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	48
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	47
Oct. 1-3, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	47

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "If the United States goes to war with Iraq, would you consider that to be part of the war...?"

- Do you think of the war with Iraq as part of the war on terrorism, or do you think of it as separate from the war on terrorism?

		Part	Separate
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	63	31
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News	50	44
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	51	45

- How likely do you think it is that the global elimination of terrorism will be accomplished in your lifetime?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Somewhat Unlikely	Very Unlikely
Jan. 2-4, 2002	Zogby International	7	28	25	37

***WHAT CONSTITUTES SUCCESS IN THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN: Polls taken soon after the war on terrorism began generally suggested that Osama bin Laden would have to be captured or killed for our efforts to be deemed successful. The polls have fluctuated somewhat on this question. Question wording affects responses.***

- Do you think the United States has to capture or kill Osama bin Laden for the war on terrorism to be a success, or do you think the war on terrorism can be a success without Osama bin Laden being killed or captured?

		Must Capture/ Kill Bin Laden	Can Succeed Without Bin Laden
Nov. 5-6, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	64	30
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	64	34
Jan. 24-27, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	46	51
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	44	53
Apr. 18-21, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	50	45
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	44	54
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	62	33

- If Osama bin Laden is not captured or killed, then do you think the United States will have won the war in Afghanistan, or not?

		Will Have Won	Will Not Have Won
Jan. 5-6, 2002	CBS News/NYT	28	60
Jan. 15-17, 2002	CBS News/NYT	29	56
Jan. 21-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	31	61
Feb. 24-26, 2002	CBS News	32	59
May 13-14, 2002	CBS News	23	67
Jun. 18-20, 2002	CBS News	22	65
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	27	61
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	30	60
Nov. 20-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	27	62
Dec. 10-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	25	63
Dec. 14-15, 2003	CBS News/NYT	25	62

- How important do you think each of the following is as a goal of the U.S. military action in Afghanistan?...Capturing or killing Osama bin Laden?

		Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important
Nov. 14-15, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	73	20	3	2
Feb. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	59	27	7	4
Jul. 9-10, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	63	22	8	3
Sep. 8-9, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	59	26	8	4

- Which comes closer to your view – the U.S. accomplishments in Afghanistan will be a success even if Osama bin Laden is not captured, or the U.S. accomplishments in Afghanistan will not be a success until Osama bin Laden is captured?

		Success If Not Captured	Not A Success If Not Captured
Nov. 26-27, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	55
Jan. 11-14, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	50
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	48
Jul. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	38	50
Dec. 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	50

- Do you think that capturing or killing Osama bin Laden is necessary to successfully conclude the campaign in Afghanistan, or not?

		Capture Not Necessary	Capture Necessary
Jan. 18-21, 2002	NBC News/WSJ	52	44
Apr. 5-7, 2002	NBC News/WSJ	46	49
Jun. 8-10, 2002	NBC News/WSJ	54	41
Sep. 3-5, 2002	NBC News/WSJ	62	33
Dec. 7-9, 2002	NBC News/WSJ	54	41
Sep. 20-22, 2003	NBC News/WSJ	45	48

- If the U.S. achieves most of its goals in Afghanistan, but does not capture or kill Osama bin Laden, would you consider the military action in Afghanistan to be a victory for the U.S. or wouldn't you consider it a victory?

		Victory	Not Victory
Oct. 13, 2001	Harris Interactive	31	61
Dec. 19-20, 2001	Harris Interactive	50	46
Jan. 23-24, 2002	Harris Interactive	43	53
Jun. 20-21, 2002	Harris Interactive	47	44

- Is it enough for the United States to kill or capture Osama bin Laden, or should the United States also see to it that terrorists in other countries are stopped as well?

		Stop Other Terrorists	Bin Laden Enough
Oct. 8, 2001	CBS News	90	3

- Which is closer to your view of the war on terrorism: It should end with the capture of Osama bin Laden and dismantling of Al-Qaeda or it should continue until all terrorist networks are out of business?

		Capture Bin Laden	All Terrorist Networks
Nov. 19-21, 2001	Penn/Schoen/Berland	15	78

- As of now, do you think the United States has won the war against Afghanistan, or is it too soon to say?

		Won The War	Too Soon To Say
Jan. 5-6, 2002	CBS News/NYT	29	66

- Should the United States begin pulling U.S. troops out of Afghanistan now, or should the United States keep its troops in Afghanistan until Osama bin Laden is captured or killed?

		Keep Troops	Pull Out Now
Jan. 5-6, 2002	CBS News/NYT	86	7

- Will you consider the war in Afghanistan and rooting out the Al-Qaeda network a total success even if Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda leaders have not been captured or killed, or only a partial success, or not a success at all?

		Total Success	Partial Success	Not a Success
Jan. 31-Feb. 3, 2002	L.A. Times	10	66	21

- The Taliban government has been removed from power in Afghanistan, but Osama bin Laden and Mullah Omar, leader of the Taliban, remain at large. Do you think the U.S. military effort in Afghanistan can be considered a victory if these top leaders of enemy forces are not captured or killed?

		Victory	Not Victory
Jan. 31-Feb. 1, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	39	55

***PROPER USE OF FORCE IN AFGHANISTAN?:*** *In September and October 2001, when pollsters asked about U.S. actions to date in the war on terrorism, most people said they had been about right thus far. Of the remainder, more said that we didn't react swiftly or assertively enough than said we reacted too quickly or harshly. This same pattern appeared in polls before the 1991 Gulf War and in polls taken at the time of the war against Iraq in 2003. [See a later section of this document for polls on the use of force in Iraq.*

● In your opinion, how soon - if ever- should the United States use military force against those responsible for last week's terrorist attacks? Do you think military action should have already started, should start within the next few weeks, should start within the next six months, should take as long as is necessary to plan something that will work, or should not be considered at all?

		Have Already Started	Start Within Next Few Weeks	Start Within Next 6 Months	Take As Long As Necessary	Not Be Considered At All
Sep. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	17	15	6	59	1
Sep. 27-28, 2001*	PSRA/Newsweek	18	10	4	63	2
Oct. 4-5, 2001*	PSRA/Newsweek	24	11	4	55	3

NOTE: Question wording varied slightly.

● Do you think George Bush's reaction to the terrorist attack has been too strong, not strong enough, or just about right?

		Too Strong	Not Strong Enough	Just Right
Sep. 13, 2001	Harris Interactive	3	23	71
Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	5	17	74
Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive	5	16	76

● Which comes closest to your view: The U.S. military should conduct military strikes immediately against known terrorist organizations, even if it is unclear who caused today's attacks; the U.S. military should only conduct military strikes against the terrorist organizations responsible for today's attacks, even if it takes months to clearly identify them; or the U.S. military should not conduct military strikes in response to today's attacks?

		Immediate Strikes	Wait Until Identification	No Strikes
Sep. 11, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	21	71	4

● Do you think President Bush has gone too far in terms of a military response to the terrorist attacks, done about right, or not gone far enough in terms of a military response to the terrorist attacks?

		Too Far	About right	Not Far Enough
Sep. 21-22, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	4	75	19



● Do you think the United States should wait to take military action until we are certain who is responsible for the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, or should we take immediate military action against those who are suspects in the attacks?

		Wail Until Certain	Immediate Action
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	78	17

● Do you think the U.S. did the right thing in starting military attacks against Afghanistan now, or should the U.S. have attacked Afghanistan sooner, or should the U.S. have waited longer to begin military attacks?

		Attack Now	Attack Sooner	Wait Longer
Oct. 8, 2001	CBS News	60	21	10

● President Bush and his administration have been criticized by some for not pursuing the war in Afghanistan aggressively enough. President Bush urged people to be patient. Do you feel that the military action in Afghanistan has been pursued aggressively enough or not?

		Yes	No
Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	73	18

● Which of the following comes closest to your view— the U.S. should have launched military action before now, the U.S. waited the right amount of time to take military action, or the U.S. should have waited longer before taking military action?

		Before Now	Right Amount	Waited Longer
Oct. 7, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	14	72	9

● Do you think the U.S.-led military action has been too aggressive, about right, or not aggressive enough?

		Too Aggressive	About Right	Not Aggressive Enough
Oct. 17-18, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	8	56	30

***WHAT IF?: HYPOTHETICAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WAR:*** Hypothetical questions of the kind shown below on the war on terrorism are very popular in the competitive polling environment. But we should be cautious about these “what if” questions because most people don't think in abstract terms.

- Would you support or oppose the U.S. taking military action if you knew each of the following would happen? How about if..?

Sep. 14-15, 2001		Gallup/CNN/USA Today	
		Support	Oppose
The U.S. military action would continue for a period of several months		86	11
5,000 additional U.S. civilians would be killed in future terrorist attacks		84	12
5,000 U.S. troops would be killed		76	16
The U.S. military action would continue for a period of years		66	30
1,000 American troops would be killed		65	30

- Would you support or oppose taking military action against the groups or nations responsible for these attacks, if you knew that it meant...?

		Support	Oppose
Getting into a war			
Sep. 13, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	86	11
Sep. 20, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	83	10
Sep. 25-27, 2001	Wash Post	83	11
Getting into a long war with large numbers of U.S. troops killed or injured			
Sep. 13, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	69	26
Sep. 25-27, 2001	Wash Post	67	26
Innocent civilians in other countries might be hurt or killed			
Sep. 13, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	77	19
Sep. 25-27, 2001	Wash Post	70	24

- Do you think the U.S. should take military action against whoever is responsible for the attacks, even if it means that...?

Innocent people are killed		Should	Should Not
Sep. 11-12, 2001	CBS News	71	18
Sep. 13-14, 2001	CBS News/NYT	68	17
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	67	23
Many thousands of innocent civilians may be killed			
Sep. 13-14, 2001	CBS News/NYT	60	21
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	68	21

Going to war with a nation that is harboring those responsible for the attacks

Sep. 13-14, 200	CBS News/NYT	67	18
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	83	10

- Would you be very supportive, somewhat supportive, or not at all supportive of a war that lasts 6 months to 2 years?

Oct. 2001		Zogby International					
	Very Supportive	Somewhat Supportive	Not Supportive		Very Supportive	Somewhat Supportive	Not Supportive
Oct. 10	72	20	6	Oct. 21	65	23	9
Oct. 11	67	25	6	Oct. 22	67	22	9
Oct. 12	66	26	6	Oct. 23	68	21	9
Oct. 13	66	24	8	Oct. 24	70	20	7
Oct. 14	66	24	8	Oct. 25	72	18	8
Oct. 15	69	21	7	Oct. 26	70	20	7
Oct. 16	68	22	7	Oct. 27	70	19	9
Oct. 17	69	20	9	Oct. 28	70	21	7
Oct. 18	67	20	10	Oct. 29	71	18	8
Oct. 19	66	22	9	Oct. 30	71	17	10
Oct. 20	69	22	7	Oct. 31	72	17	9
Nov. 15	66	22	9				
Nov. 29	68	22	7				
Nov. 30	68	21	8				

- Would you be very supportive, somewhat supportive, or not at all supportive of a war that lasts 2 years to 5 years?

Oct. 2001		Zogby International					
	Very Supportive	Somewhat Supportive	Not Supportive		Very Supportive	Somewhat Supportive	Not Supportive
Oct. 10	58	24	14	Oct. 21	56	25	17
Oct. 11	54	26	16	Oct. 22	56	24	18
Oct. 12	54	28	15	Oct. 23	54	25	18
Oct. 13	55	26	15	Oct. 24	57	25	16
Oct. 14	54	27	16	Oct. 25	58	24	16
Oct. 15	56	27	15	Oct. 26	57	25	16
Oct. 16	56	26	16	Oct. 27	57	23	17
Oct. 17	55	25	17	Oct. 28	57	23	17
Oct. 18	52	25	19	Oct. 29	58	21	17
Oct. 19	52	28	16	Oct. 30	57	21	17
Oct. 20	57	25	14	Oct. 31	58	22	16
Nov. 15	53	25	18				
Nov. 29	51	27	18				
Nov. 30	53	25	18				

● How long would you be willing to use combat forces to deal with the problem of terrorism -- less than one year, one to two years, three to five years, or more than five years if it takes that long?

		Less Than 1 Year	1-2 Years	3-5 Years	More Than 5 Years
Nov. 2-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/ USA Today	8	15	10	63

● Continuing to think about how the U.S. government should deal with terrorism - which would you prefer - to continue with the use of combat forces regardless of how many U.S. military service people are killed or to stop using combat forces if the number of U.S. military people who are killed becomes too high?

		Continue Regardless Of Killed	Stop If Number Becomes Too High
Nov. 2-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	41

● Suppose several thousand American troops lose their lives in Afghanistan - do you think the war in Afghanistan would be worth that cost or not?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/N.Y. Times	61	27

● Do you think that combating terrorism is worth risking retaliation against the United States, or do you think that it is not worth retaliation?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Nov. 9-11, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	87	9

● Do you think that the war in Afghanistan is or is not worth risking substantial numbers of American military casualties?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Nov. 9-11, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	74	16

***A BROADER WAR?:*** Since 9/11, Americans have told the pollsters on many occasions that the U.S. should root out terrorism by going after those countries that assist or shelter terrorists. They are giving President Bush latitude in making those decisions.

- Which of the following comes closest to your view about the actions the United States should take to deal with terrorism – The U.S. should mount a long-term war to defeat global terrorist networks, the U.S. should take military action only to punish specific terrorist groups responsible for the attacks on the World Trade Center, or the U.S. should not take military action but should rely only on economic and diplomatic efforts to deal with terrorism?

		Long-Term War	Specific Terrorists	No Military Action
Oct. 5-6, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	43	6
Nov. 26-27, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	31	5
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	40	6
Jun. 21-23, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	35	10

- If the United States takes military action, how important a goal should each of the following be – should it be a very important goal, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?

Sep. 21-22, 2001 Gallup/CNN/USA Today

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Too Important	Not Important At All
Destroying terrorist operations in Afghanistan	91	5	1	2
Capturing or killing Osama bin Laden	85	10	2	1
Destroying terrorist operations outside of Afghanistan	84	12	2	1
Preventing Iran, Iraq, and North Korea from developing weapons of mass destruction	79	15	3	2
Destroying terrorist operations outside of Afghanistan	77	18	2	1
Removing Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq	68	22	5	2
Removing the Taliban government from power in Afghanistan	68	20	6	2

- Would you support or oppose the United States taking military action against any nation found to be aiding or hiding terrorists?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 19-20, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	83	11
Oct. 17-18, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	84	11
Jan. 30-31, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	80	12

- Apart from those responsible for today's attacks, would you support or oppose the U.S. taking military action against countries that assist or shelter terrorists?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 11, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	84	11

● If the U.S. takes military action, should that only be aimed at the terrorists who are responsible, or should it also be aimed at the country or countries harboring the terrorists?

		Only Terrorists	Also Countries
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	27	65

● Do you believe the U.S. should - or should not - take military action against other countries that the U.S. believes are harboring terrorists?

		Should	Should Not
Oct. 7, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	78	16

● Do you think that the United States should limit its military action only to those groups or nations responsible for last month's attacks in New York and Washington, or should the United States mount a broader war against terrorist groups and nations that support them?

		Limit Action	Broader War
Oct. 7, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	25	71

● Would you support or oppose U.S. military action against other countries that assist or shelter terrorists?

		Support	Oppose
Oct. 8-9, 2001	ABC News	87	10
Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	81	15

● Would you support or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorists in other countries, even if they are not directly connected to the attacks on September 11?

		Support	Oppose
Oct. 17-18, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	72	20

● In the fight against terrorism, the United States might also consider using military force against targets in other countries. In general, would you support using military force against...

		Yes	No
Saddam Hussein and his military in Iraq			
Oct. 11-12, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	81	15
Dec. 12-13, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	78	15
Apr. 25-26, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	68	24
Suspected terrorist targets in other Middle Eastern countries			
Oct. 11-12, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	79	16
Dec. 12-13, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	75	18
Suspected terrorist targets in countries outside the Middle East, such as Somalia and the Philippines			
Oct. 11-12, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	71	23
Dec. 12-13, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	66	25

● Now I would like to mention several options that might be taken in the war on terrorism, and for each one please tell me if you think the United States should or should not take that action.

Dec. 8-10, 2001	NBC News/WSJ		
		Take Action	No Action
Take military action against terrorist cells in other countries, such as the Philippines, Somalia, and Sudan		64	23
Take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein if he continues to keep U.N. inspectors out of Iraq, even if most of our allies would not join us		61	28
Military actions to overthrow Saddam Hussein even if it requires using substantial American ground troops		57	31

● Now I would like to mention several options that might be taken in the war on terrorism, and for each one please tell me if you think the United States should or should not take that action.

Jan. 18-21, 2002	NBC News/WSJ		
		Take Action	No Action
Take military action against terrorist cells in other countries, such as the Philippines, Somalia, and Sudan		71	20
Take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein, even if Iraq had nothing to do with the September 11 attacks		47	42

● If the United States takes military action, how important a goal should each of the following be – should it be a very important goal, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?

Feb. 8-10, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today				
		Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Too Important	Not Important At All
Capturing or killing Osama bin Laden		68	20	8	3
Removing Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq		64	24	7	4

● Please complete the following sentence in the manner that best reflects your personal view: If the Taliban government were taken out of power and Osama bin Laden was captured tomorrow, the U.S. government should - continue its military effort against terrorism by turning its military efforts against other terrorism-based countries, bring the military home once everything is stable in Afghanistan and keep the military on standby to take action if any new terrorist activity takes place, or keep a representative military presence in Afghanistan even after the new government officially takes control?

		Continue Against Other Countries	Bring Military Home	Keep Troops In Afghanistan
Nov. 29, 2001	Zogby International	48	26	20
Nov. 30, 2001	Zogby International	49	27	18
Dec. 3, 2001	Zogby International	47	30	18

● If the U.S. succeeds in its goal of eliminating terrorist cells in Afghanistan and capturing Osama bin Laden, what should be the next step for the U.S. military: Maintain a military presence in Afghanistan, take the fight to another country that harbors terrorists, or await the next order of deployment by the President?

		Maintain Presence In Afghanistan	Take Fight To Another Country	Await Order Of Deployment
Jan. 7, 2002	Zogby International	19	42	31
Jan. 14-17, 2002	Zogby International	24	38	27

● If the U.S. government decides to take military action in the following countries, would you favor or oppose it?

Jan. 11-14, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Favor	Oppose
	Iraq	77	17
	Iran	71	23
	Somalia	62	26

● Do you approve or disapprove of the United States leading military attacks in other countries where it believes terrorists are hiding, like Iraq, Somalia, and the Philippines?

		Approve	Disapprove
Jan. 21-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	73	18
Apr. 1-2, 2002	CBS News	68	21



***BUSH VS. KERRY ON TERRORISM: In the spring and early summer of 2004, in most polls, George W. Bush led John Kerry in questions about who would do the best job of handling terrorism.***

●Regardless of which presidential candidate you support, please tell me if you think John Kerry or George W. Bush would better handle each of the following issues. How about terrorism?

		Bush	Kerry
Mar. 5-7, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	33
May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	38
June 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	40
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	38
July 30-31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	42
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	41
Aug. 23-25, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	37
Sept. 3-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	34
Sept. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/ USA Today	61	34
Oct. 1-3, 2004	Gallup/CNN/ USA Today	59	36
Oct. 9-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	39
Oct. 14-16,2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	37
Oct. 22-24, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	39
Oct. 29-31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	44

● Who do you trust to do a better job handling the U.S. campaign against terrorism, George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	53	37
Mar. 4-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	57	36
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	58	37
May. 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	39
Jun. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	47	48
July 8-11, 2004	Washington Post	51	42
July 22-25, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	55	37
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	48	45
Aug. 26-29, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	56	38
Sept. 6-8, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	57	35
Sept. 24-26, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	54	37
Oct. 1-3, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	54	38
Oct. 5-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	55	40
Oct. 7-9, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	56	37
Oct. 8-10, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	56	37
Oct. 9-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	55	37
Oct. 10-12, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	53	38
Oct. 11-13, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	39
Oct. 12-14, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	54	38
Oct. 13-15, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	55	37
Oct. 14-16, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	57	35
Oct. 15-17, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	56	36
Oct. 28-31, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	40

● If John Kerry is elected President in November, how much confidence do you have that he would make the right decisions when it comes to protecting the country from terrorist attack— a lot, some, not much, or none at all?

		A Lot	Some	Not Much	None
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	29	45	13	9
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	27	41	17	12
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	CBS News	28	42	17	10
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	32	39	15	11
Sept. 6-8, 2004	CBS News	26	34	20	17
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News/NYT	26	37	19	16
Sept. 20-22, 2004	CBS News	25	35	22	16
Oct. 1-3, 2004	CBS News	39	31	16	12
Oct. 9-11, 2004	CBS News	31	34	19	15
Oct. 14-17, 2004	CBS News/NYT	30	32	17	20
Oct. 28-30, 2004	CBS News/NYT	30	32	19	18

● If George W. Bush is re-elected President in November, how much confidence do you have that he would make the right decisions when it comes to protecting the country from terrorist attack – a lot, some, not much, or none at all?

		A Lot	Some	Not Much	None
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	43	32	12	12
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	41	30	16	12
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	CBS News	41	27	17	15
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	43	26	14	16
Sept. 6-8, 2004	CBS News	47	26	12	14
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News	50	26	12	10
Sept. 20-22, 2004	CBS News	50	24	12	13
Oct. 1-3, 2004	CBS News	52	23	13	11
Oct. 9-11, 2004	CBS News	46	28	12	13
Oct. 14-17, 2004	CBS News/NYT	43	25	14	18
Oct. 28-30,2004	CBS News/NYT	46	24	13	15

● Regardless of which presidential candidate your support, please tell me if you trust George W. Bush or John Kerry to do a better job handle each of the following issues. First, what about terrorism and homeland security? Which do you trust to do a better job handling this issue...Bush or Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
Mar. 18-19, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	56	35
July 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	48	43
Sept. 2-3, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	60	32
Sept. 9-10, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	58	34
Sept. 30-Oct. 2, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	52	40
Oct. 14-15, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	54	38
Oct. 21-22, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	55	37
Oct. 27-29, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	56	37

● Which candidate do you think would do a better job on the following issues ... the war on terrorism?

		Bush	Kerry
Apr. 6-7, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	51	33
May 4-5, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	52	26
June 8-9, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	47	32

July 20-21, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	50	35
Aug. 3-4, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	44	38
Aug. 24-25, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	50	34
Sept. 7-8, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	51	36
Sept. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	51	36
Oct. 3-4, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	49	37
Oct. 17-18, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	52	37
Oct. 27-28, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	53	37

● “He would be best at keeping the country safe from terrorism”: Does this apply more to George W. Bush or more to John Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
July 17-21, 2004	L.A. Times	49	31
Aug. 21-24, 2004	L.A. Times	49	33
Sep. 25-28, 2004	L.A. Times	51	35
Oct. 21-24, 2004	L.A. Times	53	37

● Which candidate, Kerry or Bush, do you trust more to handle the war on terrorism?

		Bush	Kerry
July 20-22, 2004	SRB/Time	50	42
Aug. 3-5, 2004	SRB/Time	49	41
Aug. 24-26, 2004	SRB/Time	51	41
Aug. 31-Sept. 2, 2004	SRB/Time	57	36
Sept. 7-9, 2004	SRB/Time	58	35
Sept. 21-23, 2004	SRB/Time	54	36
Oct. 6-7, 2004	SRB/Time	53	38
Oct. 14-15, 2004	SRB/Time	51	40
Oct. 19-21, 2004	SRB/Time	56	37

● Now I would like to read you a list of issues that some people from this part of the country have said are important for the next President to deal with. Please listen as I read the list and tell me, for each one, who would do a better job of handling this issue...the war on terrorism, President George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
Mar. 28-30, 2004	Battleground	57	37
June 20-23, 2004*	Battleground	55	36
Aug. 15-17, 2004*	Battleground	54	37
Sept. 12-16, 2004*	Battleground	58	33
Sept. 20-23, 2004*	Battleground	57	34
Sep. 27-30, 2004*	Battleground	58	33
Oct. 3-7, 2004*	Battleground	57	36
Oct. 11-14, 2004*	Battleground	57	35
Oct. 18-21, 2004*	Battleground	56	35
Oct. 25-28, 2004	Battleground	56	36

\*NOTE: Question wording reads, “... safeguarding America from a terrorist threat”

• Now I'd like to compare George W. Bush and John Kerry on a few issues. For each one, please tell me whether you think that George W. Bush or John Kerry would be better on that issue ... terrorism and homeland security?

		Bush	Kerry
Sept. 17-19, 2004	NBC/WSJ	54	28
Oct. 16-18, 2004	NBC/WSJ	52	29

• Regardless of who you support, which one of the presidential candidates, George W. Bush or John Kerry, do you think would do the best job of defending the country from future terrorist attacks?

		Bush	Kerry
Mar. 17-21, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	57	32
Mar. 22-28, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	53	29
May 3-9, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	52	33
Aug. 5-10, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	49	39
Sept. 8-14, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	58	31
Sept. 22-26, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	54	30
Oct. 1-3, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	57	32
Oct. 15-19, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	53	35

• Do you think George Bush/John Kerry does or does not have a clear plan for handling terrorism?

		Has a Clear Plan		Does Not Have a Clear Plan	
		Bush	Kerry	Bush	Kerry
Sept. 24-26, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	62	36	36	55
Oct. 1-3, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	58	40	40	52

• Who do you trust to do a better job of protecting the country – George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
Mar. 19-21, 2004	AP/Ipsos-Reid	58	35
Apr. 5-7, 2004	AP/Ipsos-Reid	53	37
Aug. 3-5, 2004	AP/Ipsos-Reid	52	43

• Regardless of how you intend to vote, who do you think would do a better job on terrorism - George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
Mar. 16-22, 2004	Quinnipiac	59	30
July 18-22, 2004	Quinnipiac	52	35

NOTE: Asked of registered voters.

• Which candidate do you think would be more effective in fighting terrorism ... Kerry or Bush?

		Bush	Kerry
Jun. 2-4, 2004	Harris Interactive/Time/CNN	50	38

**IRAQ: THE BUILD-UP:** In an article in the August/September 1983 issue of Public Opinion magazine, the late polling authority Everett Carll Ladd argued that “there has been no instance prior to the actual commitment of troops where a majority of the populace favored such a step [the use of U.S. ground troops].” All the major polls leading up to the ultimatum that President Bush gave Saddam Hussein on March 17 showed majority support for military action against Iraq.

In fall 2002 and early spring 2003, many pollsters followed up the basic question about going to war with Iraq by asking people whether they would support a war if our allies did not go along, if the United Nations did not support our action, and so on. Support for U.S. action dropped in most of these questions. But these “what if” questions are hypothetical and hypothetical questions are not always reliable guides to public opinion. Americans have always preferred to act with our allies when that is possible. They know it is not always possible.

In the buildup to the war, around 20 percent strongly opposed the decision to go to war. For this 20 percent – the peace party – it did not matter if we had UN support or the support of our allies. It also did not matter if Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. This group was simply strongly opposed to going to war.

Strong majorities of Americans wanted Congress involved in the decision to go to war. The polls were unanimous on this point.

- Do you believe that what we were told by the government before the Iraq war about Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction and Iraq’s links to Al Qaeda, the terrorist organization, was generally accurate or misleading?

		Generally Accurate	Misleading
Jun. 2003	Harris Interactive	55	36
Aug. 2003	Harris Interactive	47	45
Oct. 2003	Harris Interactive	44	50
Dec. 2003	Harris Interactive	45	47
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	40	53
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	40	51
Jun. 2004	Harris Interactive	44	51
Aug. 2004	Harris Interactive	37	60
Sep..2004	Harris Interactive	36	55
Oct. 2004	Harris Interactive	39	59
Nov. 2004	Harris Interactive	39	59

- Would you favor or oppose having U.S. forces take military action against Iraq to force Saddam Hussein from power?

		Favor	Oppose
Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	78	17
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	72	24
Jan. 24-27, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	71	24
Feb. 21, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	67	30
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	72	24
Aug. 7-11, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	69	22

Aug. 29, 2002	ABC News	56	34
Sep. 12-14, 2002	ABC News	68	29
Sep. 23-26, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	61	34
Nov. 13-17, 2002	ABC News	64	29
Dec. 12-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	62	35
Jan. 16-20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	57	41
Jan. 27, 2003	ABC News	61	36
Jan. 28, 2003	ABC News	63	32
Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	66	31
Feb. 5, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	67	27
Feb. 6-9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	66	31
Feb. 19-23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	63	31
Mar. 5-9, 2003	ABC News	65	30

Do you support/oppose it strongly or only somewhat?

		Support Strongly	Support Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly
Feb. 21, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	46	21	18	12
Dec. 12-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	41	20	15	20
Jan. 16-20, 2003	ABC News	40	17	16	25
Jan. 27, 2003	ABC News	40	21	15	21
Jan. 28, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	43	19	13	20
Jan. 30-					
Feb. 1, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	48	19	14	18
Feb. 5, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	45	22	11	17
Feb. 6-9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	46	21	14	17
Feb. 19-23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	42	21	13	18
Mar. 5-9, 2003	ABC News	47	18	10	20

(If favor) What if U.S. allies opposed such military action – in that case would you favor or oppose having U.S. forces take military action against Iraq?

		Favor	Oppose
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	77	21
Aug. 7-11, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	80	17
Aug. 29, 2002	ABC News	69	24
Sep. 12-14, 2002	ABC News	75	22
Sep. 23-26, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	76	21

● Would you favor or oppose invading Iraq with U.S. ground troops in an attempt to remove Saddam Hussein from power?

		Favor	Oppose
Nov. 26-27, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	74	20
Jun. 17-19, 2002+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	31
Aug. 19-21, 2002+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	41
Sep. 2-4, 2002+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	36
Sep. 5-8, 2002+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	36
Sep. 13-16, 2002+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	39
Sep. 20-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	38
Oct. 3-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	40
Oct. 14-17, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	37
Oct. 21-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	40
Nov. 8-10, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	35
Nov. 22-24, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	37
Dec. 9-10, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	39

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

Dec. 16-17, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	35
Dec. 19-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	38
Jan. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	39
Jan. 10-12, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	38
Jan. 23-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	43
Jan. 31-Feb. 2, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	38
Feb. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	34
Feb. 17-19, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	38
Feb. 24-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	37
Mar. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	37
Mar. 14-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	33

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “Would you favor or oppose sending American troops back to the Persian Gulf in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?” +Question wording was, “Would you favor or oppose sending American ground troops to the Persian Gulf in an attempt to remove Saddam Hussein from power?”

- Do you approve or disapprove of the United States taking military action against Iraq to try and remove Saddam Hussein from power?

		Approve	Disapprove
Feb. 24-26, 2002	CBS News	74	18
Jun. 18-20, 2002	CBS News	70	20
Jul. 8-9, 2002	CBS News	73	21
Aug. 6-7, 2002	CBS News	66	26
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	68	24
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	68	26
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	67	27
Oct. 27-31, 2002	CBS News/NYT	64	25
Nov. 2-4, 2002*	CBS News	58	33
Nov. 20-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	70	23
Jan. 4-6, 2003	CBS News	64	30
Jan. 19-22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	64	30
Feb. 5-6, 2003	CBS News	70	21
Feb. 10-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	66	29
Feb. 24-25, 2003	CBS News	66	29
Mar. 4-5, 2003	CBS News	69	26
Mar. 7-9, 2003	CBS News/NYT	66	30
Mar. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	67	29

NOTE: \*Asked of likely voters.

- Do you support or oppose U.S. military action to remove President Saddam Hussein?

		Support	Oppose
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	77	12
Jan. 30-31, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	74	15
Apr. 30-May 1, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	70	20
Jul. 9-10, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	72	18
Aug. 6-7, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	69	22
Sep. 8-9, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	66	22
Sep. 24-25, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	58	27
Oct. 8-9, 2002*+	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	72	17
Oct. 22-23, 2002*+	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	62	27
Nov. 19-20, 2002*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	68	18
Dec. 17-18, 2002*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	65	23
Jan. 14-15, 2003*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	67	25
Jan. 29-30, 2003*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	67	21

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

Feb. 11-12, 2003*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	69	23
Feb. 25-26, 2003*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	71	24
Mar. 11-12, 2003*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	71	20

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "Do you support or oppose U.S. military action to disarm Iraq and remove Iraqi President Saddam Hussein?" + Asked of likely voters.

- In the fight against terrorism, the Bush administration has talked about using military force against Saddam Hussein and his military in Iraq. Would you support using military force against Iraq, or not?

		Support	Oppose
Oct. 11-12, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	81	15
Dec. 13-14, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	78	15
Apr. 25-26, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	68	24
Aug. 28-29, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	62	31
Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	67	26
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	63	29
Oct. 10-11, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	66	26
Oct. 24-25, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	64	29
Jan. 16-17, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	63	31

- Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?

		Favor	Oppose
Nov. 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	74	20
Jun. 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	59	34
Aug 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	64	21
Sep. 12-14, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	64	23
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	63	29
Oct. 2-6, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	65	27
Oct. 17-27, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	55	34
Dec. 4-8, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	65	25
Jan. 8-12, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	68	25
Feb. 12-18, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	66	26
Mar. 13-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	59	30

NOTE: In Mar. 2003, when the 59 percent who favored military action were asked, "Should we attack Iraq only if our major allies agree to join us, or attack Iraq even if our allies do not want to join us?" 38 percent said only if our allies agreed and 16 percent said even if our allies wouldn't join. Five percent refused to answer or didn't know.

- Do you think the U.S. should or should not use military action to attempt to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq as part of the war on terrorism?

		Should	Should Not
Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive	71	19
Mar. 13-14, 2002	Harris Interactive	70	23

- Do you think that the U.S. should or should not use military action involving ground troops to attempt to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? Do you support/oppose it strongly or only somewhat?

		Should, Strongly	Should, Somewhat	Should Not, Somewhat	Should Not, Strongly
Oct. 23-24, 2002	Harris Interactive	40	15	9	25
Nov. 13-14, 2002	Harris Interactive	43	14	8	25



Dec. 17-18, 2002	Harris Interactive	40	15	14	23
Jan. 15-16, 2003	Harris Interactive	43	17	11	22
Feb. 6, 2003	Harris Interactive	45	14	10	24
Feb. 19-20, 2003	Harris Interactive	41	13	12	25

● Do you think the United States should take military action in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq, or not? Do you feel strongly about that, or not so strongly?

		Support Strongly	Support, Not Strongly	Oppose, Not Strongly	Oppose Strongly
Aug. 22-25, 2002	L.A. Times	47	12	9	20

● Please tell me if you would support or oppose U.S. military action against Iraq in each of the following circumstances. First, what if...?

			Support	Oppose
The United States joined together with its major allies to attack Iraq, with the full support of the United Nations Security Council				
Jan. 3-6, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek		83	13
Jan. 16-17, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek		81	14
The United States and one or two of its major allies attacked Iraq, without the support of the United Nations				
Jan. 3-6, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek		47	45
Jan. 16-17, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek		39	52
The United States acted alone in attacking Iraq without the support of the United Nations				
Jan. 3-6, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek		34	59
Jan. 16-17, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek		31	63

● Please tell me whether or not you would support the following kinds of U.S. military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein. First, what about...Would you support this kind of military action or not?

			Support	Oppose
Using air strikes against Iraq without any troops on the ground				
Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek		68	23
Aug. 28-29, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek		63	30
Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek		70	24
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek		67	27
Oct. 10-11, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek		68	25
Jan. 16-17, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek		69	25
Sending in commandos or special forces to capture Saddam Hussein or work with local anti-Saddam forces				
Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek		74	19
Aug. 28-29, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek		70	23

Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	76	19
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	72	21
Oct. 10-11, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	70	21
Jan. 16-17, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	72	23

Organizing an international force to remove Saddam Hussein from power and take control of the country

		Support	Oppose
Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	65	28
Aug. 28-29, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	69	25
Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	75	20
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	69	23
Oct. 10-11, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	72	21

Sending in large numbers of U.S. ground troops to ensure control of the country

Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	56	40
Aug. 28-29, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	49	45
Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	55	37
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	50	42
Oct. 10-11, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	48	42
Jan. 16-17, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	51	41

- How important do you think it is that President Bush first get...before taking military action against Iraq? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?

		Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Too Important	Not At All Important
The approval of Congress					
Aug. 28-29, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	61	24	6	7
Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	60	25	6	7
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	66	21	4	7
Support from most of our European allies					
Aug. 28-29, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	58	28	7	5
Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	57	30	5	6
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	58	28	6	6
Oct. 10-11, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	60	29	5	4
Formal support from the United Nations					
Aug. 28-29, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	55	26	8	9
Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	55	28	6	9
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	59	25	4	10
Oct. 10-11, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	57	28	6	7
Support from most of the Arab countries that are friendly to the United States					
Aug. 28-29, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	51	30	8	8
Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	48	31	8	11
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	52	30	7	9
Oct. 10-11, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	47	33	8	9

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling the situation with Iraq and Saddam Hussein?

		Approve	Disapprove
Aug. 29, 2002	ABC News	52	36
Sep. 12-14, 2002	ABC News	65	31
Sep. 23-26, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	58	39
Oct. 24-27, 2002	ABC News	57	38
Dec. 12-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	58	37
Jan. 16-20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	50	46
Jan. 27, 2003	ABC News	57	40
Jan. 28, 2003	ABC News	58	38
Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	61	35
Feb. 5, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	61	32
Feb. 6-9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	61	37
Feb. 19-23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	55	39
Mar. 5-9, 2003	ABC News	55	38

- How effective do you think each of the following steps would be against the war on terrorism: Attacking Iraq and removing Saddam Hussein - very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective?

		Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not At All Effective
Nov. 3, 2001	Zogby International	48	32	17
Nov. 4, 2001	Zogby International	48	32	17
Nov. 5, 2001	Zogby International	48	32	17
Nov. 6, 2001	Zogby International	46	32	18

- Do you think the President should have to get the approval of Congress before taking military action against Iraq, or should he be able to make that decision himself?

		Get Approval	His Decision
Aug. 6-7, 2002	CBS News	71	27
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	62	35
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	65	31
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	70	28

- Which statement do you agree with more: Iraq presents such a clear danger to American interests that the U.S. needs to act now, even without the support of its allies, or the U.S. needs to wait for its allies before taking any actions against Iraq?

		Act Now	Wait
Feb. 24-26, 2002	CBS News	22	72
Aug. 6-7, 2002	CBS News	24	68
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	27	67
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	31	61
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	29	65
Oct. 27-31, 2002	CBS News/NYT	28	63
Feb. 10-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	32	63
Feb. 24-25, 2003	CBS News	37	59

- Do you think the Bush administration has a well-thought-out plan for using military force against Iraq, or not?

		Yes	No
Apr. 25-26, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	47	33
Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	49	34
Sep. 26-27, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	49	35

- Do you think George W. Bush has a clear policy on Iraq, or not?

		Yes	No
Aug. 7-12, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	45	42
Aug. 29, 2002	ABC News	40	47
Sep. 12-14, 2002	ABC News	60	35

- Would you support or oppose a war against Iraq if there were thousands of American casualties?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 25-27, 2002	Zogby International	39	50
Jan. 24-26, 2003	Zogby International	35	59
Feb. 6-8, 2003	Zogby International	40	52
Feb. 17-20, 2003	Zogby International	41	51
Mar. 5-7, 2003	Zogby International	44	50
Mar. 15-17, 2003	Zogby International	43	50

NOTE: Asked of likely voters.

- Would you support or oppose sending your son or daughter to war to remove Saddam Hussein?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 25-27, 2002	Zogby International	45	46
Jan. 24-26, 2003	Zogby International	45	47
Feb. 6-8, 2003	Zogby International	49	44
Feb. 17-20, 2003	Zogby International	50	43
Mar. 5-7, 2003	Zogby International	53	44
Mar. 15-17, 2003	Zogby International	50	43

NOTE: Asked of likely voters.

- Do you think the United States has done all it can to solve the crisis with Iraq diplomatically, or not?

		Yes	No
Oct. 3-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	49
Dec. 9-10, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	44
Feb. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	42

- How much have you yourself thought about whether the U.S. should use military force to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?

		Great Deal	Some	Only A Little	Not At All
Aug. 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	46	35	11	6
Sep. 12-14, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	55	27	9	6
Oct. 2-6, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	54	32	8	5
Dec. 4-8, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	58	29	8	4
Jan. 8-12, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	56	29	8	6
Feb. 12-18, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	58	27	8	6
Mar. 13-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	64	24	7	4

- Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?

		Explained Clearly	Not Clearly
Aug. 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	37	52
Sep. 12-14, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	52	37
Oct. 17-27, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	48	45
Dec. 4-8, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	48	45
Jan. 8-12, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	42	53
Feb. 12-18, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	53	40
Mar. 13-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	49	47

- Which concerns you more: that the Bush administration might move too quickly to take military action against Iraq, or the Bush administration might not move quickly enough?

		Too Quickly	Not Quickly Enough
Sep. 23-26, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	52	40
Dec. 12-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	54	40
Jan. 16-20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	55	39
Jan. 27, 2003	ABC News	54	36
Jan. 28, 2003	ABC News	51	39
Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	49	44

- Do you think President Bush is moving too quickly toward a war with Iraq, or don't you think so?

		Too Quickly	Not Too Quickly
Aug. 28-29, 2002	Harris Interactive	40	53
Jan. 15-16, 2003	Harris Interactive	41	56
Feb. 6, 2003	Harris Interactive	46	52
Feb. 19-20, 2003	Harris Interactive	48	50

- Do you favor or oppose the United States taking direct military action in Iraq?

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 21-22, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	73	20

- Do you think that the U.S. should or should not use military action to attempt to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq as part of the war against terrorism?

		Yes	No
Oct. 12, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	19

- It is widely acknowledged that Iraq is developing weapons of mass destruction. Do you think the U.S. should take immediate action against Iraq or try to develop an international consensus before taking action against Iraq?

		Immediate Action	International Consensus
Dec. 12-13, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	36	54

- George W. Bush has named Iraq as one of the countries that are harboring terrorists and stockpiling chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. Do you support or oppose the United States taking military action against terrorist targets in Iraq?

Jan. 31-Feb. 3, 2002	L.A. Times	Support 77	Oppose 15
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- Would you favor or oppose sending U.S. ground troops to invade Iraq?

Mar. 22-24, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Favor 46	Oppose 50
Apr. 5-7, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	46

- Would you favor or oppose sending U.S. ground troops to invade Iraq in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power?

Apr. 5-7, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Favor 59	Oppose 36
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- How confident are you that President Bush will make the right decision regarding the use of U.S. troops in Iraq?

		Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Very Confident	Not At All Confident
Oct. 22-23, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	39	27	15	14
Nov. 19-20, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	42	28	12	12

- Would you support or oppose the United States going to war with Iraq?

Mar. 6-9, 2003	ABC News	Support 59	Oppose 35
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- It is estimated that the war in Iraq will cost each U.S. taxpayer about 300 dollars. Do you think it is worth 300 dollars per taxpayer to disarm Iraq and remove Iraqi President Saddam Hussein from power?

Mar. 11-12, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Yes 69	No 23
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- Who do you think poses a greater danger to the United States today: Al-Qaeda leader Usama bin Laden or Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein?

		Bin Laden	Hussein	Both Equal (Vol.)	Neither (Vol.)
Mar. 12-13, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	19	34	35	4
Jun. 18-19, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	21	36	34	3

- Do you think Saddam Hussein was personally involved in the September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, or not?

		Yes	No
Aug. 19-21, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	34
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	51	33
Feb. 10-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	42	42
Mar. 7-9, 2003	CBS News/NYT	45	40
Mar. 14-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	41

Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	53	34
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	53	38
May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	52	38
Sep. 19-21, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	50
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003	CBS News/NYT	43	42
Dec. 15-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	42
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News	36	47
June 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	51
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	41	46
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News/NYT	39	50
October 1-3, 2004	CBS News/NYT	33	56
October 14-17, 2004	CBS News/NYT	30	61

- How likely is it that Saddam Hussein was personally involved in the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon? Would you say that it is very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Very Likely	Not At All Likely
Sep. 13, 2001	Harris Interactive	34	44	9	3
Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 2001	Fox News/Op Dyn	50	29	8	4
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Op Dyn	47	32	8	4
Oct. 23-24, 2002	Harris Interactive	34	37	16	9
Feb. 6, 2003	Harris Interactive	34	38	16	9
Aug. 7-11, 2003	Wash Post	32	37	15	12
June 22-23, 2004	Fox News/Op Dym	43	25	11	12

- Do you believe there was a partnership between Iraq and the terrorist group Al-Qaeda under Saddam Hussein's regime?

		Yes	No
June 22-23, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	56	28

- Before the war, do you think Iraq did or did not provide direct support to the Al Qaeda terrorist group?

		Provided Support	Did Not Provide Support
Jan. 15-18, 2003*	ABC News/Wash Post	68	17
Jun. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	62	33

- In your mind, is there enough of a link between Iraq and terrorism to justify a U.S. military campaign to topple the regime of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein or does the U.S. need to offer more evidence?

		U.S. Should Topple Hussein	Need More Evidence
Dec. 5-9, 2001	TIPP/IBD-CSM	55	34
Sep. 3-8, 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	48	45
Oct. 7-13, 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	50	45
Nov. 6-11, 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	50	43

● Do you think Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq was directly involved in planning, financing, or carrying out the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 or not?

		Yes	No
Sep. 18-19, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	47	37
Jan. 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	49	39

● Based on what you've heard or read, do you believe that Saddam Hussein helped the terrorists in the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon or don't you think he was involved?

		Helped Terrorists	Not Involved
Feb. 12-18, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	57	27



***CRITICISM OF ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS/ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS:*** In a CBS News poll taken in October 2001, 54 percent said it was not okay to criticize the president on military issues, and 41 percent said it was okay to criticize him. That question has been asked a half dozen times since then, and in each iteration, a majority have told CBS interviewers that criticism is okay.

Nearly two-thirds of those surveyed by Zogby International in mid-March 2003 said they would never participate in an anti-war demonstration or peace rally. Fourteen percent said they had done so, and 18 percent said they had done so, but would not in the future. When asked by Gallup/CNN/USA Today interviewers on March 22-23, 2003 whether they had attended a protest or made some public display of opposition to the war with Iraq, 5 percent said they had. Twenty-one percent said they had attended a rally or made some display of support for the war. An ABC News/Washington Post poll from March 23, 2003 put the number that had attended an anti-war demonstration at 2 percent, while 1 percent said they had attended a pro-war one.

- These days, if someone disagrees with the president’s decisions on military issues, do you think it’s okay to criticize him publicly, or should people not publicly criticize the president on military issues?

		Okay To Criticize	Not Okay To Criticize
Oct. 8, 2001	CBS News	41	54
Nov. 13-14, 2001	CBS News	55	40
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	58	39
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	60	37
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	64	32
Feb. 5-6, 2003	CBS News	62	34
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	54	41
Dec. 10-13, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	58	37
Dec. 14-15, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	64	30

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “...issues relating to terrorism?”

- These days, if someone disagrees with the president’s proposals on economic or other domestic issues, do you think it’s okay to criticize him publicly, or should people not publicly criticize the president on economic or domestic issues?

		Okay To Criticize	Not Okay To Criticize
Oct. 8, 2001	CBS News	58	38
Nov. 13-14, 2001	CBS News	67	28
Dec. 7-10, 2002	CBS News/NYT	73	22
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	70	26
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	72	26

● Do you think Americans who oppose taking military action should be allowed to carry out peaceful protest rallies or should they not be allowed to do this?

		Should Be Allowed	Should Not Be Allowed
Oct. 1-3, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	71	24

● Do you think Americans who say U.S. policies were to blame for the terrorist attacks should or should not be allowed to express their views in the media?

		Should Be Allowed	Should Not Be Allowed
Oct. 1-3, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	75	18

● Do you think the government should permit continued anti-war protests in this country under the free-speech guarantees of the Constitution, or that they should ban protests in order to support the U.S. military operation in Afghanistan?

		Should Not Be Banned	Should Be Banned
Oct. 11-12, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	71	23

● Do you think Americans who oppose the war should be able to hold protest marches and rallies or does that hurt the war effort?

		Should Be Able	Hurts War Effort
Mar. 20-21, 2003	CBS News/NYT	64	27
Mar. 22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	59	29
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	57	32

● Which better expresses your own opinion - people have the right to demonstrate peacefully against the war and it's a sign of a healthy democracy when they do so, or in wartime it's better for the country to appear united, so opponents of the war should not hold antiwar demonstrations?

		Right To Demonstrate	Should Not Demonstrate
Mar. 23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	60	37

(If Should Not Demonstrate) Do you think the antiwar demonstrations should or should not be permitted as long as the United States is at war with Iraq?

		Permit	Don't Permit
Mar. 23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	54	43

● There have been anti-war demonstrations in the U.S. and around the world against the possibility of U.S. military action in Iraq. Have you or anyone you know participated in any anti-war demonstrations, or not? (If Yes) Did you participate in any anti-war demonstrations or was it someone you knew?

		I Participated	Someone I Know	No Participation
Jan. 30-Feb. 2, 2003	L.A. Times	3	7	90

- In the last few weeks, have you participated in any of the recent anti-war protests?

Mar. 11-12, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Yes 3	No 97
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- Have you or would you ever participate in an anti-war demonstration or peace rally?

Mar. 14-15, 2003	Zogby International	Have Participated 14	Have, Never Would In Future 18	Would Never 64
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NOTE: When broken down by party, 21 percent of Independents, 17 percent of Democrats, and 5 percent of Republicans said they had participated in such rallies; 26 percent of Democrats, 16 percent of Independents, and 11 percent of Republicans said they had but would not in the future; and 52 percent of Democrats, 58 percent of Independents, and 83 percent of Republicans said they would never participate.

- As a result of the beginning of the war in the Persian Gulf, have you...attended a protest, or made some public display of opposition to the war?

Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Yes 5	No 95
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- As a result of the beginning of the war in the Persian Gulf, have you...attended a rally in support of the war, or made some public display of support for the war?

Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Yes 21	No 78
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NOTE: In an April 2003 Rocky Mountain Poll of Arizona adults, 31 percent of respondents said they had made a friend over the war in Iraq. Two percent said they had ended a friendship over the war.

- On another subject, have you yourself attended any anti-war demonstrations, or have you attended any pro-war demonstrations, since the war with Iraq began?

Mar. 23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	Anti-War 2	Pro-War 1	None 96
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- There have been anti- and pro-war demonstrations in the U.S. and around the world about U.S. military action in Iraq. Have you participated in any demonstrations or expressed your opinions through e-mails, or sent letters to any congressional representatives, or have you done something else to show your support or opposition to U.S. military action in Iraq, or have you not done any of those things?

Apr. 2-3, 2003	LA Times	Showed Opposition 6	Showed Support 11	Did None 82
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● In recent days, some people protesting the war have tied up traffic in major cities. Does this type of protest make you...more sympathetic to the protestors' cause, less sympathetic to the protestors' cause, or does it not make any difference to you either way?

Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	More Sympathetic 5	Less Sympathetic 67	No Difference 27
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● Have the antiwar demonstrations in the United States and other countries made you more likely to oppose the war, more likely to support the war, or haven't they changed your opinion of the war one way or another?

Mar. 23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	Support 7	Oppose 20	No Change 71
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● Do you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of anti-war protestors?

Mar. 25-26, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Favorable 23	Unfavorable 63
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● Do you believe it is unpatriotic to protest any actions the U.S. may take in response to the terrorist attacks, or not?

Sep. 21-22, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Not Unpatriotic 50	Unpatriotic 47
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● Which comes closer to your view: people have the right to express their opinion in protests against military action, or people should rally around the country in times like this and not protest military action, regardless of their personal beliefs?

Sep. 21-22, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Right To Protest 49	Should Not Protest 49
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● Do you think people in this country who feel the military action in Afghanistan is wrong should continue to protest, or that they should stop protests now that U.S. military forces are engaged in combat?

Oct. 11-12, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	Continue Protests 43	Stop Protests 53
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● Do you think the Americans who are protesting against the war are acting unpatriotic during a time of national crisis, or acting appropriately by expressing their opinions?

Oct. 17-18, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Expressing Opinions 59	Acting Unpatriotic 33
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● Thinking about America's war in Afghanistan, which comes closer to your own point of view...it's wrong for Americans to publicly criticize the government's policy during a time of war or it's as important as ever that people speak their minds, even if they disagree with the government's policy.?

Jan. 2-23, 2002	Public Agenda	Speak Mind 72	Wrong To Criticize 24
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- Students and others have recently staged protests opposing a U.S. war against Iraq. Do you think that people who protest against war in Iraq are loyal Americans or not?

Dec. 12-15, 2002	L.A. Times	Loyal 70	Not Loyal 18
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- Do you think Democratic presidential candidates who oppose the war with Iraq should speak out at this time or does that hurt the war effort?

Mar. 22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	Should Speak Out 32	Hurts War Effort 55
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- Have you heard too much, too little, or the right amount about the views of Americans who oppose the war in Iraq?

		Too Much	Right Amount	Too Little
Feb. 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	24	30	42
Mar. 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	40	36	17

**IRAQ: THE INVASION BEGINS:** *In July 2003, half of those surveyed told Fox News/Opinion Dynamics interviewers that they personally knew someone in the Armed Forces or National Guard who had been called up for military action against Iraq. In early April 2003, 29 percent told ABC News/Washington Post interviewers that they had close friends or family members currently serving in Iraq or elsewhere in the Middle East as part of the U.S. forces there.*

*The polls taken immediately after President Bush’s ultimatum to Saddam Hussein on March 17 showed strong support for U.S. action. Around 20 percent were strongly opposed. Majorities of Americans felt the United States had done what it could to gain international support.*

*A later section of this document (“Rally ’Round the Flag” Effect) compares Bush’s support to support for previous presidents after they made decisions to deploy U.S. troops.*

- Do you favor or oppose the U.S. war with Iraq?

		Favor	Oppose
Mar. 20, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	76	20
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	72	25
Mar. 24-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	27
Mar. 29-30, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	70	27
Apr. 5-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	70	27
Apr. 7-8, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	68	28
Apr. 10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	72	22
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	26
Oct. 24-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	43
Nov. 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	46

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “Do you approve or disapprove of the United States’ decision to go to war with Iraq?”

- Do you approve or disapprove of the United States’ decision to go to war with Iraq in March 2003?

		Approve	Disapprove
Dec. 5-7, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	39
Dec. 15-16, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	37
Jan. 2-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	35
Dec. 17-19, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	51

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “Do you approve or disapprove of the United States’ decision to go to war with Iraq in March of this year?”

- Do you personally know anyone in the Armed Forces or National Guard who has been or is being sent to the Middle East for the military action in Iraq?

		Yes	No/ Not Sure
Feb. 11-12, 2003*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	50	50
Jul. 29–30, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	52	48

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “potential military action against Iraq.”

- Do you have any close personal friends or family members who are currently serving in Iraq or elsewhere in the Middle East as part of U.S. forces there?

		Yes	No
Apr. 2-6, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	29	70

NOTE: In August 2003, Stars and Stripes conducted a survey of service members in Iraq. The results can be found at <http://www.stripes.com/morale/dayonestats.html> In January and February 2004, The Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard Unity conducted a survey of military families. The results can be found at [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/polls/vault/stories/poll\\_militaryfamilies.pdf](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/polls/vault/stories/poll_militaryfamilies.pdf) In March 2004, the U.S. army released findings from the first-ever soldier well-being study in a combat arena. The results can be found at [http://www4.army.mil/ocpa/read.php?story\\_id\\_key=5802](http://www4.army.mil/ocpa/read.php?story_id_key=5802). In March and April 2004, CBS News conducted a survey of military families.

- Do you think the United States has done all it can to solve the crisis with Iraq diplomatically, or not?

		Yes	No
Mar. 17, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	68	28

- Do you think the Bush administration has or has not done enough to try to win support from other countries for taking military action against Iraq?

		Yes	No
Mar. 17, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	72	25

- Do you support or oppose the United States having gone to war with Iraq? Do you support/oppose it strongly or only somewhat?”

		Support Strongly	Support Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly
Feb. 21, 2002*	ABC News/Wash Post	46	21	18	12
Dec. 12-15, 2002*	ABC News/Wash Post	41	20	15	20
Jan. 16-20, 2003*	ABC News	40	17	16	25
Jan. 27, 2003*	ABC News	40	21	15	21
Jan. 28, 2003*	ABC News/Wash Post	43	19	13	20
Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 2003*	ABC News/Wash Post	48	19	14	18
Feb. 5, 2003*	ABC News/Wash Post	45	22	11	17
Feb. 6-9, 2003*	ABC News/Wash Post	46	21	14	17
Feb. 19-23, 2003*	ABC News/Wash Post	42	21	13	18
Mar. 5-9, 2003*	ABC News	47	18	10	20
Mar. 17, 2003+	ABC News/Wash Post	54	16	8	19
Mar. 20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	53	19	8	18
Mar. 23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	55	17	10	16
Mar. 27, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	58	16	8	16
Apr. 3, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	58	15	8	16
Apr. 6, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	57	20	7	10
Apr. 9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	63	17	6	12

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “Would you favor or oppose having U.S. forces take military action against Iraq to force Saddam Hussein from power?” +Question wording was, “Would you support or oppose the United States going to war with Iraq?”

- Do you support or oppose the United States taking military action to disarm Iraq and remove Iraqi President Saddam Hussein? Is that strongly support/oppose or only somewhat strongly/oppose?

		Support Strongly	Support, Not Strongly	Oppose, Not Strongly	Oppose Strongly
Feb. 11-12, 2003*	Fox News/Op Dyn	51	18	10	13
Feb. 25-26, 2003*	Fox News/Op Dyn	51	20	9	15
Mar. 11-12, 2003*	Fox News/Op Dyn	54	17	6	14
Mar. 25-26, 2003	Fox News/Op Dyn	66	12	8	10
Apr. 8-9, 2003	Fox News/Op Dyn	68	13	6	10
Apr. 22-23, 2003+	Fox News/Op Dyn	61	15	9	11

NOTE: \*\*Question wording was, "Do you support or oppose U.S. military action to remove President Saddam Hussein?"  
+Question wording was, "...having taken military action?"

- Do you approve or disapprove of the United States' decision to go to war with Iraq? Do you approve/disapprove strongly, or not strongly?

		Approve Strongly	Approve, Not Strongly	Disapprove, Not Strongly	Disapprove, Strongly
Mar. 20, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	16	5	15
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	13	8	17
Apr. 5-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	14	8	19

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "Do you approve or disapprove of the United States's decision to go to war with Iraq?"

- Do you think that the U.S. should or should not use military action involving ground troops to attempt to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?

		Should, Strongly	Should, Somewhat	Should Not, Somewhat	Should Not, Strongly
Oct. 23-24, 2002	Harris Interactive	40	15	9	25
Nov. 13-14, 2002	Harris Interactive	43	14	8	25
Dec. 17-18, 2002	Harris Interactive	40	15	14	23
Jan. 15-16, 2003	Harris Interactive	43	17	11	22
Feb. 6, 2003	Harris Interactive	45	14	10	24
Feb. 19-20, 2003	Harris Interactive	41	13	12	25
Mar. 27, 2003*	Harris Interactive	53	17	8	18

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "In general, do you approve or disapprove of current U.S. military actions in Iraq?"

- Do you support or oppose the Bush administration's decision to take military action against Iraq at this time? Do you support/oppose the decision strongly, or do you support/oppose it somewhat?

		Support Strongly	Support Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly
Aug. 22-25, 2002*	LA Times	47	12	9	20
Apr. 2-3, 2003	LA Times	58	19	6	15

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "Do you think the United States should take military action in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq, or not?"



- Do you approve or disapprove of the United States taking military action against Iraq to try and remove Saddam Hussein from power?

		Approve	Disapprove
Mar. 17, 2003	CBS News	69	28
Mar. 20, 2003	CBS News/NYT	74	23
Mar. 20-21, 2003	CBS News/NYT	76	20
Mar. 22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	76	22
Mar. 23, 2003	CBS News/NYT	80	17
Mar. 24, 2003	CBS News/NYT	75	23
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	77	19
Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	78	17
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	78	19
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	78	19

- Do you think it was right for the United States to attack Iraq now, should the United States have waited longer before attacking Iraq, or should the United States never have attacked Iraq?

		Right To Attack	Should Have Waited	Should Never Have
Mar. 20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	62	23	11

- Whatever your feelings about the Iraq war now, do you think the United States should have begun military action against Iraq when it did, or do you think the United States should have waited longer to try to achieve its goals in Iraq diplomatically?

		Should Have Begun	Should Have Waited
Mar. 27-28, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	63	32
Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	70	26

- Who do you think is currently winning the war in the Persian Gulf - the U.S. and its allies, Iraq, or neither side?

		U.S.	Iraq	Neither
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	84	*	14
Mar. 24-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	74	1	21
Mar. 29-30, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	74	1	23

- Who do you think is currently winning the war in Iraq - U.S. and coalition allies or Iraq?

		U.S.	Iraq
Mar. 25-26, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	84	2

●How would you say the war with Iraq is going for the United States and its allies - very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?

		Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Too Well	Not At All Well
Mar. 20-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	65	25	2	1
Mar. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	45	41	6	2
Mar. 25-27, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	39	46	8	2
Mar. 28- Apr. 1, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	39	46	8	2
Apr. 2-7, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	55	37	3	2
Apr. 8, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	59	32	4	3
Apr. 9, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	61	32	3	3
Apr. 10-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	61	32	3	1

●How would you say the war with Iraq has gone for the U.S. so far - very well, moderately well, moderately badly, or very badly?

		Very Well	Moderately Well	Moderately Badly	Very Badly
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	37	5	3
Mar. 24-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	34	51	9	3
Mar. 29-30, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	33	52	11	3
Apr. 5-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	40	5	2
Apr. 7-8, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	42	6	3
Apr. 9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	32	1	3
Apr. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	33	4	2

●How would you say the war with Iraq is going for the United States and its allies - very well, fairly well, not too well, or not well at all?

		Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Too Well	Not At All Well
Mar. 23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	35	50	10	6
Mar. 27, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	34	49	9	5
Apr. 3, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	47	44	3	3
Apr. 9, 2003	ABC News/ Wash Post	66	30	3	*

●How well do you think the war with Iraq is going for the United States and coalition allies - very well, somewhat well, not very well, or not well at all?

		Very Well	Somewhat Well	Not Very Well	Not At All Well
Mar. 25-26, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	37	46	9	2
Apr. 8-9, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	64	28	3	1

● What is your impression of how the war in Iraq is going for the United States right now - very well, somewhat well, somewhat badly, or very badly?

		Very Well	Somewhat Well	Somewhat Badly	Very Badly
Mar. 23, 2003	CBS News/NYT	44	44	7	2
Mar. 24, 2003	CBS News/NYT	32	52	11	2
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	34	51	9	3
Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	41	48	6	2

- In your opinion, has the military campaign against Iraq been successful, unsuccessful, or somewhere in between?

		Successful	Unsuccessful	Somewhere in Between
Mar. 27, 2003	Harris Interactive	52	8	37
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	39	13	46
Sep. 3-4, 2003	Harris Interactive	32	13	53
Nov. 18-19, 2003	Harris Interactive	25	20	53
Dec. 30, 2003-Jan. 1, 2004	Harris Interactive	43	11	44
Apr. 8, 2004	Harris Interactive	26	24	49
Sep. 20-26, 2004	Harris Interactive	24	43	33

- Do you think the U.S. and its allies have won the war with Iraq, or is it too early to tell?

		Have Won	Too Early To Tell
Apr. 4-7, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	24	74
Apr. 8, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	27	69
Apr. 9, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	29	69
Apr. 10-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	41	57

- Generally speaking, would you say the war in Iraq has gone better than you expected, worse than you expected, or about what you expected?

		Better Than Expected	About As Expected	Worse Than Expected
Mar. 29-30, 2003	NBC/WSJ	25	62	10

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling the situation with Iraq and Saddam Hussein?

		Approve	Disapprove
Mar. 17, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	64	29
Mar. 20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	65	29
Mar. 23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	71	26
Mar. 27, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	69	26

- Do you think the Bush administration has a well-thought-out plan for using military force against Iraq, or not?

		Yes	No
Mar. 27-28, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	74	19

- Do you think George W. Bush should have waited for specific United Nations approval of military action before issuing tonight's ultimatum, or not?

		Yes	No
Mar. 17, 2003	CBS News	32	65

● In a speech tonight, Bush said the United States will go to war with Iraq unless Saddam Hussein and other Iraqi leaders leave their country within 48 hours. If they don't leave, would you support or oppose the United States going to war with Iraq right after the 48-hour deadline?

Mar. 17, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	Support 72	Oppose 24
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● Do you approve or disapprove of Bush's decision to go to war if Saddam Hussein does not leave Iraq in the next 48 hours?

Mar. 17, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Approve 66	Disapprove 30
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NOTE: When the 66 percent who approved of Bush's decision were asked, "Which comes closer to your view: you support going to war because you think it is the best thing for the U.S. or you are not sure if going to war is the best thing to do, but you support Bush's decision because he is president," 44 percent said it was the right thing to do, 21 percent said they were supporting Bush because he is president, and 1 percent were unsure.

● Does it matter if Saddam Hussein is alive or dead?

		Yes	No
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	56	42
Jul. 8-9, 2003	CBS News	67	30
Aug. 11-12, 2003*	CBS News	72	26

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "Does it matter whether the U.S. captures or kills Saddam Hussein or not?"

***PROPER USE OF FORCE IN IRAQ?:*** *In most polls taken in March 2003, majorities told pollsters that the United States has used the right amount of military force in the war against Iraq. Of the remainder, more said that we had not been aggressive enough than said we had been too aggressive. Once Americans make the decision to go to war, they want to prevail.*

- In the military action against Iraq so far, do you think the U.S. military has used the right amount of force against Iraq, has used too much force, or should the U.S. military use even more force against Iraq?

		Too Much	Right Amount	Should Use More
Mar. 22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	10	58	20
Mar. 23, 2003	CBS News/NYT	5	53	33
Mar. 24, 2003	CBS News/NYT	7	45	36
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	5	37	48
Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	6	51	36

- Do you think U.S. military attacks on Iraq have been too aggressive, not aggressive enough, or about right?

		Too Aggressive	About Right	Not Aggressive Enough
Mar. 25-26, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	6	58	29

- In carrying out the ground war, do you think the United States military is being too aggressive, not aggressive enough, or about right? (Asked of half sample)

		Too Aggressive	About Right	Not Aggressive Enough
Mar. 27, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	5	62	30

- In carrying out the air war, do you think the United States military is being too aggressive, not aggressive enough, or about right? (Asked of half sample)

		Too Aggressive	About Right	Not Aggressive Enough
Mar. 27, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	4	61	28

- Please tell me which one of the following two options you would choose for U.S. military action in the Iraq war, if it were up to you...more aggressive military action that would increase the risk of high Iraqi civilian casualties but might lead to a shorter war or more safeguards that reduce the risk of high Iraqi civilian casualties but might lead to a longer war?

		More Aggressive	More Safeguards
Mar. 27-28, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	40	50

- Which comes closer to your view about the U.S. military’s approach to avoiding Iraqi civilian casualties...the U.S. military is taking too many precautions and as a result are putting U.S. troops at unnecessary risk, the U.S. military is taking too few precautions and are causing unnecessary Iraqi civilian deaths, or do you think the U.S. is taking about the right approach in avoiding civilian casualties?

		Too Few	About Right	Too Many
Mar. 29-30, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	53	35

- What do you worry about more when the United States uses military force, that the U.S. doesn’t do enough to avoid civilian casualties or that the U.S. doesn’t go far enough to achieve military victory?

			Civilian Casualties	Military Victory
Mar. 13-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center		32	47

**IRAQ: THE PEACE:** *Eighty-four percent of those surveyed told Gallup/CNN/USA Today interviewers on April 5-6, 2003 that rebuilding Iraq and establishing a government there would be more difficult for the United States than winning the war; just 13 percent said winning the war would be more difficult. Twenty-five percent told Pew Research Center interviewers on April 9 that it would be easy for the U.S. and its allies to install a stable government there; 73 percent said it would be difficult.*

*Americans are generally wary of foreign entanglements, and they worry about long-term commitments overseas. That may be why some, but not all, survey questions show that Americans wanted the United Nations to take the lead role in post-war Iraq. The mixed verdict on the U.S. and U.N. roles in polls conducted in April and May 2003 probably arose because Americans had not thought much about the next phase in Iraq and were pulled in one direction or another depending on how a question was worded.*

*In polls taken before the January 30, 2005 elections in Iraq, Americans were not optimistic about how things were going in Iraq. Optimism ticked up a little after the elections. People aren't ready to pull our troops out. A four-part Gallup, CNN, USA Today question from February 2005 found that around 17 percent wanted our troops out now, while 10 percent said we should send more. Late February 2005 questions from Pew and CBS that ask whether we should keep troops there until a stable government is established or bring troops home as soon as possible show similar results. Around 55 percent say stay; around 40 percent leave now. Other questions show support for a gradual pull back.*

*In late February 2005, 43 percent told Gallup, CNN, USA Today interviewers that the U.S. and its allies were winning the war in Iraq, 48 percent said neither side, and 7 percent the insurgents were.*

**The Peace**

- Who do you think is currently winning the war in Iraq – the U.S. and its allies, the insurgents in Iraq, or neither side?

		U.S. and Allies	Insurgents In Iraq	Neither Side
Oct. 22-24, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	10	53
Nov. 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	7	46
Feb. 25-27, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	7	48

- Do you think approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. has handled the situation in Iraq the past few months?

		Approve	Disapprove
Apr. 22-23, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	80	18

Oct. 24-26, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	50
Nov. 14-16, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	55
Dec. 5-7, 2003#	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	51
Dec. 15-16, 2003#	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	34
Jan. 2-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	38
Dec. 17-19, 2004^	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	39	58

NOTE: \* question wording read “Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. has handled the situation in Iraq since the major fighting ended?” # question wording read “Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. has handled the situation with Iraq since the major fighting ended in April?” ^ question wording read “Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. has handled the situation in Iraq in the past few months?”

- Do you think the United States will – or will not – be able to establish a stable democratic government in Iraq?

		Yes Will	No, Will Not
Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	57
Nov. 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	49

- From what you’ve seen and read, how good a job is the new Iraqi government doing running the country? Is it doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job?

		Excellent	Good	Only Fair	Poor
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	4	19	41	14
August 5-10, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	2	17	47	18

- The United States and its allies have now handed over sovereignty to the new Iraqi government. Do you feel that this will or will not...?

July 12-16, 2004	Harris Interactive	Will	Will Not
Lead to a reasonably free and democratic system of government in Iraq		29	34
Be a model which will help spread freedom and democracy in the Middle East		22	44
Enable most U.S. Troops to leave Iraq in the next year		20	58
Reduce the number of attacks against U.S. Troops		18	65

- Under the new Iraqi government, do you think things in Iraq are getting better or getting worse?

		Getting Better	Getting Worse
July 20-21, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	37	35

- Now that there has been an official transfer of power in Iraq, do you think the terrorist attacks against Americans and other foreigners will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

		Increase	Decrease	Stay Same
June 28-July 8, 2004	NAES	30	8	57



- Do you think that Iraq will or will not be able to establish and maintain a stable, democratic government?

		Will	Will Not	Not Sure
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	27	51	11
June 25-28, 2004	NBC/WSJ	31	45	14
Jan. 13-17, 2005	NBC/WSJ	38	45	9

NOTE: asked of registered voters.

- Which do you think the Iraqi people are feeling right now - grateful to the United States for getting rid of Saddam Hussein or resentful of the United States for being in Iraq right now?

		Grateful	Resentful
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	53	26
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	46	31
Jul. 8-9, 2003	CBS News	34	37
Oct. 20-21, 2003*	CBS News	41	38
Dec. 21-22, 2003*	CBS News	48	30
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	38	48
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	40	43

- Which of the following do you think will be more difficult for the United States – winning the war and taking control of Iraq, or rebuilding Iraq and establishing a new government there once the war is over?

		-----More difficult-----	
		Winning War	Rebuilding Iraq
Apr. 5-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	84

- Do you think that the war in Iraq is generally over with most of the challenges behind us, or do you think that most of the challenges in the war remain ahead?

		Challenges Behind Us	Challenges Remain Ahead
Apr. 12-13, 2003	NBC/WSJ	22	71
May 17-19, 2003	NBC/WSJ	26	70
Jul. 26-28, 2003	NBC/WSJ	18	75
Dec. 14, 2003	NBC/WSJ	20	71
Jan. 10-12, 2004	NBC/WSJ	21	72

- Do you think that in Iraq the greatest challenges are behind us or do you think the greatest challenges remain ahead?

		Challenges Behind Us	Challenges Remain Ahead
Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	16	80

- Which of these comes closer to your opinion: 1) The U.S. has already completed its main mission in Iraq; or 2) The U.S. has still not completed its main mission in Iraq?

		Already Complete	Not Complete
Nov. 10-12, 2003	CBS News	26	69
Dec. 21-22, 2003	CBS News	32	61

- Thinking about the current situation in Iraq, do you, personally, feel worried about what lies ahead in Iraq?

		Yes	No
Apr. 9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	44

- How easy do you think it will be for the U.S. and its allies to install a stable democratic government in Iraq? Will it be very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult, or very difficult?

		Very Easy	Somewhat Easy	Somewhat Difficult	Very Difficult
Apr. 9, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	5	20	57	16
Apr. 10-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	2	16	58	21

- Do you think it will be very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult, or very difficult to create a stable democratic government in Iraq?

		Very Easy	Somewhat Easy	Somewhat Difficult	Very Difficult
Apr. 8, 2003	Harris	5	6	34	53

- Regardless of whether you think taking military action in Iraq was the right thing to do, would you say that the U.S. is very likely to succeed, somewhat likely to succeed, not very likely to succeed, or not at all likely to succeed in establishing a democratic government there?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Very Likely	Not At All Likely
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News/NYT	14	44	27	13
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	10	40	31	15

- How much responsibility do you think the U.S. should have for establishing a stable democratic government in Iraq? Do you think the U.S. should be completely responsible, mostly responsible, only a little responsible, or not responsible at all?

		Completely Responsible	Mostly Responsible	A Little Responsible	Not Responsible
Apr. 10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	11	46	28	11

- Do you think it will be very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult, or very difficult to create a stable democratic government in Iraq?

		Very Easy	Somewhat Easy	Somewhat Difficult	Very Difficult
Apr. 10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	4	12	51	31

- Do you think the United States is or is not making significant progress toward establishing a democratic government in Iraq?

		Making Significant Progress	Not Making Significant Progress
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	38	57
Jun. 17-20, 2004*	ABC News/Wash Post	50	48
Dec. 16-19, 2004*	ABC News/Wash Post	48	44

Note: \*Asked of half sample.

- Which of these would you say is the United States' most important accomplishment in Iraq so far: 1) Liberating the Iraqi people, or 2) stopping Iraq from developing weapons of mass destruction, or 3) showing the world that the U.S. will take pre-emptive military action when it thinks it is necessary?

		Liberated People	Stopped Weapons	Pre-emptive Action
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	40	18	32

- Looking ahead, which of these would you say should be the United States' most important priority in Iraq now: 1) making sure Iraq has stability, 2) finding weapons of mass destruction in Iraq; or 3) finding Saddam Hussein and other members of his family?

		Stability	Finding Weapons	Finding Hussein
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	59	15	16

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...most Iraqi people are feeling right now ?"

- At this point do you think the majority of the Iraqi people want the U.S. to stay for now or leave?

		Stay For Now	Leave
Jul. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	53	42
Sep. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	47	50
Nov. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	58	39
Mar. 2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	47	51

### How Things Are Going In Iraq

- How would you say things are going for the U.S. in its efforts to bring stability and order to Iraq? Would you say things are going very well, somewhat well, somewhat badly, or very badly?

		Very Well	Somewhat Well	Somewhat Badly	Very Badly
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	11	61	19	5
Jul. 8-9, 2003	CBS News	6	54	25	11
Aug. 11-12, 2003	CBS News	6	47	28	13
Aug. 26-28, 2003	CBS News	5	46	31	16
Sep. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	5	44	29	18
Oct. 20-21, 2003	CBS News	5	49	31	12
Nov. 10-12, 2003	CBS News	5	42	28	22
Dec. 10-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	6	41	33	18
Dec. 14-15, 2003	CBS News/NYT	12	53	21	10
Dec. 21-22, 2003	CBS News	8	57	24	9

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News	4	35	33	26
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	4	34	31	29
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	3	34	38	22
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	2	38	31	26
July 11-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	4	39	28	28
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	5	41	32	19
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News/NYT	4	42	26	25
Sept. 20-22, 2004	CBS News	5	37	25	31
Oct 9-11, 2004	CBS News/NYT	5	40	26	27
Oct 14-17, 2004	CBS News/NYT	5	38	27	28
Oct. 28-30, 2004	CBS News/NYT	7	40	25	25
Oct. 29-Nov. 1, 2004	CBS News	7	39	26	26
Nov. 18-21, 2004	CBS News/NYT	5	40	26	27
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS News/NYT	5	36	28	29
Feb. 24-28, 2005	CBS News/NYT	10	43	29	18

● In general, how would you say things are going for the U.S. in Iraq now that the major fighting has ended - very well, moderately well, moderately badly, or very badly?

		Very Well	Moderately Well	Moderately Badly	Very Badly
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	21	64	12	2
May 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	30	56	10	3
May 30-Jun. 1, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	11	59	22	7
Jun. 27-29, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	5	51	29	13
Jul. 18-20, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	48	30	15
Jul. 25-27, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	46	28	15
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	44	30	19
Sep. 8-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	41	31	21
Oct. 6-8, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	36	34	24
Nov. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	4	34	34	27
Mar. 5-7, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	46	28	15
Apr. 5-8, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	5	30	31	33
May 1-3, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USAToday	4	33	32	30
May 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	7	35	26	31
Jun. 3-6, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	34	35	25
July 8-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	5	35	30	29
Aug. 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	5	40	28	25
Sep. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	4	42	27	25
Dec. 5-8, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	34	26	33
Jan. 7-9, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	5	35	29	30
Feb. 4-6, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	40	28	18

Note: Question wording changed slightly.

● When he talks about how things are going for the U.S. in Iraq today, do you think George W. Bush is telling the entire truth, is mostly telling the truth but is hiding something, or is mostly lying?

		Telling Entire Truth	Mostly Telling Truth But Hiding Something	Mostly Lying
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News/NYT	20	51	24

●How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going...very well, fairly well, not too well, or not at all well?

		Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Too Well	Not At All Well
Jun. 19-Jul. 2, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	23	52	16	5
Jul. 14-Aug. 5, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	19	43	24	11
Sep. 17-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	15	47	26	9
Oct. 15-19, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	16	44	25	11
Dec. 15-17, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	28	47	16	6
Dec. 19, 2003-					
Jan. 4, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	23	47	18	7
Feb. 11-16, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	17	46	23	11
Mar. 17-21, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	16	45	26	11
Apr. 1-4, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	14	43	26	13
Apr. 21-25, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	12	43	26	15
May 3-9, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	10	36	32	19
Jun. 3-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	16	41	25	14
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	13	42	26	16
August 5-10, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	12	41	28	16
Sept. 8-14, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	12	40	26	18
Ocr. 15-19, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	13	38	26	17
Dec. 1-16, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	10	40	28	18
Jan. 5-9, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	9	39	29	20
Feb. 16-21, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	14	40	25	17

● Generally speaking, would you say the war in Iraq has gone better than you expected, worse than you expected, or about what you expected?

		Better Than Expected	About As Expected	Worse Than Expected
Mar. 6-8, 2004	NBC/WSJ	16	53	29
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	8	49	41

● How well do you think U.S. efforts to establish security and rebuild Iraq have gone since major combat ended on May 1...very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not at all well?

		Very Well	Somewhat Well	Not Too Well	Not At All Well
Jul. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	12	39	28	16
Jul. 24-25, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	16	41	26	14
Aug. 21-22, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	13	39	27	17
Sep. 11-12, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	13	40	26	16
Oct. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	15	37	26	18
Oct. 30-31, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	13	38	22	21
Nov. 6-7, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	10	35	30	21
Dec. 18-19, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	12	46	24	12

●How do you think the process of rebuilding Iraq is going - very well, somewhat well, not very well, or not at all well?

		Very Well	Somewhat Well	Not Very Well	Not At All Well
Jun. 18-25, 2003	PIPA	1	39	40	13
Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	3	35	44	13
Aug. 26-Sep. 3, 2003	PIPA	4	30	46	18
Nov. 21-30, 2003	PIPA	4	27	46	20

- How good a job do you think the U.S. has done with the situation in Iraq now that the major fighting has ended?

		Very Good	Good	Poor	Very Poor
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	19	53	20	5
Sep. 3-4, 2003	Harris Interactive	20	51	17	9

- How confident are you that the United States will successfully establish a stable democratic form of government in Iraq over the long term? Are you very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not at all confident?

		Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Too Confident	Not At All Confident
May 1-2, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	21	42	19	14
Jul. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	15	39	24	16
Jul. 24-25, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	21	40	23	13
Aug. 21-22, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	18	37	21	19
Sep. 11-12, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	17	38	23	20
Oct. 9-10, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	17	35	24	19
Nov. 6-7, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	14	36	26	21
Dec. 18-19, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	19	38	23	15
Jan. 8-9, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	19	38	22	17
Apr. 8-9, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	15	35	24	22

- Do you support or oppose the current U.S. military presence in Iraq? Do you support/oppose it strongly or somewhat?

		Support Strongly	Support Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly
Jul. 9-10, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	48	26	10	15
Aug. 7-11, 2003	Wash Post	46	24	10	17
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	45	22	13	17
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	49	21	10	17

- In general, do you approve or disapprove of current military policy in Iraq?

		Support Strongly	Support Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly
Jul.16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	29	26	16	21
Sep. 3-4, 2003	Harris Interactive	32	22	13	25
Nov. 18-19, 2003	Harris Interactive	29	21	13	31
Dec. 30-31, 2003	Harris Interactive	37	22	11	25
Apr. 8, 2004	Harris Interactive	30	18	12	33

- Do you approve or disapprove of the United States' current occupation of Iraq?

		Approve	Disapprove
Oct. 20-21, 2003	CBS News	52	42
Dec. 21-22, 2003	CBS News	57	38

- In your opinion, has the military campaign against Iraq been successful, unsuccessful, or somewhere in between?

		Successful	In Between	Unsuccessful
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	39	46	13
Sep. 3-4, 2003	Harris Interactive	32	53	13
Nov. 18-19, 2003	Harris Interactive	25	53	20
Dec. 30-31, 2003	Harris Interactive	43	44	11

● Do you think the U.S. is winning the war in Iraq, or do you think the anti-U.S. insurgents in Iraq are winning the war, or is neither side winning the war in Iraq?

		U.S. Winning	Neither Side Winning	Insurgents Winning
Nov. 15-18, 2003	L.A. Times	37	52	4
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	29	58	10

### What About U.S. Troops?

● Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

		Keep Troops In Iraq	Bring Troops Home
Sep. 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	64	32
Oct. 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	58	39
Jan. 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	63	32
Apr. 1-4, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	50	44
Apr. 21-25, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	53	40
May 3-9, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	53	42
Jun. 3-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	51	44
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	53	43
August 5-10, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	54	42
Sep. 8-14, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	54	40
Oct. 15-19, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	57	36
Dec. 1-16, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	56	40
Jan. 5-9, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	54	41
Feb. 16-21, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	55	42

NOTE: Question wording in July and August of 2004 read “ ... keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized...”

● What do you think the United States should do about its number of troops in Iraq: send more, keep the same number, withdraw some, or withdraw all troops from Iraq?

		Send More	Keep Same Number	Withdraw Some	Withdraw All Troops
Feb. 14-16, 2005	Marist	12	24	23	33

● Do you favor keeping a large number of U.S. troops in Iraq until there is a stable government there or bringing most of our troops home in the next year??

		Keep Large Number of Troops Until Stable Govt. Is There	Bring Most Troops Home Now
Oct. 2003	Harris Interactive	46	47
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	45	51
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	42	51
Jun. 2004	Harris Interactive	39	56
Aug. 2004	Harris Interactive	40	54
Sept. 2004	Harris Interactive	38	54

Oct. 2004	Harris Interactive	47	50
Nov. 2004	Harris Interactive	50	47
Feb. 2005	Harris Interactive	39	59

- Just your best guess, how much longer do you think the U.S. will have a significant number of troops in Iraq - less than a year, one to two years, three to five years, six to ten years, or longer than ten years?

		Less than a year	One-two years	Three-five years	Six-ten years	Longer than that
June 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	28	40	14	9
Feb. 25-27, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	4	29	42	13	9

- Now that elections have been held in Iraq, how much longer do you think the United States should keep a significant number of troops there?

Feb. 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	
Less than a year		26
One to two years		16
Two to four years		8
As long as it takes		26
Bring all troops home now		17

- Do you think most Iraqi citizens want U.S. troops to stay until things are more stabilized or do Iraqis want U.S. troops to leave immediately?

		-----Most Iraqi Citizens Want U.S. Troops To-----	
		Stay Until Stabilized	Leave Immediately
Feb. 8-9, 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	53	35

- Which comes closest to your view about what the U.S. should 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 withdraw some troops from Iraq, or the U.S. should withdraw all of its troops from Iraq?

		Send More	Keep As Is Now	Withdraw Some	Withdraw All
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	15	36	32	14
Oct. 24-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	14	27	39	18
Nov. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	17	32	29	19
Dec. 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	22	33	25	17
Dec. 15-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	14	40	27	15
Jan. 2-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	11	40	29	16
Apr. 5-8, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	20	29	18	28
Apr. 15-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	33	25	16	21
May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	25	24	18	29
Jun. 3-6, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	18	30	23	27
Sep. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	21	35	21	18
Jan. 14-16, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	26	21	25
Feb. 4-6, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	38	32	17



- Should the United States troops stay in Iraq as long as it takes to make sure Iraq is a stable democracy, even if that takes a long time, or should U.S. troops leave Iraq as soon as possible, even if Iraq is not completely stable?

		Long As It Takes	Turn Over Control
May 11, 2004	CBS News	38	55
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	45	49
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	54	40
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News/NYT	54	39
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS News/NYT	51	42
Feb. 24-28, 2005	CBS News/NYT	55	40

- When the elections are over at the end of this month, should the U.S. increase its troops to improve security, withdraw some of its troops, withdraw all of its troops, or should the U.S. increase or decrease its troop level only at the request of the newly elected Iraqi government?

		Increase Troops	Withdraw Some Troops	Withdraw All Troops	Increase/Decrease Request of Iraqi Govt.
July 17-21, 2004#	L.A. Times	24	14	44	
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	4	18	19	52

#Question wording was "Now that there is an interim government in place Iraq..."

- How long do you think the United States should maintain a significant number of troops in Iraq after the election: Should it be a few months, or about a year, or one to two years, or longer than two years, or as long as it takes to secure and stabilize the country?

		Out Now	One Year Or Less	One to Two Two Years	Two or More Years
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	7	40	10	39

NOTE: Out now was a volunteered response.

- Do you think the United States will have to send more troops to Iraq in the coming months than are there now, fewer troops, or do you think the number of troops will remain about the same?

		More Troops	Fewer Troops	Remain About The Same
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS/NYT	44	7	47

- Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

		Keep Troops There	Bring Them Home
April 1-4, 2004	NAES	57	36
May 17-31, 2004	NAES	47	47
Jun. 8-21, 2004	NAES	52	43
Jul. 5-25, 2004	NAES	54	43
Jul. 30- Aug. 5, 2004	NAES	56	39
Aug. 9-Aug. 29, 2004	NAES	55	41
Sept. 3-12, 2004	NAES	57	38
Sept. 21-26, 2004	NAES	58	38
Oct. 1-6, 2004	NAES	67	28
Jan. 11-16, 2005	NAES	46	50

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

- Would you favor or oppose sending additional U.S. troops to Iraq to help with the upcoming elections in Iraq?

Dec. 17-19, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Favor 50	Oppose 48
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- Do you think the United States should keep its military forces in Iraq until civil order is restored there, even if it means continued U.S. military casualties; or do you think the United States should withdraw its military forces from Iraq in order to avoid further U.S. military casualties, even if that means civil order is not restored there?

		Keep Forces	Withdraw Forces
Jul. 9-10, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	72	26
Aug. 20-24, 2003	ABC News	69	27
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	65	32
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	58	38
Nov. 12-16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	62	34
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	66	33
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	58	40
Jun. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	57	42
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	58	39

- If Iraq's elections do take place in January as planned, do you think that the United States should maintain its current troop level in the country to help secure peace and stability, or should the United States reduce its number of troops soon after the Iraqi election?

		Maintain Current Troop Level	Reduce Troop Level
Dec. 9-13, 2004	NBC/WSJ	45	41

- For how long after the fighting stops would you support keeping U.S. military personnel in Iraq to help establish security and rebuild the country...less than one year, one to two years, three to five years, six to ten years, or more than ten years?

		Less Than 1 Year	1-2 Years	3-5 Years	6-10 Years	More Than 10 Years	No Longer (Vol.)
Jul. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	29	28	17	3	6	7
Jul. 24-25, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	31	30	17	4	8	5
Aug. 21-22, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	28	28	18	3	11	5
Apr. 8-9, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	30	23	15	3	11	8
July 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	34	19	13	3	10	10
Oct. 27-29, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	28	22	17	4	12	7

- When it comes to how long American troops should stay in Iraq, which comes closer to your view? Statement A: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq now or as soon as possible. Statement B: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq according to a specified timetable and leave within the next 18 months regardless of the situation at that time. Statement C: American troops should stay as long as necessary to complete the process, even if it takes as long as five years?

		Soon As Possible	Within 18 Months	Long As Necessary
Jul. 26-28, 2003	NBC/WSJ	17	23	58
Sep. 20-22, 2003	NBC/WSJ	21	26	50
Nov. 8-10, 2003	NBC/WSJ	20	28	51
Dec. 13, 2003	NBC/WSJ	21	23	55

Dec. 14, 2003	NBC/WSJ	20	23	55
Jan. 10-12, 2004	NBC/WSJ	19	24	56
Mar. 6-8, 2004	NBC/WSJ	24	26	48
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	25	30	44
June 25-28, 2004	NBC/WSJ	24	31	43
Oct. 16-18, 2004	NBC/WSJ	19	29	49

● As you may know, the number of U.S. military deaths in Iraq will soon surpass 1,000. Which comes closer to your view about what this number of deaths means for the U.S. – it is a tragic loss of life, and it is a sign that the U.S. should intensify its efforts to withdraw troops from Iraq, or it is a tragic loss of life, but it does not mean the U.S. should change its policy toward Iraq?

		Intensify Efforts To Withdraw	Does Not Mean U.S. Should Change Policy Towards Iraq
Aug. 23-25, 2004	CNN/USA Today/Gallup	37	58

● How much longer do you think the United States troops will have to remain in Iraq– less than one year, one to two years, two to five years or longer than five years?

		Less Than a Year	1-2 Years	2-5 Years	Longer Than 5 Years
July 8-9, 2004	CBS News	13	31	31	18
Dec. 14-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	15	34	31	12
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News	8	22	35	26
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	8	27	33	25
June 3-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	17	33	26	16
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	17	31	27	17
Feb. 16-21, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	11	27	32	22

● Do you think U.S. troops should stay in Iraq for a specified length of time or should troops stay as long as it takes to establish a stable, free government in Iraq?

		Specified Length	As Long As It Takes	Not Sure
Apr. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	39	55	6

● Now that Saddam Hussein's government is toppled, do you think the U.S. does or does not have the responsibility to remain in Iraq as long as necessary until there is a stable government?

		Does	Does Not
Feb. 2003	PIPA	86	10
Apr. 18-22, 2003	PIPA	86	12
Jun. 18-25, 2003	PIPA	80	15
Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	72	25
Aug. 26-Sep. 3, 2003	PIPA	74	24
Oct. 29-Nov. 10, 2003	PIPA	77	21

● Would you support or oppose increasing the number of U.S. military forces in Iraq?

		Support	Oppose
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	54	44

● After hearing about and seeing pictures of kidnapped soldiers in Iraq, are you more likely to feel the U.S. should use more power and fight harder or more likely to feel the U.S. should pull out of Iraq?

Apr. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	More Power/ Fight Harder 59	Pull Out 25
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● As far as the number of U.S. military personnel now in Iraq, do you think the United States should send more troops to Iraq, keep the same amount of troops, or reduce their number and begin bringing troops home?

		Send More	Keep As Is Now	Begin Withdrawal
Sep. 11-12, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	16	31	46
Sep. 25-26, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	14	29	49
Oct. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	12	23	56
Mar. 18-19, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	10	27	55

● For how long after the fighting stops would you support keeping U.S. military personnel in Iraq to help maintain order and establish a new government there...no more than a week or so, several weeks, several months, one to two years, three to five years, or more than five years?

		Week Or So	Several Weeks	Several Months	1-2 Years	3-5 Years	5+ Years
Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	6	6	25	33	11	11
May 1-2, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	12	6	24	26	6	14

● Thinking about how the U.S. should deal with the situation in Iraq in the future - which would you prefer - to continue to have a significant number of U.S. troops in Iraq for as long as needed regardless of how many U.S. military service people are killed, to withdraw all U.S. troops from Iraq if the number of military people who are killed becomes too high, or to withdraw all U.S. troops from Iraq now?

		Continue Regardless	Withdraw If Too High	Withdraw Now
Jul. 25-27, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	33	26

● Generally speaking, do you favor or oppose the U.S. devoting itself to create a stable democracy in Iraq even if it means we maintain a significant presence in Iraq for several years?

		Favor	Oppose
Jul. 7-12, 2003	TIPP/IBD/CSM	58	33

● Do you think U.S. troops should stay in Iraq only if most people there want them to stay or whether or not most people there want them to stay?

		Only If People Want Them	Even If People Don't Want Them
May 19-27, 2003	Harris Interactive	31	45

- And which of the following statements comes closer to your view of the recent attacks: a) They show that the U.S. is unlikely to achieve its goals in Iraq and should begin to reduce its military efforts in that country; or b) They show that the U.S. must intensify its military efforts in Iraq in order to achieve its goals.

		Unlikely to Achieve Goals	Must Intensify Efforts
Apr. 8, 2004	Harris Interactive	36	57

- Should the U.S. send peacekeeping forces to Iraq after the war, or not?

		Should Send	Should Not Send
Apr. 2-3, 2003	L.A. Times	78	17

(If Should) Do you think U.S. peacekeepers should stay in Iraq as long as they are needed, or should the U.S. have a time limit on how long peacekeepers should stay?

		Long As Needed	Set Amount Of Time
Apr. 2-3, 2003	L.A. Times	43	35

- If President Bush decides to send more troops to Iraq, would you be upset, or not?

		Not Upset	Upset
Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	38

- Which comes closer to your view about the recent attacks against U.S. soldiers and civilians in Iraq, they show that the U.S. policy in Iraq is not working and the U.S. should begin to reduce its military efforts in that country, or they show that the U.S. must intensify its military efforts in order to achieve its goals?

		Policy Not Working	Must Intensify Military Efforts
Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	58

- Which of the following statements comes closer to your view of the recent attacks: a) You were surprised that these attacks could occur after U.S. troops have been in Iraq for more than a year; or b) You thought this level of violence was possible in Iraq even before those attacks occurred.

		Surprised By Attacks	Thought Violence Was Possible
Apr. 8, 2004	Harris Interactive	22	75

**Responsibilities: U.S., U.N., Our Allies**

- After the fighting stops, do you think the United States should stay in Iraq long enough to play the major role in establishing a new government there or leave Iraq as soon as possible and turn over the authority for establishing a new government to the United Nations or some other international organization?

		Stay Long Enough	Leave As Soon As Possible
Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	56	39

- How important do you think it is to involve a broad coalition of different countries, in addition to the United States and Britain, in the rebuilding of Iraq...very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

		Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important
Apr. 17-23, 2003	Harris Interactive	51	29	9	6
May 19-27, 2003	Harris Interactive	52	28	11	6

- Who do you think should take the leading role in rebuilding Iraq and helping its people set up a new government there after the war - the United States or the United Nations?

		U.S.	U.N.
Mar. 27, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	31	61

- Who do you think should lead the reconstruction effort in Iraq – the United States, or the United Nations, or should it be some other country that takes the lead?

		U.S.	U.N.	Other Country
April 2-3, 2003	L.A. Times	29	50	7

- Would you favor or oppose the United Nations playing a significant role in establishing a stable government in Iraq after the war?

		Favor	Oppose
Apr. 8-9, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	62	31
Apr. 10-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	64	31
Sep. 17-22, 2003*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	70	22

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “Do you favor or oppose the United Nations playing a significant role in establishing a stable government in Iraq?”

(Asked of those who favored U.N. role) Who should have the most say in establishing a stable government in Iraq...the United States and its military allies or the United Nations?

		U.S.	U.N.
Apr. 8-9, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	18	38
Apr. 10-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	19	39
Sep. 17-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	22	44

- Who do you think would do a better job of setting up an interim government in Iraq...the U.S. and British coalition or the United Nations?

		U.S./British	U.N.
Apr. 8-9, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	54	36

- Who would you prefer to control Iraq until a new Iraqi government is created – the United States or the United Nations?

Apr. 9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	U.S. 48	U.N. 45
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(If U.N.) If President Bush decided that the United States should control Iraq until a new Iraqi government is created, would you support or oppose that decision?

Apr. 9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Support 62	Oppose 36
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- Who would you prefer to take the lead in the rebuilding of Iraq, the United States or the United Nations?

Apr. 17-23, 2003	Harris Interactive	U.S. 38	U.N. 49
May 19-27, 2003	Harris Interactive	37	50

- Until a new government is fully established in Iraq, who do you think should be in charge there - the United States or the United Nations?

Apr. 9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	U.S. 37	U.N. 53
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- For each item I name, please tell me who you think should be in charge of that - the United States or the United Nations?

Apr. 16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post		
		U.S.	U.N.
Maintaining civil order in Iraq until a new government is established		45	49
Awarding contracts to companies for rebuilding the infrastructure in Iraq		41	51
Helping establish a new government in Iraq		39	55

- Should the United States manage things in Iraq on its own for the time being, or should the United Nations be brought in to help the U.S. manage things in Iraq?

May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	Manage On Own 34	Bring In U.N. 61
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(Asked of those who said "U.N.") Who should have the lead responsibility for setting up a new government in Iraq - the United Nations or the United States?

May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	U.S. 13	U.N. 45
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(Asked of those who said "U.N.") Who should have the lead responsibility for restoring order and basic services such as food and electricity in Iraq - the United Nations or the United States?

May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	U.S. 17	U.N. 43
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- Who should have the lead responsibility for setting up a new government in Iraq - the United Nations or the United States?

		U.S.	U.N.
Aug. 26-28, 2003	CBS News	25	69
Sep. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	26	64
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003	CBS News/NYT	26	68

- Do you think any interim government in Iraq set up by the United States after the war ends should be subject to the approval of the United Nations Security Council?

		Should	Should Not
Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	57	35

- Do you think the United States should invite countries that refused to support military action - such as France, Germany, and Russia - to play a role in rebuilding Iraq after the fighting stops, or not?

		Yes	No
Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	45	50
Jul. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	50	42

### Getting Bugged Down? The Vietnam Analogy

- Some people are now comparing Iraq to the war in Vietnam thirty years ago. Do you think Iraq will turn out to be another Vietnam, or do you think the U.S. will accomplish its goals in Iraq?

		Another Vietnam	Accomplish Goals
Apr. 21-25, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research	25	54
Jun. 3-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research	29	55
Sep. 8-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research	29	54

- How worried are you that U.S. troops will be involved in the Mideast for years to come, a great deal, a fair amount, or not much?

		Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not Much
Mar. 20-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	33	34	29
Mar. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	37	34	27
Mar. 25-27, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	37	37	24
Mar. 28-Apr. 1, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	42	37	19
Sep. 17-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	42	36	20

- How do you feel about the possibility that the United States will get bogged down in a long and costly peacekeeping mission in Iraq? Would you say you're very concerned about that, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not concerned at all?

		Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Not Too Concerned	Not At All Concerned
Apr. 9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	24	39	24	11
Apr. 16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	31	42	19	7
Apr. 27-30, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	34	39	19	9
Jun. 18-22, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	32	41	16	10
Jul. 9-10, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	43	37	11	8
Aug. 20-24, 2003	ABC News	41	35	13	9
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	53	32	9	5
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	53	34	9	4



● Thinking about the future of U.S. involvement in postwar Iraq, how concerned are you that the U.S. will be bogged down in Iraq for many years without making much progress in achieving its goals there? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not concerned at all?

		Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Not Too Concerned	Not At All Concerned
Aug. 21-22, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	40	29	15	13
Oct. 30-31, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	47	31	12	8
Nov. 6-7, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	45	30	15	9
Dec. 18-19, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	34	35	19	8

● How likely do you think it is that the U.S. will get bogged down for a long time in Iraq and not be able to create a stable government there? Would you say that is very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Very Likely	Not At All Likely
Oct. 2003	Harris Interactive	42	32	14	7
Dec. 2003	Harris Interactive	39	30	22	5
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	37	36	16	7
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	45	29	13	8

● Thinking about the end of the war with Iraq, how worried are you that there will be an ongoing campaign of guerilla warfare against U.S. forces after the war comes to an end - a great deal, a fair amount, or not much?

		Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not Much
Apr. 8-9, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	19	39	39

● How concerned are you that Iraq will become another Vietnam in which the U.S. does not accomplish its goals despite many years of military involvement? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, not at all concerned about Iraq becoming another Vietnam?

		Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Not Too Concerned	Not At All Concerned
April 8-9, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	40	24	14	20

● How likely do you think it is that the war in Iraq will turn into a situation like the United States faced in the Vietnam War— very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not likely at all?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Too Likely	Not At All Likely
Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	23	28	25	20

**A Clear Plan?**

- Do you think George W. Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

		Has Clear Plan	Doesn't Have Clear Plan
Sep. 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	32	58
Oct. 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	35	54
Dec. 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	44	45
Apr. 1-4, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	32	57
Apr. 21-25, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	36	54
June 3-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	37	55
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	34	59
August 5-10, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	36	58
Sep. 8-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	36	55
Oct. 1-3, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	35	55
Feb. 16-21, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	32	61

- Do you think the Bush administration does - or does not - have a clear plan for handling the situation in Iraq?

		Yes	No
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	54
Sep. 8-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	59
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	42	55
Oct. 9-13, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	41	54
Dec. 15-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	45
Dec. 18-21, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	48	47
Mar. 4-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	43	53
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	45	53
May 5-6, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	38	57
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	39	59
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	54
July 30-31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	57
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	56
Sept. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	44
Oct. 1-3, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	49
Jan. 14-16, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	50

- So far, do you think the Bush Administration has developed a clear plan for rebuilding Iraq, or hasn't it developed one?

		Clear Plan	No Clear Plan
Dec. 10-13, 2004	CBS News	34	53
Mar. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	32	58
Sep. 20-22, 2004	CBS News	33	53
Oct. 1-3, 2004	CBS News/NYT	39	56
Oct. 9-11, 2004	CBS News	41	53
Oct. 14-17, 2004	CBS News/NYT	38	58

- From what you have seen or heard, is the United States in control of events taking place in Iraq, or are the events in Iraq out of U.S. control?

		In Control	Out of Control
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	71	20
Jul. 8-9, 2003	CBS News	45	41
Aug. 11-12, 2003	CBS News	45	43
Aug. 26-28, 2003	CBS News	42	47
Oct. 20-21, 2003	CBS News	39	50
May 11, 2004	CBS News	31	57

***\$87 BILLION FOR IRAQ?:*** *Americans are usually unenthusiastic about anything that resembles foreign aid. That is because they often think the money is not spent well abroad and could be spent better at home. Most of the polls below show more opposition than support for the administration's \$87 billion request for Iraq and Afghanistan, though the responses vary. Only a few of the questions mention that some of the money in this request would be used for U.S. troops or U.S. "military operations."*

- As you may know, President Bush requested that Congress authorize an additional \$87 billion in government spending for Iraq and the war on terrorism. Do you think Congress should or should not vote to authorize this?

		Should	Should Not
Sep. 8-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	51
Oct. 10-12, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	57

- President Bush is sending a request to Congress for \$87 billion for military operations and rebuilding in Iraq and Afghanistan. If you were a member of Congress, would you vote to approve the money or not?

		Yes	No
Sep. 9-10, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	46	44

- Earlier this year, Congress approved spending \$79 billion to help pay for the war in Iraq and the rebuilding effort there. Bush has now called for spending \$87 billion more. Do you support or oppose this additional spending for the war and rebuilding in Iraq?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	38	61
Sep. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Nightline	36	62
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	34	64

- President Bush has asked Congress for \$87 billion in additional funding for U.S. efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Do you favor or oppose this additional spending?

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 11-12, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	42	51

- Do you think the additional \$87 billion in funding will make a big difference, only a small difference, or no difference at all in helping the United States achieve its goals in Iraq and Afghanistan?

		Big Difference	Small Difference	No Difference
Sep. 11-12, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	28	38	27

- Do you support or oppose the Bush administration's proposal for an additional \$87 billion mainly for the military operations and rebuilding in Iraq?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 11-15, 2003	Quinnipiac	47	47

- President Bush has asked Congress for \$87 billion for the next year to rebuild Iraq. Do you think the U.S. should or should not spend this amount of money rebuilding Iraq?

		Should	Should Not
Sep. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	26	66
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	34	61
Oct. 20-21, 2003*	CBS News	37	59

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “George W. Bush has asked Congress for an additional \$87 billion for the next year for military and reconstruction efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Do you think the United States should or should not spend this amount of money?”

- As you may know, George W. Bush has requested an additional \$87 billion from Congress for military and rebuilding costs in Iraq and Afghanistan. Do you favor or oppose this additional spending? (Asked of half sample)

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 17-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	36	59

- As you may know, George W. Bush has requested a large amount from Congress for military and rebuilding costs in Iraq and Afghanistan. Do you favor or oppose this additional spending? (Asked of half sample)

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 17-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	39	55

- As you may know, President Bush has requested that Congress approve \$87 billion in federal spending in an effort to improve the effectiveness of military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and to help establish stable, democratic governments there. The president’s request for \$87 billion comes in addition to the \$79 billion that Congress approved in April for military operations in Iraq. Do you favor or oppose the president’s request for additional spending?

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 20-22, 2003	NBC/WSJ	41	51

- As you may know, President Bush asked for and Congress passed a bill giving an additional \$87 billion for the reconstruction of Iraq, Afghanistan and for U.S. military operations there. Do you approve or disapprove of this?

		Approve	Disapprove
Nov. 15-18, 2003	L.A. Times	42	53

***BUSH VS. KERRY ON IRAQ:*** *In spring and early summer 2004, in most polls, George W. Bush led John Kerry on the question of who would do a better job of handling the situation in Iraq. Most of the late July-early August polls showed a close division on the question. In mid-July 2004, three polling organizations asked whether the Democratic or Republican party would do a better job on Iraq. In the CBS News/New York Times poll, the Democrats led the Republicans 45 to 41 percent. In the PSRA/Pew poll, Democrats barely led, 40 to 38 percent. In the NBC News/Wall Street Journal question, the Republicans led, 39 to 31 percent.*

- Who do you think would do a better job handling the situation in Iraq– John Kerry or George W. Bush?

		Bush	Kerry
Jan. 29-Feb. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	44
Mar. 5-7, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	39
May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	45
June 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	46
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	44
July 30-31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	49
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	48
Aug. 23-25, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	43
Sept. 3-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	41
Sep. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	41
Oct. 1-3, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	44
Oct. 9-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	44
Oct. 14-16, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	45
Oct. 22-24, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	44
Oct. 29-31, 2004^	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	49

- Who do you trust to do a better job handling the situation in Iraq, George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	48	41
Mar. 4-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	47	48
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	41
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	48	42
Jun. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	45
July 8-11, 2004	Washington Post	47	47
July 22-25, 2004	ABC News/ Wash Post	52	40
July 30-Aug.1, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	46	48
Aug. 26-29, 2004	ABC News/ Wash Post	52	44
Sept. 6-8, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	53	37
Sept. 24-26, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	53	40
Oct. 1-3, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	41
Oct. 5-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	53	43
Oct. 7-9, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	54	40
Oct. 8-10, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	54	39
Oct. 9-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	40
Oct. 10-12, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	41
Oct. 11-13, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	49	42
Oct. 12-14, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	41
Oct. 13-15, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	53	39
Oct. 14-16, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	53	39
Oct. 15-17, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	41
Oct. 28-31, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	41

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

● Regardless of which presidential candidate your support, please tell me if you trust George W. Bush or John Kerry to do a better job handle each of the following issues. First, what about the situation in Iraq? Which do you trust to do a better job handling this issue...Bush or Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
Mar. 18-19, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	53	38
July 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	46	46
Sept. 2-3, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	55	37
Sept. 9-10, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	54	39
Sept. 30-Oct. 2, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	49	44
Oct. 14-15, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	51	41
Oct. 21-22, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	51	40
Oct. 27-29, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	52	42

● Which candidate do you think would do a better job on the following issues? The situation in Iraq

		Bush	Kerry
Apr. 6-7, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	47	34
May 4-5, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	48	35
Jun. 8-9, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	43	39
Aug. 3-4, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	41	40
Aug. 24-25, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	45	40
Sept. 21-22, 2004	Fpx News/Opinion Dynamics	49	39
Sept. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	48	37
Oct. 3-4, 2004	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	47	39
Oct. 17-18, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	49	40
Oct. 27-28, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	51	41

● “He is more likely to develop a plan for achieving success in Iraq”: Does this apply more to George W. Bush or more to John Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
July 17-21, 2004	L.A. Times	46	37
Aug. 21-24, 2004	L.A. Times	46	40
Sept. 25-28, 2004	L.A. Times	47	41
Oct. 21-24, 2004	L.A. Times	47	40

● Which candidate, Bush or Kerry, do you trust more to handle the situation in Iraq?

		Bush	Kerry
July 20-22, 2004	SRB/Time	48	44
Aug. 3-5, 2004	SRB/Time	46	44
Aug. 24-26, 2004	SRB/Time	49	41
Aug. 31-Sept. 2, 2004	SRB/Time	53	41
Sept. 7-9, 2004	SRB/Time	57	37
Sept. 21-23, 2004	SRB/Time	52	38
Oct. 6-7, 2004	SRB/Time	50	42
Oct. 14-15, 2004	SRB/Time	50	40
Oct. 19-21, 2004	SRB/Time	51	41

● Now I would like to read you a list of issues that some people from this part of the country have said are important for the next President to deal with. Please listen as I read the list and tell me, for each one, who would do a better job of handling this issue...the war in Iraq, President George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
Mar. 28-30, 2004	Battleground	54	40
June 20-23, 2004	Battleground	51	42
Aug. 15-17, 2004	Battleground	53	41
Sept. 12-16, 2004	Battleground	55	37
Sept. 20-23, 2004	Battleground	54	39
Sept. 27-30, 2004	Battleground	54	38
Oct. 3-7, 2004	Battleground	53	41
Oct. 11-14, 2004	Battleground	54	40
Oct. 18-21, 2004	Battleground	52	41
Oct. 25-28, 2004	Battleground	55	39

● Now I'd like to compare George W. Bush and John Kerry on a few issues. For each one, please tell me whether you think that George W. Bush or John Kerry would be better on that issue. If you think that both would be equally good or that neither would be good on a particular issue, just say so. The war in Iraq ...

		Bush	Kerry	Both
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	46	38	4
Sept. 12-16, 2004	NBC/WSJ	49	35	5
Oct. 16-18, 2004	NBC/WSJ	50	37	5

NOTE: asked of one-half the respondents. Asked among registered voters.

● Regardless of who you support, which one of the presidential candidates, George W. Bush or John Kerry, do you think would do the best job of making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq?

		Bush	Kerry
Mar. 17-21, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	47	45
Mar. 22-28, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	49	37
May 3-9, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	44	41
Aug. 5-10, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	44	46
Sept. 8-14, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	51	39
Sept. 22-26, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	46	38
Oct. 1-3 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	50	40
Oct. 15-19, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	47	41

● Do you think George W. Bush/John Kerry has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

		Has a Clear Plan		Does Not Have a Clear Plan	
		Bush	Kerry	Bush	Kerry
July 9-19, 2004	NAES	34	25	61	57
Aug. 9-29, 2004	NAES	36	29	58	56
Sept. 3-12, 2004	NAES	36	26	57	59
Sept. 21-26, 2004	NAES	39	27	56	61
Oct. 1-6, 2004	NAES	40	35	53	55
Jan. 11-16, 2005	NAES	32	—	62	—



- Do you think George Bush/John Kerry does or does not have a clear plan for handling the situation in Iraq?

		Has a Clear Plan		Does Not Have a Clear Plan	
		Bush	Kerry	Bush	Kerry
Sept. 24-26, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	53	38	44	56
Oct. 1-3, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	51	42	48	52

- Do you think George W. Bush/John Kerry does – or does not – have a clear plan for handling the situation in Iraq?

		Bush		Kerry	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	54	33	56
July 30-July 31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	57	38	52
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	56	38	52
Sep. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	44	30	63
Oct. 1-3, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	49	41	53

- Regardless of how you intend to vote, who do you think would do a better job on the situation in Iraq - George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
Mar. 16-22, 2004	Quinnipiac	53	36
July 18-22, 2004	Quinnipiac	49	41

NOTE: Asked of registered voters.

- In the future, if the United States were to be faced with a foreign crisis such as Iraq, which candidate would you trust to do a better job handling the situation— George W. Bush or John Kerry?

		Bush	Kerry
Jan. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	49	37
Feb. 18-19, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	50	40

- Which candidate do you think would better resolve the Iraq situation, Kerry or Bush?

		Bush	Kerry
Jun. 2-4, 2004	Time	45	44

- How much confidence do you have in John Kerry’s ability to make the right decisions about the ongoing conflict in Iraq— a lot, some, not much, or none at all?

		A Lot	Some	Not Much	None
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	18	43	23	12

- How much confidence would you have in John Kerry as commander in chief— a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

		Great Deal	Quite A Bit Just	Some	Very Little	Not Sure
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	16	18	30	31	5

NOTE: Asked of registered voters.

- How much confidence do you have in George W. Bush as commander in chief – a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	Great Deal	Quite A Bit	Just Some	Very Little	Not Sure
		30	17	17	35	1

NOTE: Asked of registered voters.

- Do you think George W. Bush had a clear plan for handling Iraq?

Apr. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics		All	Dem	Rep	Ind
		Yes	41	20	72	28
		No	50	73	20	60
		Not Sure	9	7	8	12

- Do you think John Kerry has a clear plan for handling Iraq?

Apr. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics		All	Dem	Rep	Ind
		Yes	22	36	7	19
		No	59	46	80	58
		Not Sure	19	18	13	23

- If John Kerry is elected President in November, do you think the situation in Iraq will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	Get Better	Get Worse	Stay Same
		32	24	35

- If George W. Bush is re-elected President in November, do you think the situation in Iraq will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	Get Better	Get Worse	Stay Same
		27	33	37

- Which presidential candidate – Bush or Kerry – have you heard best explain how the U.S. - led coalition is going to win in Iraq?

May 18-19, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Bush	Kerry	Neither
		40	20	20

### Republican vs. Democratic Party on Iraq

- When it comes to dealing with Iraq, which party do you think would do a better job – the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

		Democratic	Republican	Both Same	Neither
Oct. 1-3, 2002	NBC/WSJ	17	47	21	8
Dec. 13, 2003	NBC/WSJ	24	45	13	7
Jan. 10-12, 2004	NBC/WSJ	22	49	14	12
July 19-21, 2004	NBC/WSJ	31	39	16	10
Dec. 9-13, 2004	NBC/WSJ	27	42	17	10

● Next, please tell me if you think the Republican Party or the Democratic Party could do a better job in each of the following areas...making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq?

		Democratic	Republican
Oct. 2-6, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	30	46
Oct. 17-27, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	33	42
July 19-21, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	40	38

● Regardless of how you usually vote, do you think the Republican Party or the Democratic Party is more likely to make the right decisions about the war in Iraq?

		Democratic	Republican
July 11-15, 2004	CBS/NYT	45	41

● Which political party – the Republicans or the Democrats – do you think would do a better job on each of the following issues... Iraq?

		Democrats	Republicans
Oct. 8-9, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	26	51
May 20-21, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	20	52
Feb. 18-19, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	34	48

***RIGHT DECISION/WORTH IT?: A number of polls conducted in early 2005 show that Americans do not believe the war in Iraq was worth fighting. This is true even when questions include mention of removing Saddam Hussein from power. Other sections in this document show that despite these sour attitudes, Americans are not ready to pull our troops out now.***

- Looking back, do you think the United States did the right thing in getting involved in a military conflict with Iraq or should the United States have stayed out?

		Right Thing	Stayed Out
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	69	25
Dec. 10-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	64	28
Dec. 14-15, 2003	CBS News/NYT	63	31
Dec. 21-22, 2003	CBS News	62	34
Feb. 12-15, 2004	CBS News	58	37
Feb. 24-27, 2004	CBS News	54	39
Mar. 10-14, 2004	CBS News/NYT	58	37
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS	50	46
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	47	46
May 11, 2004	CBS News	49	45
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	49	46
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	48	46
July 11-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	45	51
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	CBS News	45	47
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	49	44
Sept. 6-8, 2004	CBS News	52	41
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News	54	39
Sept. 20-22, 2004	CBS News	51	44
October 1-3, 2004	CBS News/NYT	49	47
October 9-11, 2004	CBS News	49	46
October 14-17, 2004	CBS News/NYT	50	46
Oct. 28-30, 2004	CBS News/NYT	52	44
Oct. 29-Nov. 1, 2004	CBS News/NYT	53	42
Nov. 18-21, 2004	CBS News/NYT	46	48
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS News/NYT	45	49
Feb. 24-28, 2005	CBS News/NYT	46	50

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

		Right Decision	Wrong Decision
Mar. 20-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	71	22
Mar. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	74	21
Mar. 25-27, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	74	21
Mar. 28-Apr. 1, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	69	25
Apr. 2-7, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	72	20
Apr. 8, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	70	22
Apr. 9, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	76	18
Apr. 10-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	74	19
Jun. 20-Jul. 2, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	67	24
Jul. 14-Aug. 5, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	63	30
Sep. 17-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	63	31
Oct. 15-19, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	60	33
Dec. 15-17, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	67	26

Dec. 18, 2003-Jan. 4, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	62	28
Feb. 11-16, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	56	39
Feb. 24-29, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	60	32
Mar. 17-21, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	55	39
Apr. 1-4, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	57	35
Apr. 21-25, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	54	37
May 3-9, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	51	42
Jun. 3-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	55	38
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	52	43
August 5-10, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	53	41
Sep. 8-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	53	39
Oct. 1-3, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	50	39
Oct. 15-19, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	46	42
Oct. 27-30, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	48	41
Dec. 1-16, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	49	44
Jan. 5-9, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	51	44
Feb. 16-21, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	47	47

- All in all, do you think the war in Iraq is worth it or not?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Feb. 14-16, 2005	Marist	43	53

- All in all, do you think the current situation in Iraq is worth going to war over, or not?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Mar. 24-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	68	29
Apr. 7-8, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	67	30
Apr. 9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	76	19
Apr. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	73	23
Jun. 27-29, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	42
Jul. 18-20, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	35
Jul. 25-27, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	34
Aug. 25-26, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	35
Sep. 8-10, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	40
Sep. 19-21, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	48
Oct. 6-8, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	44
Oct. 24-26, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	44
Nov. 3-5, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	44
Nov. 14-16, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	42
Dec. 5-7, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	39
Dec. 14, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	33
Dec. 15-16, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	35
Jan. 9-11, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	38
Jan. 29-Feb. 1, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	49
Mar. 5-7, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	43
Mar. 26-28, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	41
Apr. 5-8, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	47
Apr. 16-18, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	46
May 2-4, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	47
May 7-9, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	54
May 21-23, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	52
Jun. 3-6, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	52
Jun. 21-23, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	51
July 8-11, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	50
Aug. 9-11, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	48
Aug. 23-25, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	46
Sept. 3-5, 2004+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	48

Oct. 9-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	54
Jan. 3-5, 2005+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	52
Feb. 7-10, 2005+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	50

- Do you think going to war with Iraq was the right thing for the United States to do or the wrong thing? Do you feel that strongly or only somewhat?

		Right Strongly	Right Somewhat	Wrong Somewhat	Wrong Strongly
Jun. 30-Jul. 1, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	43	22	9	18
Jul. 29-30, 2000	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	42	23	10	17
Sep. 9-10, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	43	19	12	21
Oct. 14-15, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	39	19	12	23
Dec. 3-4, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	38	17	13	25
Apr. 6-7, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	37	13	10	34
May 4-5, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	36	14	10	33
June 22-23, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	34	16	11	31
Feb. 8-9, 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	33	13	10	39

- When it comes to the war in Iraq, do you think that removing Saddam Hussein from power was or was not worth the number of U.S. military casualties and the financial costs of the war?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Nov. 12-16, 2003	NBC/WSJ	45	46
Dec. 13, 2003	NBC/WSJ	45	42
Dec. 14, 2003	NBC/WSJ	53	37
Jan. 10-12, 2004	NBC/WSJ	52	40
Mar. 6-8, 2004	NBC/WSJ	50	45
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	42	47
June 25-28, 2004	NBC/WSJ	40	51
July 19-21, 2004	NBC/WSJ	43	47
Aug. 23-25, 2004	NBC/WSJ	43	49
Sept. 17-19, 2004	NBC/WSJ	40	52
Oct. 16-18, 2004	NBC/WSJ	41	50
Oct. 29-31, 2004	NBC/WSJ	44	48
Dec. 9-13, 2004	NBC/WSJ	43	48
Jan. 13-17, 2005	NBC/WSJ	40	52

- All in all, do you think the situation in Iraq was worth going to war over, or not?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Nov. 15-18, 2003	L.A. Times	48	43
Mar. 27-30, 2004	L.A. Times	48	45
Jun. 5-8, 2004	L.A. Times	43	53
July 17-21, 2004	L.A. Times	44	51
Aug. 21-24, 2004	L.A. Times	46	49
Sept. 25-28, 2004	L.A. Times	45	51
Sept. 30-Oct. 1, 2004	L.A. Times	43	54
Oct. 21-24, 2004	L.A. Times	46	50
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	39	56

- All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Apr. 27-30, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	70	27
Jun. 18-22, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	64	33
Jul. 9-10, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	57	40
Aug. 7-11, 2003	Wash Post	61	35
Aug. 20-24, 2003	ABC News	57	37
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	54	42
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	61	37
Oct. 9-13, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	54	44
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	54	44
Nov. 12-16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	52	44
Dec. 14, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	53	42
Dec. 18-21, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	59	39
Jan. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	56	41
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	48	50
Mar. 4-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	44
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	51	47
May 5-6, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	49	47
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	48	50
Jun. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	47	52
July 8-11, 2004	Washington Post	45	53
July 22-25, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	49	48
Aug. 26-29, 2004	ABC News/ Wash Post	48	50
Sept. 6-8, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	51	45
Sept. 24-26, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	46	51
Oct. 1-3, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	49	48
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	42	56
Jan. 12-16, 2005	ABC News/Wash Post	44	55

- Do you think the United States was right or wrong in going to war with Iraq?

		Right	Wrong
July 20-22, 2004	SRB/Time	46	49
Aug. 3-5, 2004	SRB/Time	47	47
Aug. 24-26, 2004	SRB/Time	50	43
Aug. 31-Sept.2, 2004	SRB/Time	52	41
Sept. 7-9, 2004	SRB/Time	53	43
Sept. 21-23, 2004	SRB/Time	48	46
Oct. 6-7, 2004	SRB/Time	45	49
Jan. 12-13, 2005	SRB/Time	42	51

- Thinking about everything that has happened, do you think that taking military action against Iraq was the right or wrong thing to do?

		Right	Wrong
Sept. 2003	Harris Interactive	55	32
Nov. 2003	Harris Interactive	49	37
Jan. 2004	Harris Interactive	55	31
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	52	34

Mar. 2004	Harris Interactive	51	33
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	49	37
May 2004	Harris Interactive	47	38
June 2004	Harris Interactive	44	42
July 2004	Harris Interactive	43	42
Sept. 2004	Harris Interactive	43	43
Dec. 2004	Harris Interactive	43	43
Jan. 2005	Harris Interactive	39	46

- From what you know now, do you think the United States did the right thing in taking military action against Iraq last March, or not?

		Yes	No
Jul. 24-25, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	68	28
Aug. 21-22, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	61	33
Sep. 11-12, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	64	31
Oct. 9-10, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	56	37
Oct. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	59	34
Nov. 6-7, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	55	38
Dec. 18-19, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	62	32
Jan. 8-9, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	60	33
Jan. 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	55	39
Mar. 18-19, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	57	37
Mar. 25-26, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	55	41
Apr. 8-9, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	57	39
May 13-14, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	51	43
Sep. 2-3, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	55	38
Oct. 27-29, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	51	45

- Do you think the United States should or should not have taken military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?

		Should	Should Not
Apr. 12-13, 2003	NBC/WSJ	76	17
May 17-19, 2003	NBC/WSJ	71	24
Jul. 26-28, 2003	NBC/WSJ	69	27
Sep. 20-22, 2003	NBC/WSJ	64	33
Nov. 8-10, 2003	NBC/WSJ	63	34
Dec. 13, 2003	NBC/WSJ	66	30
Dec. 14, 2003	NBC/WSJ	69	26
Jan. 10-12, 2004	NBC/WSJ	66	29
Mar. 6-8, 2004	NBC/WSJ	64	32
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	60	35
June 25-28, 2004	NBC/WSJ	56	39
Sept. 17-19, 2004	NBC/WSJ	55	40
Oct. 16-18, 2004	NBC/WSJ	58	38

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...was worth?" +Question wording was, "...it was worth going to war in Iraq, or not?"



- Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in going to war against Iraq?

		Right Decision	Wrong Decision
May 14-18, 2003	PIPA	68	22
Jun. 18-25, 2003	PIPA	65	29
Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	63	32
Aug. 26-Sep. 3, 2003	PIPA	62	33
Oct. 29-Nov. 10, 2003	PIPA	57	38
Nov. 21-30, 2003*	PIPA	55	41

NOTE: \*Of those who said it was the right decision, 42 percent said, "I support having gone to war, because I think it was the best thing for the U.S. to do." Thirteen percent said, "I am not sure if going to war was the best thing to do, but I support Bush's decision because he is president."

- Considering everything, how confident are you that the United States and its allies did the right thing in attacking Iraq?

		Confident	Not Confident
Mar. 20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	76	23
Mar. 23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	76	22

- Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in going to war against Iraq?

		Right Decision	Wrong Decision
Jun. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	65	29
Jul. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	63	32
Sep. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	62	33
Nov. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	57	38
Dec. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	55	41
Mar. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	55	44

- Considering everything, do you think the United States did the right thing in going to war with Iraq or do you think it was a mistake?

		Right Thing	Mistake
Mar. 27, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	69	26
Apr. 9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	81	16
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	46

- Do you think the United States was right or wrong in going to war with Iraq?

		Right	Wrong
Mar. 27, 2003	Harris Interactive	65	28
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	61	35
Sep. 3-4, 2003	Harris Interactive	63	32
Nov. 18-19, 2003	Harris Interactive	55	39
Dec. 30-31, 2003	Harris Interactive	56	37
Feb. 5-6, 2004	Harris Interactive	55	38
Apr. 8, 2004	Harris Interactive	53	41

- Do you think the result of the war with Iraq was worth the loss of American life and the other costs of attacking Iraq, or not?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Jul. 8-9, 2003*	CBS News	45	45
Aug. 11-12, 2003*	CBS News	46	45
Aug. 26-28, 2003	CBS News	46	46
Sep. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	43	47
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	41	53
Oct. 20-21, 2003*	CBS News	42	52
Nov. 10-12, 2003*	CBS News	40	51
Dec. 10-13, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	39	54
Dec. 14-15, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	44	49
Dec. 21-22, 2003*	CBS News	42	47
Jan. 12-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	43	51
Jan. 20, 2004	CBS News/NYT	41	52
Feb. 12-15, 2004	CBS News	41	50
Feb. 27-24, 2004	CBS News	42	52
Mar. 10-14, 2004	CBS News/NYT	42	51
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News	34	57
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	33	58
May 11, 2004	CBS News	29	64
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	33	60
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	32	60
July 11-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	34	62

NOTE: \*Asked of half sample.

- Do you think removing Saddam Hussein from power is worth the potential loss of American life and the other costs of attacking Iraq, or not?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Aug. 6-7, 2002	CBS News	46	43
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	54	35
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	57	33
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	53	37
Oct. 27-31, 2002	CBS News/NYT	49	38
Feb. 10-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	51	40
Mar. 4-5, 2003	CBS News	52	38
Mar. 7-9, 2003	CBS News/NYT	50	43
Mar. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	54	40
Mar. 17, 2003	CBS News	60	34
Mar. 20, 2003	CBS News/NYT	61	30
Mar. 20-21, 2003	CBS News/NYT	62	30
Mar. 22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	66	27
Mar. 23, 2003	CBS News/NYT	66	28
Mar. 24, 2003	CBS News/NYT	63	29
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	62	28
Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	68	22
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	64	29
Apr. 26-27, 2003*	CBS News	62	31
May 27-28, 2003*	CBS News	65	28
Jun. 12-13, 2003*	CBS News	62	31
Jul. 8-9, 2003*+	CBS News	54	37
Jul. 13-27, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	54	39
Aug. 11-12, 2003*+	CBS News	55	34
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003*+	CBS News/NYT	51	41
Oct. 20-21, 2003*+	CBS News	52	39

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Nov. 10-12, 2003*+	CBS News	50	43
Dec. 10-13, 2003*+	CBS News/NYT	47	43
Dec. 14-15, 2003*+	CBS News/NYT	54	37
Dec. 21-22, 2003*+	CBS News	54	37
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004*	CBS News	47	43

NOTE: + question wording was “was worth the loss of American life...” \*Asked of half-sample

- All things considered, do you think the United States going to war with Iraq has been worth it or not?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	64	25
Jun. 17-18, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	53	31
Sep. 23-24, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	46	41

- Now I’m going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right...The war in Iraq was worth the cost of U.S. lives and dollars or the war in Iraq was not worth the cost of U.S. lives and dollars?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Jun. 17-23, 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	55	41
Jul. 15-20, 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	52	42
Aug. 24-28, 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	51	42
Sep. 9-14, 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	49	45
Oct. 14-19, 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	48	46
Jan. 13-18, 2004*	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	48	48
Feb. 10-15, 2004*	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	46	49

NOTE: \*Question asked of likely voters

- Thinking about the goals versus the costs of this war, so far in your opinion has there been an acceptable or unacceptable number of U.S. military casualties in Iraq?

		Acceptable	Unacceptable
Mar. 27, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	58	34
Apr. 3, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	62	32
Apr. 9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	66	28
Jun. 18-22, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	51	44
Jul. 9-10, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	44	52
Aug. 7-11, 2003	Wash Post	42	53
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	38	57
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	43	55
Oct. 9-13, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	38	59
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	35	62
Nov. 12-16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	33	64
Dec. 18-21, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	37	60
Jan. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	34	62
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	33	65
Jun. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	29	71
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	27	70

- In your view, is the war in Iraq worth the toll it has taken in American lives and other kinds of costs, or isn't the war worth these costs?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Mar. 27, 2003	Harris Interactive	59	33
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	49	45
Sep. 3-4, 2003	Harris Interactive	49	43
Nov. 18-19, 2003	Harris Interactive	44	50

- Thinking about the U.S. presence in Iraq since major fighting ended, do you think it is worth having U.S. troops there now, or not?

		Worth It	Not Worth It
Jun. 27-29, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	69	30

- Which comes closer to your view about the number of U.S. military deaths since April - the number is unacceptably high given that major fighting ended over two months ago, or the number is to be expected because we knew Iraq would be a dangerous place even after the major fighting ended?

		To Be Expected	Unacceptably High
Jun. 27-29, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	74	24

- Do you support or oppose the United States having taken military action to disarm Iraq and remove Iraqi President Saddam Hussein? Is that strongly support/oppose or only somewhat strongly/oppose?

		Support Strongly	Support Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly
Sep. 23-24, 2003	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	47	17	12	18
Nov. 18-19, 2003	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	50	16	10	20
Jan. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	48	18	11	17
Mar. 23-24, 2004	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	45	16	12	20
Apr. 21-22, 2004.	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	49	16	7	24
Jun. 8-9, 2004	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	45	15	9	25
July 20-21, 2004	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	40	18	11	26
Sept. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	47	16	10	22

- Do you think the United States made a mistake getting involved in the current war against Iraq, or not?

		Not Mistake	Mistake
Mar. 22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	70	24
Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	70	24
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS/NYT	46	48
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	46	50

- Do you believe clear evidence that Iraq was supporting Al Qaeda has been found in Iraq or not?

		Clear Evidence	No Clear Evidence
Jun. 2003	Harris Interactive	48	33
Aug. 2003	Harris Interactive	50	35
Oct. 2003	Harris Interactive	49	38
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	47	38
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	49	36

- Do you believe that intelligence given before the war to President Bush by the CIA and others about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction was completely accurate, somewhat accurate, somewhat misleading or very misleading?

		Completely Accurate	Somewhat Accurate	Somewhat Misleading	Very Misleading
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	6	44	29	16
Apr. 2004	Harris interactive	5	46	28	15

- Do you agree or disagree with those who say that the case for going to war against Iraq was a fraud that was made up to give Republicans a political boost?

		Agree	Disagree
Sep. 23-24, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	31	60

- Which comes closer to your opinion? Iraq was a threat to the United States that required immediate military action or Iraq was a threat that could have been contained or Iraq was not a threat to the United States at all.

		Required Military Action	Could Have Been Contained	Not a Threat
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS	42	45	12
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS/NYT	32	48	17

## **HISTORICAL TRENDS**

### ***Iraq***

- In view of developments since we first sent our troops to Iraq, do you think the United States made a mistake in sending troops to Iraq, or not?

		Yes Made Mistake	No
Mar. 24-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	23	75
Jul. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	27	72
Oct. 6-8, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	59
Nov. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	39	60
Jan. 12-15, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	56
Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	57
May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	54
Jun. 3-6, 2004	Gallup/CNN?USA Today	41	58
June 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	44
July 8-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	45
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	47
July 30-31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	50
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	51
Aug. 23-25, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	50
Sept. 3-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	38	57
Sept. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	55

Oct. 1-3, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	51
Oct. 9-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	53
Oct. 14-16, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	52
Oct. 22-24, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	51
Oct. 29-31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	52
Nov. 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	51
Jan. 7-9, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	48
Jan. 14-16, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	47
Feb. 4-6, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	55
Feb. 25-27, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	51

### *Afghanistan*

- Do you think the United States made a mistake in sending military forces to Afghanistan, or not?

		Yes	No
Nov. 8-11, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	89
Jan. 7-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	93
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	25	72

### *Yugoslavia*

- In view of the developments since we entered the fighting in Yugoslavia, do you think the United States made a mistake sending military forces to fight in Yugoslavia?

		Yes	No
Apr. 21, 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	51
Jun. 4-5, 1999	Gallup /CNN/USA Today	43	53

- Thinking about the current situation in Kosovo, do you think the U.S. involvement in the military conflict was or was not worth it?

		Yes	No
Jun. 16-19, 1999	NBC/WSJ	58	33
Jul. 24-26, 1999	NBC/WSJ	53	38

- Do you think peace in Yugoslavia is worth the loss of American life and the other costs of attacking Yugoslavia, or not?

		Yes	No
Mar. 24, 1999	CBS News	34	52
Apr. 1, 1999	CBS News	31	52
Apr. 5-6, 1999*	CBS News/NYT	44	45
Apr. 13-14, 1999	CBS News	32	52
Jun. 5-6, 1999*	CBS News	36	46

NOTE: Asked of half sample.

- Do you think protecting ethnic Albanians is worth the loss of American life and the other costs of attacking Yugoslavia, or not?

		Yes	No
Apr. 5-6, 1999	CBS News/NYT	41	47
Jun. 5-6, 1999	CBS News	45	41

NOTE: Asked of half sample.

- All in all, do you think the situation in Kosovo was worth going to war over, or not?

		Yes	No
Jun. 10, 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	47
Jun. 25-27, 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	45

- Given the possible loss of American lives and other costs of involved, do you think sending U.S. troops to Bosnia is worth the cost, or not?

		Yes	No
Nov. 27, 1995	CBS News	28	63

NOTE: Asked of respondents first interviewed on Nov. 19, 1995.

### ***Kuwait***

- In view of the developments since we first sent our troops to Saudi Arabia, do you think the United States made a mistake in sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or not?

		Yes	No
Aug. 16-19, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	17	75
Aug. 23-26, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	18	76
Aug. 30-Sep. 2, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	16	76
Sep. 10-11, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	19	76
Sep. 14-16, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	18	73
Sep. 27-30, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	20	73
Oct. 3-4, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	21	71
Oct. 11-14, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	27	68
Oct. 18-21, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	26	67
Oct. 25-28, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	71
Nov. 2-4, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	25	67
Nov. 8-11, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	27	68
Nov. 15-18, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	27	65
Nov. 29-Dec. 2, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	29	66
Dec. 6-9, 1990	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	28	66
Jan. 3-6, 1991	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	30	61
Jan. 11-13, 1991	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	29	65
Jan. 17-20, 1991	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	16	80
Jan. 23-26, 1991	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	18	77
Jan. 30-Feb. 2, 1991	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	18	80
Feb. 7-10, 1991	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	21	76
Feb. 28-Mar. 3, 1991*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	87
Jul. 18-21, 1991*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	15	82

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "In view of the developments since we first sent out troops to the Persian Gulf region, do you think the United States made a mistake in sending troops to the Persian Gulf region, or not?"

- All in all, do you think the situation in the Persian Gulf region was worth going to war over or not?

		Yes	No
Aug. 23-26, 1990*	Gallup	49	41
Aug. 30-Sep. 2, 1990*	Gallup	45	44
Sep. 27-30, 1990*	Gallup	49	41
Nov. 15-18, 1990*	Gallup	46	45
Nov. 29-Dec. 2, 1990*	Gallup	51	41
Dec. 6-9, 1990*	Gallup	47	45
Dec. 13-16, 1990*	Gallup	49	44
Jan. 3-6, 1991*	Gallup	47	44
Jan. 11-13, 1991*	Gallup	46	44

Jan. 30-Feb. 2, 1991*	Gallup	71	24
Feb. 28-Mar. 3, 1991+	Gallup	80	15
Apr. 4-6, 1991+	Gallup	72	22
Apr. 25-28, 1991+	Gallup	70	24
May 23-26, 1991*	Gallup	72	23
Jul. 11-14, 1991*	Gallup	66	28
Jan. 6-9, 1992	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	38
Feb. 6-9, 1992	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	32
Feb. 19-21, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	31

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “the current situation in the Mideast?” +Question wording was, “the situation in the Mideast involving Iraq and Kuwait?”

- Given the loss of life and the other costs of the war in the Persian Gulf, do you think the war to defeat Iraq was worth the cost, or not?

		Yes	No
Jan. 17, 1991*	CBS News/NYT	63	23
Jan. 18, 1991*	CBS News/NYT	58	25
Jan. 19, 1991*	CBS News/NYT	55	27
Jan. 20, 1991*	CBS News/NYT	61	23
Jan. 27-28, 1991*	CBS News	59	29
Feb. 12-13, 1991*	CBS News/NYT	60	26
Feb. 24, 1991*	CBS News/NYT	65	24
Feb. 25, 1991*	CBS News	65	22
Feb. 28, 1991*	NYT	72	17
Jun. 3-6, 1991	CBS News/NYT	66	30
Oct. 5-7, 1991	CBS News/NYT	61	33
Jan. 22-25, 1992	CBS News/NYT	59	36
Dec. 7-9, 1992	CBS News/NYT	58	37
Jan. 12-14, 1993	CBS News/NYT	60	34
Feb. 10-12, 2001	CBS News	51	39

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “is likely to be worth?”

- All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the Persian Gulf War was worth fighting, or not?

		Yes	No
Mar. 1-4, 1991*	ABC News/Wash Post	86	13
May 30-Jun. 2, 1991	ABC News/Wash Post	70	26
Jul. 25-28, 1991	ABC News	67	30
Jan. 30-Feb. 2, 1992	ABC News/Wash Post	66	32

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “this war?”

### ***Vietnam***

- In view of the developments since we entered the fighting in Vietnam, do you think the U.S. made a mistake sending troops to fight in Vietnam?

		Yes	No
Aug. 27-Sep. 1, 1965	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	60
Mar. 3-8, 1966	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	26	59
May 5-10, 1966	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	36	49
Sep. 8-13, 1966	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	48
Nov. 10-15, 1966	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	31	52
Jan. 26-31, 1967	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	32	52
Apr. 19-24, 1967	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	50
Jul. 13-18, 1967	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	48

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*



Oct. 6-11, 1967	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	44
Dec. 7-12, 1967	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	46
Feb. 1-6, 1968	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	42
Feb. 22-27, 1968	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	42
Apr. 4-9, 1968	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	40
Aug. 7-12, 1968	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	35
Sep. 26-Oct. 1, 1968	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	37
Jan. 23-28, 1969	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	39
Sep. 17-22, 1969	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	32
Jan. 15-20, 1970	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	32
Apr. 2-7, 1970	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	34
May 21-26, 1970	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	36
Jan. 8-11, 1971	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	31
May 14-17, 1971	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	28
Jan. 12-15, 1973	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	29
Mar. 15-18, 1990*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	74	22
Apr. 21-24, 1995*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	23
Nov. 13-15, 2000*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	69	24

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “Looking back, do you think the United States made a mistake sending troops to fight in Vietnam?”

### ***Korea***

- Do you think the United States made a mistake in going to war in Korea, or not?

		Yes	No
Aug. 20-25, 1950*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	20	65
Jan. 1-5, 1951*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	38
Feb. 4-9, 1951	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	41
Mar. 26-31, 1951	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	43
Apr. 16-21, 1951	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	45
Jun. 16-21, 1951	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	40
Aug. 3-8, 1951	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	48
Feb. 28-Mar. 5, 1952	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	35
Oct. 9-14, 1952	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	37
Oct. 17-22, 1952	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	36	50
Jan. 11-16, 1953	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	36	50
Jun. 6-7, 2000^	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	34	47

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “In view of the developments since we entered the fighting in Korea, do you think the United States made a mistake in deciding to defend Korea, or not?” +Question wording was, “Based on what you have heard or read, do you think the United States made a mistake in going into the war in Korea, or not?”

- As things stand now, do you feel the war in Korea has been worth fighting, or not?

		Yes	No
Oct. 1952	NORC	31	56
Nov. 1952	NORC	34	58
Dec. 1952	NORC	39	52
Jun. 1953	NORC	32	59
Aug. 1953	NORC	27	62
Nov. 1953*	NORC	38	51
Nov. 1954*	NORC	39	51
Sep. 1956*	NORC	46	41

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “was worth fighting?”

***World War II***

● World War II was fought fifty years ago. Looking back, given the loss of American life, and the other costs involved, do you think that U.S. involvement in World War II was worth the cost, or not?

		Yes	No
Jan. 3-5, 1994	CBS News	71	19
May 4-6, 1995	CBS News	71	18

**WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION:** *In May 1991, after the conclusion of the Gulf War, CBS News and the New York Times asked Americans whether we should have continued fighting Iraq until Saddam Hussein was removed from power or whether we should have brought our troops home. Sixty-three percent said we should have continued fighting. The surveyors asked that question nine times over the next decade, and in each iteration of it, a large majority of Americans said we should have continued fighting to get rid of Hussein. Americans' long-held convictions about Saddam Hussein explain why solid majorities have told ABC News/Washington Post pollsters on five occasions between March 2003 and February 2004 that the war in Iraq could be justified without WMD. The results also explain why so many Americans were prepared to believe, and indeed still believed after the issuance of David Kay's report, that Iraq had or has WMD. A January 2005 CBS News/New York Times question finds 56 percent saying that Iraq had WMD that the U.S. did not find. It also helps to explain why the WMD controversy has been less potent politically here than it has been for Tony Blair in Great Britain, for whom the WMD issue was a more central part of the decision to go to war.*

*Many pollsters have spent a considerable amount of time in 2003 and early 2004 on whether people believe the President or his administration lied about WMD or intentionally misled the country on the subject in order to make the case for war. Going to war is a serious matter, and the nation needs to be able to trust its president on so consequential a matter. Has President Bush been hurt on this score? Take a CBS News question asked in mid-February 2004. Fifty percent told the pollsters that George W. Bush had more honesty and integrity than most people in public life. Only 14 percent said he had less. In some polls, perceptions of Bush's honesty have declined since he was first elected. In others, views about his honesty have remained high and stable. That's probably why most pollsters don't ask whether Bush himself lied about WMD, but instead ask about his administration. There is polling evidence that shows that more people in the summer 2004 believe the administration deliberately exaggerated or deliberately misled the public than felt that way in the spring. The PSRA/Newsweek questions from late July 2004 show that 56 percent (up from 36 percent in May 2003) felt the administration "misinterpreted or misanalyzed the intelligence reports they said indicated Iraq had banned weapons." Forty-four percent (up from 36 percent in May 2003) believe the administration "purposely misled the public."*

- Do you think Iraq probably does or probably does not have weapons of mass destruction?

		Does	Does Not
Feb. 24-26, 2002	CBS News	80	11
Sep. 2-5, 2002*	CBS News/NYT	79	11
Sep. 22-23, 2002*	CBS News	77	14
Jan. 4-6, 2003*	CBS News	79	9
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	81	12
Apr. 26-27, 2003+	CBS News	77	15
Nov. 10-12, 2003+	CBS News	62	31
Feb. 12-15, 2004+	CBS News	49	41
Feb. 24-27, 2004+	CBS News	52	39
Apr. 23-27, 2004+	CBS News/NYT	52	41
Jan. 14-18, 2005#	CBS News/NYT	56	39

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “To the best of your knowledge, do you think Iraq currently possesses weapons of mass destruction, or not?” +Question wording was, “...that the United States has not found yet?” #Question wording was “... did or did not have weapons of mass destruction that the United States did not find?”

- Do you think that Iraq did or did not have weapons of mass destruction before the war began last March?

		Yes	No
Jul. 26-28, 2003	NBC/WSJ	70	21
Nov. 8-10, 2003	NBC/WSJ	63	30
Mar. 6-8, 2004	NBC/WSJ	57	35
Jan. 13-17, 2005	NBC/WSJ	54	40

- If the United States and its allies never find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, then do you think the war against Iraq will have been worth the loss of American life and other costs of attacking Iraq, or not?

		Yes	No
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	57	37
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	60	34
May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	56	38
Jul. 8-9, 2003	CBS News	46	46
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS News/NYT	41	53

- Do you believe that the U.S. government deliberately exaggerated the reports of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq in order to increase support for war, or do you think it tried to present the information accurately?

		Tried To Present Accurately	Deliberately Exaggerated
Jun. 2003	Harris Interactive	56	37
Aug. 2003	Harris Interactive	53	40
Oct. 2003	Harris Interactive	49	41
Dec. 2003	Harris Interactive	50	45
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	51	43
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	50	43
June 2004	Harris Interactive	50	44
Aug. 2004	Harris Interactive	51	44
Sept. 2004	Harris Interactive	46	45
Oct. 2004	Harris Interactive	53	46
Nov. 2004	Harris Interactive	49	48

- Before the Iraq War, the Bush administration said it had intelligence reports indicating that Iraq was hiding banned chemical or biological weapons from UN weapons inspectors. So far, however, no such banned weapons have been found in Iraq. Do you think the Bush administration...?

		Yes	No
Misinterpreted or misanalyzed the intelligence reports they said indicated Iraq had banned weapons			
May 29-30, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	36	54
Jul. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	45	41
Jul. 24-25, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	41	49
Aug. 21-22, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	44	47
Oct. 9-10, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	49	39
Oct. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	50	39
Jan. 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	54	36
Mar. 18-19, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	55	35
July 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	56	36
Sept. 30-Oct. 2, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	51	41
Oct. 27-29, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	50	43

Purposely misled the public about evidence that Iraq had banned weapons in order to build support for war

May 29-30, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	36	57
Jul. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	38	53
Jul. 24-25, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	39	56
Aug. 21-22, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	43	51
Oct. 9-10, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	45	45
Oct. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	42	49
Jan. 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	41	51
Mar. 18-19, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	46	49
July 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	44	51
Sept. 30- Oct.2, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	45	50
Oct. 27-29, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	43	54

- Based on what you know, which of the following statements comes close to your view: “George W. Bush deliberately misled public about Iraq stockpiling weapons of mass destruction and its ties with Al Qaeda terrorist attacks,” or “George W. Bush, in good faith, told the public what he believed to be true about Iraq stockpiling weapons of mass destruction and its ties with Al Qaeda terrorist attacks?”

		Deliberately Misled	Said What He Believed To Be True
July 17-21, 2004	L.A. Times	39	57
Oct. 21-24, 2004	L.A. Times	39	59

- Do you think the Bush administration deliberately misled the American public about whether Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, or not?

		Yes, mislead	No
May 30-Jun. 1, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	31	67
Jun. 9-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	31	64
Jun. 27-29, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	61
Jul. 18-20, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	39	58
Jan. 29-Feb. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	54
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	52
Oct. 9-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	51

- Do you believe that what we were told by the government before the Iraq war about Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction and Iraq’s links to Al Qaeda, the terrorist organization, was generally accurate or misleading?

		Generally Accurate	Misleading
Jun. 2003	Harris Interactive	55	36
Aug. 2003	Harris Interactive	47	45
Oct. 2003	Harris Interactive	44	50
Dec. 2003	Harris Interactive	45	47
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	40	53
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	40	51
Jun. 2004	Harris Interactive	44	51
Aug. 2004	Harris Interactive	37	60
Sept. 2004	Harris Interactive	36	55

● The Senate Intelligence Committee has reported that intelligence the United States collected about Iraq and the capabilities of its weapons programs was flawed and exaggerated. Do you feel that President Bush did all he could to make certain the intelligence he received on Iraq was accurate, or should he have done more?

		Did All He Could	Should Have Done More
July 19-21, 2004	NBC/WSJ	40	56

● Do you think President Bush gave the country the most accurate information he had before going to war with Iraq, or do you think President Bush exaggerated information to make the case for war with Iraq?

		Accurate Information	Exaggerated Information
Jul. 26-28, 2003	NBC/WSJ	48	47
Mar. 6-8, 2004	NBC/WSJ	48	50
June 25-28, 2004	NBC/WSJ	42	53

● Do you think President Bush gave the country the most accurate information he had before going to war with Iraq, or do you think President Bush deliberately misled people to make the case for war with Iraq?

		Accurate Information	Deliberately Misled
Mar. 6-8, 2004	NBC/WSJ	53	41
June 25-28, 2004	NBC/WSJ	44	47

● Should the United States have stopped fighting when Iraqi troops left Kuwait, or should the U.S. have continued fighting Iraq until Saddam Hussein was removed from power?

		Should Have Stopped	Should Have Removed Hussein
May 7-8, 1991	CBS News/NYT	31	63
Jun. 3-6, 1991	CBS News/NYT	25	69
Mar. 26-29, 1992	CBS News/NYT	21	74
Jun. 17-20, 1992	CBS News/NYT	21	72
Aug. 11-14, 1992	CBS News/NYT	20	75
Oct. 16-18, 1994*	CBS News	22	73
Sep. 16-18, 1996*	CBS News	21	71
Nov. 23-24, 1997+	CBS News	20	73
Feb. 19-21, 1998^	CBS News/NYT	21	74
Feb. 10-12, 2001*	CBS News	27	64

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “What about the end of the Persian Gulf War? Do you think the United States should have stopped fighting when Iraqi troops left Kuwait, or should the U.S. have continued fighting Iraq until Saddam Hussein was removed from power?” +Question wording was, “In 1991, should the United States have stopped fighting...?” ^Question wording was, “Thinking back to the Persian Gulf War in 1991, should the United States have stopped fighting...?”

● Do you believe that Iraq actually had weapons of mass destruction when the war began, or not?

		Yes	No
Jun. 10-15, 2003	Harris Interactive	69	21
Aug. 12-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	67	23
Oct. 14-19, 2003	Harris Interactive	60	29
Dec. 10-13, 2003	Harris Interactive	64	28
Dec. 14-16, 2003	Harris Interactive	61	32
Feb. 9-16, 2004	Harris Interactive	51	40

- Do you think the United States will be able to justify this war only if it finds weapons of mass destruction, such as chemical or biological weapons, in Iraq; or do you think the United States will be able to justify this war for other reasons, even if it does not find weapons of mass destruction?

		Justify Only With WMD	Justify Without WMD
Mar. 20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	35	53
Apr. 3, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	22	69
Jun. 18-22, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	23	63
Dec. 18-21, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	20	63
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	24	57

- Which comes closest to your view about the war with Iraq - it was justified only if the U.S. finds conclusive evidence that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, it was justified even if the U.S. does not find conclusive evidence that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, or it was not justified even if the U.S. finds conclusive evidence that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction?

		Justify Only With WMD	Justify Without WMD	Not Justified
Mar. 23, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	38	15
Apr. 5-6, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	58	15
May 30-Jun. 1, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	23	56	18

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "Which comes closest to your view about the war with Iraq - it is justified only if the U.S. finds conclusive evidence that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, it is justified even if the U.S. does not find conclusive evidence that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, or it is not justified even if the U.S. finds conclusive evidence that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction?"

- Will you consider the U.S. invasion of Iraq a mistake if the U.S. does not find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq or won't you consider it a mistake?

		Mistake	Not Mistake
Mar. 27, 2003	Harris Interactive	36	59

- Do you think the war with Iraq will have been worth it if weapons of mass destruction are never found or don't you think it will have been worth it?

		Yes	No
Sep. 3-4, 2003	Harris Interactive	52	43
Feb. 5-6, 2004	Harris Interactive	53	41

- Do you think the U.S. will or will not find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq?

		Will	Will Not
Mar. 27, 2003	Harris Interactive	77	17
May 17-19, 2003	NBC/WSJ	60	32
Jul. 26-28, 2003	NBC/WSJ	46	41
Sep. 20-22, 2003	NBC/WSJ	37	50
Nov. 8-10, 2003	NBC/WSJ	36	56

- How likely is it that the U.S. will find conclusive evidence that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction or the facilities to develop them?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Too Likely	Not At All Likely
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	28	10	2
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	39	36	19	5

- How confident are you that the U.S. military forces will find weapons of mass destruction? Are you very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not confident at all?

		Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Too Confident	Not At All Confident
Mar. 29-30, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	32	10	5
Apr. 2-3, 2003	LA Times	47	28	16	5
Jun. 27-29, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	22	31	25	20
Jul. 25-27, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	21	31	26	20
Dec. 5-7, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	28	29	29
Dec. 14, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	30	25	19

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “that the U.S. will find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq?”

- If the U.S. military doesn’t find any weapons of mass destruction, would you still support the Bush administration’s decision to take military action in Iraq at this time or would you oppose military action? Would you support/oppose that strongly or not only somewhat? (Asked of those who supported the Bush administration’s decision to take military action against Iraq)

		Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Apr. 2-3, 2003	LA Times	62	21	6	8

- What if the United States does not find chemical or biological weapons in Iraq - in that case would you support or oppose the war? (Asked of those who supported the war)

		Support	Oppose
Apr. 9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	90	8

- Does the lack of evidence of weapons of mass destruction make you less supportive of the war in Iraq or does it make no difference? (Asked of the 64 percent who said the Iraq war was worth it)

		No Difference	Less Supportive
Jun. 17-23, 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	89	9

- Do you believe the United States and coalition forces can declare victory even if weapons of mass destruction are never found?

		Yes	No
Apr. 8-9, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	62	25



● If the United States and its allies never find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, then do you think the United States will have won the war in Iraq, or not?

		Yes	No
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	60	29

● If the United States does not find conclusive evidence that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, would you consider the war with Iraq to be justified or not?

		Justified	Not Justified
Apr. 30, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	79	20
May 1, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	79	19

● Do you believe the United States going to war with Iraq was justified even if weapons of mass destruction are never found?

		Yes	No
Jun. 3-4, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	69	24

● Is it your impression that when the US government presented the evidence to justify going to war with Iraq, it was being misleading or not being misleading?

		Misleading	Not Misleading
May 14-18, 2003	PIPA	40	55
Jun. 18-25, 2003	PIPA	42	53
Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	42	52

● Is it your impression that when the U.S. government presented evidence of Iraq having weapons of mass destruction to justify going to war with Iraq, it was presenting evidence they knew were false, stretching the truth but not making false statements, or being fully truthful?

		Presented False Evidence	Stretched Truth	Fully Truthful
Jun. 18-25, 2003	PIPA	10	52	32
Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	16	47	30
Oct. 29-Nov. 10, 2003	PIPA	21	51	25

● On the issue of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, how likely do you think it is that weapons have not been found for the following reasons. The first is....How likely do you think it is that weapons not been found because...?

		Very/Somewhat Likely	Very/Somewhat Unlikely
Feb. 4-5, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics		
	The weapons were moved into another country before the war began	65	31
	There were no weapons, and the United Nations and the U.S.-led coalition was misled	55	38
	The weapons are well hidden and are still in Iraq	51	42
	The weapons were destroyed before the war began	43	50
	Iraqi scientists lied to Saddam about there being weapons when there really were no weapons	40	48

● On the issue of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, do you believe...?

Apr. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	
	There are still weapons of mass destruction in Iraq	22
	There were weapons of mass destruction in Iraq before the war, but they were moved or destroyed	44
	That Iraq has not had any weapons of mass destruction for at least several years	28

● As you may know, the White House has admitted that President Bush was incorrect when he said in his State of the Union address there was evidence that Iraq was trying to obtain nuclear materials from Africa. Do you think the Bush administration deliberately misled the public about Iraq having nuclear materials in order to gain support for the war, or don't you feel that way?

		Deliberately Mislead	Did Not Mislead
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	41	54

● Do you agree or disagree that there should be public congressional hearings about the reasons used to justify a war in Iraq?

		Agree	Disagree
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Zogby International	45	52

● Do you think there should or should not be an independent government investigation into who was responsible for putting the incorrect statement about Iraq seeking nuclear materials into the State of the Union speech?

		Should	Should Not
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	43	52

● Does it matter whether the U.S. finds weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, or not?

		Yes	No
Jun. 12-13, 2003	CBS News	58	40
Jul. 8-9, 2003	CBS News	47	50
Aug. 11-12, 2003	CBS News	48	48

● When President Bush made the case for going to war with Iraq he said that Iraq had tried to purchase material for making nuclear weapons from an African country. The evidence for this was challenged and the White House recently confirmed that this information was in fact false. Do you think that when the president originally presented this evidence he knew it was false or did not know it was false?

		Knew It Was False	Did Not Know
Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	27	68

● Before the war began, do you think the Bush administration did or did not intentionally exaggerate its evidence that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction?

		Did	Did Not
Jul 9-10, 2003*	ABC/WP	50	46
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC/WP	54	42
Mar. 4-7, 2004	ABC/WP	55	43

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...such as biological or chemical weapons?"

(Asked of those who said administration deliberately exaggerated evidence) Do you think the Bush administration lied about its evidence that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction, or exaggerated without lying?

		Lied	Exaggerated
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC/WP	39	57

● Regardless of whether or not it exaggerated the evidence, do you think the Bush administration honestly believed that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, or not?

		Honestly Believed	Did Not Honestly Believe
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC/WP	68	27

● Do you think Democratic charges that the Bush administration gave misleading claims about Iraq's weapons programs before the war are mostly legitimate criticism, or do you think the Democrats are mostly playing politics?

		Legitimate Criticism	Playing Politics
Jul. 26-28, 2003	NBC/WSJ	30	56

● Do you think the Democrats are trying to use the failure to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq as a political issue?

		Yes	No
Feb. 4-5, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	76	18

(If Yes) Do you think it is fair or unfair for Democrats to use the failure of weapons of mass destruction on Iraq as a political issue?

		Fair	Unfair
Feb. 4-5, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	45	48

● As you may know, the governments of the United States and Great Britain now say there appears to be little or no evidence that former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. If no weapons of mass destruction are found, would you feel: The United States and Great Britain should not have gone to war in Iraq or there were other reasons besides weapons of mass destruction to justify going to war in Iraq?

		Should Not Have Gone to War	Other Reasons to Go to War
Feb. 13-21, 2004	Ipsos-Reid		
	US	32	66
	Mexico	32	60
	Canada	46	51
	France	31	62
	Germany	68	30
	Italy	29	58
	Spain	44	45
	UK	39	55

● Do you believe that clear evidence of weapons of mass destruction has been found in Iraq, or not?

		Clear Evidence Found	No Clear Evidence Found
Jun. 2003	Harris Interactive	35	55
Aug. 2003	Harris Interactive	27	63
Oct. 2003	Harris Interactive	30	63
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	18	75
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	19	74

- Do you believe Iraq actually had weapons of mass destruction when the war began or not?

		Believe Iraq Had WMD	Do Not Believe Iraq Had WMD
Jun. 2003	Harris Interactive	69	21
Aug. 2003	Harris Interactive	67	23
Oct. 2003	Harris Interactive	60	29
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	51	40
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	51	38

- Since the war with Iraq ended, is it your impression that the U.S. has or has not found Iraqi weapons of mass destruction?

		U.S. Has Found WMD	U.S. Has Not Found WMD
May 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	34	59
Jun. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	23	73
Jul. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	21	76
Sep. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	24	73
Nov. 2003	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	15	84
Mar. 2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks	15	83

**JUNE 30<sup>th</sup>:** An April 2004 Gallup, CNN, USA Today question found that 61 percent favored keeping troops beyond the June 30th deadline to make sure the new government in Iraq succeeds. An April 2004 ABC News/Washington Post question that didn't mention the new government found that 63 percent want to proceed with the plan to transfer political power to a temporary government on June 30<sup>th</sup>. Questions from May and early June 2004 showed that solid majorities of Americans wanted the transfer of power to take place.

- As you may know, on June 28<sup>th</sup>, in Iraq, the United States transferred power to a new Iraqi government. Do you think the official transfer of power in Baghdad means the new Iraq government will have more power than the United States in Iraq, the United States will have more power, or they will have about equal power?

		Iraqis More Power	U.S. More Power	Equal Power
June 28-July 8, 2004	NAES	20	31	39

- As you may know, President Bush has set a deadline of this June 30th to hand over governing power in Iraq to an Iraqi government. Do you think that the United States should or should not meet this deadline of handing governing power in Iraq to an Iraqi government by June 30<sup>th</sup>?

		Should	Should Not	Not Sure
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	66	22	12
June 25-28, 2004	NBC/WSJ	74	18	8

NOTE: Asked of registered voters.

- Do you think the Bush Administration has developed a clear plan for the transfer of power in Iraq on June 30th or hasn't it developed one?

		Clear Plan	No Clear Plan
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	31	57
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	24	60
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	30	51

- As you may know, U.S. troops will remain in Iraq, but the U.S. intends to turn over authority to a civilian government composed of Iraqi citizens on June 30<sup>th</sup>. Do you favor or oppose this plan to turn over authority to a civilian government in Iraq?

		Favor	Oppose
June 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	75	22

- Do you think the transfer of government authority to the Iraqis will improve the situation in Iraq or will it make the situation worse?

		Improve	Make Worse
June 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	39

● Which of the following better describes your opinion about the June 30<sup>th</sup> transfer of power in Iraq – it is a sign that the U.S. policy is succeeding because the U.S. is turning over government power to the Iraqis as planned or it is a sign that the U.S. policy is failing because the U.S. is turning over government power to the Iraqis before it could bring stability to Iraq?

June 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Succeeding 32	Failing 60
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● The United States plans to transfer political power to a temporary government in Iraq on June 30<sup>th</sup>. Do you think it should proceed with that plan or hold off on the transfer until a later date?

Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	Proceed With Plan 63	Hold Off 31
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● As you may know, the United States is scheduled to transfer power to an interim government in Iraq on June 30<sup>th</sup>. Do you support or oppose this transfer of power?

Jun. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	Support 82	Oppose 16
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● Do you think the handover of power to Iraq should or should not happen on June 30<sup>th</sup>?

May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	Should 57	Should Not 34
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● As you may know, the United States intends to turn over authority to a civilian government in Iraq on June 30<sup>th</sup>. Which comes closer to your view, the U.S. will have fulfilled its obligation to Iraq on June 30<sup>th</sup> and should remove its troops shortly after that, or the U.S. should keep its troops in Iraq well beyond June 30<sup>th</sup> to make sure the new government succeeds?

Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Obligation Fulfilled 35	Keep Troops Beyond Deadline 61
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● Do you think the transfer on June 30<sup>th</sup> will be a real change of power in Iraq, or do you think it'll be a symbolic transfer with no real change of power?

Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	Real Change 34	Symbolic Transfer 58
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● As you may know, the Bush administration has said it will turn over power in Iraq on June 30<sup>th</sup> to a civilian government led by Iraqis. Do you think the U.S. should do that, or should the U.S. keep power beyond power in Iraq beyond June 30<sup>th</sup>?

Apr. 8, 2004	Harris	Turn Over Power 54	Keep Power Beyond June 30 38
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● Based on what you know, do you think the United States coalition should hand over power to a transitional government in Iraq on June 30 as scheduled or should the deadline be extended?

Apr. 21-22, 2004.	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Hand Over 50	Extend Deadline 38	Not Sure 12
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- And do you think that the Iraqi people will be ready to take over and run their government by June 30<sup>th</sup>?

		Yes	No	Not Sure
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	19	64	11

NOTE: Asked of registered voters.

- All in all, do you think that Iraqi officials will be able to form an effective government after this transfer of power, or don't you think they will be able to do so?

		Effective Government	Unable to do so
Jun. 3-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	41	45

- Do you think the June 30<sup>th</sup> handover of power to Iraq probably will or probably will not happen on June 30<sup>th</sup>?

		Probably Will	Probably Will Not
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	29	63

- Do you think the U.S. does or does not have the responsibility to make sure Iraq develops into a stable government after the June 30<sup>th</sup> handover of power?

		Does Have Responsibility	Does Not Have Responsibility
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	66	27

**JANUARY 30<sup>th</sup> ELECTIONS IN IRAQ AND BEYOND:** *Most polls show that Americans wanted the Iraqi elections to go ahead as planned even as they were doubtful about whether Iraq was ready or secure enough for them. People were not confident that elections would lead to less violence there. Fifty-seven percent in a mid-January 2005 ABC News/Washington Post poll said holding the election would move the U.S. closer to the day when U.S. forces could be withdrawn: 39 percent disagreed.*

*Americans saw the elections as an important step to achieving our goals, but not one that would ensure we would achieve our goals there. Sixty-one percent told Gallup, CNN, USA Today interviewers that they went better than expected. In an early February Fox News/Opinion Dynamics poll, people felt more optimistic about Iraq's prospects. Fifty-six percent said that in five years the country would have some form of democracy, 28 percent some form of dictatorship. In June 2004, those responses were 34 and 47 percent, respectively.*

*Responses to questions about when or if we should begin withdrawing troops vary depending on what is emphasized in the question. Americans would like to begin pulling back, but they don't see us doing that soon. (See Iraq: The Peace for questions on troop levels.)*

**Held As Schedule/Will Election Happen?**

● It has been estimated because of the violence in some part of the country, that about twenty percent of the population will not be able to go to the polls to vote. Do you think the election should go on as planned even though some people will not be able to vote, or should the election be postponed until all Iraqi people can vote?

	Go On As Planned	Should Be Postponed
Jan.15-17, 2005 L.A. Times	59	35

● Do you think the election in Iraq should be postponed for several months in order to make sure that most Iraqis will be able to participate, or should the elections not be postponed?

	Should Be Postponed	Should Not Be Postponed
Jan. 14-18, 2005 CBS/NYT	44	49

● If Iraq's elections are held on January 30<sup>th</sup>, do you think that the election results will be legitimate because the new Iraqi leaders will have been democratically elected, or do you think that the results will not be legitimate because violence and boycotts will keep voters away from the polls?

	Will Be Legitimate	Will Not Be Legitimate
Jan. 13-17, 2005 NBC/WSJ	39	50
Feb. 10-14, 2005 NBC/WSJ	51	38



NOTE: February question wording was “Do you think that the results of the election in Iraq will be legitimate because...”

- Do you think elections will be held on January 30, or don't you think so?

		-----Election Held on January 30-----	
		Will	Will Not
Jan. 11-16, 2005	NAES	62	27

- As you may know, elections for a new national government in Iraq are scheduled for later this month. Do you think the Iraqi elections should be held as scheduled or put off until a later date?

		Held as Scheduled	Put Off
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	60	34
Jan. 12-16, 2005	ABC News/Wash Post	73	23

- How likely do you think it is that elections in Iraq will successfully be held as scheduled in January 2005...very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Very Likely	Not At All Likely
Oct. 3-4, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	21	35	18	18
Jan. 11-12, 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	21	33	21	16

- As you may know, Iraq is scheduled to hold elections for prime minister and parliament in January. Some people say that the elections should be held in January so that the Iraqi people can have a democratically elected government as soon as possible. Other people say that the elections should not be held in January because the situation in Iraq is too dangerous and chaotic to hold an election. right now.. Who do you agree with more — the people who say that the election should be held in January or the people who say that the election should not be held in January?

		People Who Say Election Should Be Held	People Who Say Election Should Not Be Held
Dec. 9-13, 2004	NBC/WSJ	55	35
Jan.13-17, 2005	NBC/WSJ	58	34

- Would there be elections in Iraq as scheduled on January 30, 2005 or should elections be postponed until the situation is more stable?

		-----Should there be elections in Iraq as scheduled-----	
		Yes	No
Dec. 7-12, 2004	Quinnipiac	53	36

- Just your best guess, do you think elections in Iraq will – or will not – be held on January 31, 2005 as scheduled?

		-----Elections be held on January 31, 2005-----	
		Yes, Will	No, Will Not
Nov. 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	42
Jan. 14-16, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	33

NOTE: After the poll was put into the field, the scheduled date was moved to January 30, 2005.

### Is Iraq Ready?

- As you know, elections for a new national government in Iraq are scheduled for late January. Do you think Iraq is or is not ready for these elections to be held?

		Ready	Not Ready
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	34	58

- From what you know, do you think most of Iraq is secure enough for Iraqis to vote in their upcoming election or is most of Iraq not secure enough for Iraqis to vote?

		Secure Enough	Not Secure Enough
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS/NYT	28	67

- Would you favor or oppose sending additional U.S. troops to Iraq to help with the upcoming elections in Iraq?

		Favor	Oppose
Dec. 17-19, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	48

### What Do Results Mean For Them?

- All in all, do you think the January elections in Iraq will lead to a more stable situation, a less stable situation, or will the situation in Iraq not change much?

		More Stable	Less Stable	Not Change Much
Jan. 5-9, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	29	14	49
Feb. 16-21, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	47	7	40

- Do you think the election will be a turning point leading to a significant improvement in security and stability for Iraq, or will the election lead to more violence or will the election have not much effect on the security and stability of Iraq?

		Significant Improvement In Security	More Violence	Not Much Effect On Security
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	31	27	34

- After the election at the end of the month, do you think the Iraqis are ready to govern their country without help from the U.S. and its allies, or do you think the Iraqis are not ready to govern their country without help from the U.S. and its allies?

		-----Iraqis Govern Their Country Without Help from U.S. and Allies-----	
		Are Ready	Are Not Ready
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	23	70

- What effect do you think the elections in Iraq will have on the violence there – will there be more violence after the elections, less violence, or won't the elections have much affect on the violence?

		More Violence	Less Violence	Not Much Effect On Violence
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS/NYT	40	15	40

- How confident are you that these elections will produce a stable government that can rule Iraq effectively – very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not confident at all?

		Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Too Confident	Not At All Confident
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	6	38	29	25
Jan. 12-16, 2005	ABC News/Wash Post	6	36	29	27

- After the elections in Iraq take place soon, do you think the situation in Iraq will be a lot better, somewhat better, a little worse or a lot worse

		A lot Better	Somewhat Better	A Little Worse	A lot Worse
Jan. 11-16, 2005	Harris Interactive	5	29	10	15

- After there is an elected government in place in Iraq, do you think this will or will not....?

Jan. 11-16, 2005	Harris Interactive		Will	Will Not
		Lead to a reasonably free and democratic system of government in Iraq	28	41

- Do you think the election will show what the Iraqi people really want, or don't you think so?

		-----Election Will Show What Iraqis Want-----	
		Yes	No
Jan. 11-16, 2005	NAES	41	49

- Do you think Iraqi insurgents will disrupt the elections so much that the results will not show what the Iraqi people want, or do you think that despite the terrorism, the election will show what Iraqi people want?

		Results Will Show What People Want	Results Will Not Show- What People Want
Jan. 11-16, 2005	NAES	50	41

- Do you think the election in Iraq will produce a stable government, or don't you think so?

		Yes	No
Jan. 11-16, 2005	NAES	29	60

- If the elections are held on January 30 as scheduled, do you there will be more violence or less violence after the election?

		More Violence	Less Violence
Jan. 11-12, 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	56	22

- Do you think these will be honest elections with a fair and accurate vote count, or not?

		Honest	Not Honest
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	36	54

- After the elections in Iraq are held next January, do you think most Iraqis will – or will not — accept the outcome as legitimate?

-----Most Iraqis accept outcome of election as legitimate-----			
		Yes, Will	No. Will Not
Nov. 19-21, 2004	CNN/USA Today/Gallup	42	52

### What Do Results Mean For Us?

- Do you think the Iraqi elections will make a big difference, a small difference, or no difference in the United States involvement in Iraq?

		Big Difference	Small Difference	No Difference
Feb. 14-16, 2005	Marist	37	34	25

- Do you think the Iraqi elections on January 30<sup>th</sup> justify U.S. involvement in Iraq over the past two years or not?

-----Elections Justify U.S. Involvement-----			
		Yes	No
Feb. 8-9, 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	46	44

- Now that elections have been held, how much longer do you think the United States should keep a significant number of troops there?

Feb. 8-9, 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics
Less than a year	26
One to two years	16
Two to four years	8
As long as it takes	26
Bring all troops home now	17

- Do you think most Iraqi citizens want U.S. troops to stay until things are more stabilized or do Iraqis want U.S. troops to leave immediately?

		-----Most Iraqi Citizens Want U.S. Troops To-----	
		Stay Until Stabilized	Leave Immediately
Feb. 8-9, 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	53	35

- Which comes closest to your views about what the election in Iraq means for the United States – it is the key step that ensures the U.S. will achieve its goals there, it is an important step, but it does not ensure that the U.S. will achieve its goals there, or it is not an important step towards the U.S. achieving its goals there?

		-----What the Election in Iraq means for the United States-----		
		Key Step	Important Step	Not An Important Step
Feb. 4-6, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	17	67	14

- Suppose the elections in Iraq are held as scheduled at the end of January. Do you think these elections will allow the U.S. to significantly reduce the number of troops it has in Iraq – in the next few months, in the next few years, or will they not allow the U.S. to significantly reduce the number of troops it has in Iraq for the foreseeable future?

		Next Few Months	Next Few Years	Not For The Foreseeable Future
Jan. 14-16, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	15	43	38
Feb. 4-6, 2005#	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	17	51	29

NOTE: # question wording was, “Do you think this election will allow the U.S. to...”

- When the elections are over at the end of this month, should the U.S. increase its troops to improve security, withdraw some of its troops, withdraw all of its troops, or should the U.S. increase or decrease its troop level only at the request of the newly elected Iraqi government?

		Increase Troops	Withdraw Some Troops	Withdraw All Troops	Increase/Decrease at Request of Iraqi Govt.
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	4	18	19	52

- How long do you think the United States should maintain a significant number of troops in Iraq after the election: Should it be a few months, or about a year, or one to two years, or longer than two years, or as long as it takes to secure and stabilize the country?

		Out Now	One Year Or Less	One to Two Two Years	Two or More Years
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	7	40	10	39

NOTE: “Out now” was a volunteered response.

- After there is an elected government in place in Iraq, do you think this will or will not....?

Jan. 11-16, 2005 Harris Interactive

	Will	Will Not
Enable most U.S. troops to leave Iraq in the next year	18	59
Reduce the number of attacks against U.S. troops	17	64

- If the election in Iraq produces a stable government, should the United States start pulling out troops in Iraq right after the election?

Jan. 11-16, 2005	NAES	Yes	No
		68	29

- Suppose the election does not produce a stable government, which of the following do you think the United States should do?

Jan. 11-16, 2005	NAES	
		Start pulling out its troops anyway
		31
		Set a date for later this year when troop pullouts will start
		25
		Stay as long as it takes to provide stability
		39

- Do you think holding these elections will or will not bring the United States closer to the day U.S. forces can be withdrawn from Iraq?

Jan. 12-16, 2005	ABC News/Wash Post	Will	Will Not
		57	39

- As you may know, elections will be held in Iraq early next year. Which comes closest to your view – the elections will not provide a stable democratic government in Iraq, the election will produce a stable democratic government in Iraq, but the U.S. will need to keep the same number of troops it has there for at least another year, or the elections will produce a stable democratic government in Iraq and the U.S. will be able to significantly reduce the number of troops it has there within the next year

Dec. 17-19, 2004	CNN/USA Today/Gallup	No Stable Government	Stable Government Keep Troop Levels Same	Stable Government Reduce Number of Troops
		41	40	15

- If Iraq's elections do take place in January as planned, do you think that the United States should maintain its current troop level in the country to help secure peace and stability, or should the United States reduce its number of troops soon after the Iraqi election?

Dec. 9-13, 2004	NBC/WSJ	Maintain Current Troop Level	Reduce Number After Election
		45	41
Jan. 13-17, 2005	NBC/WSJ	42	48

## Advancing Democracy in the Region

- Now that Iraq has held its first democratic election, do you think other countries in the Middle East region are more likely to become democratic, or not?

	Yes, More Likely Become Democratic	No, Not More Likely Become Democratic	Don't Know
Feb. 16-21, 2005 PSRA/Pew Research Center	36	52	12

- Next I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please say whether you think it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important goal, not too important a goal, or not an important goal at all....building democracy in other countries?

		Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Too Important	Not At All Important
Feb. 1-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	32	46	16	5
Feb. 3-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	29	46	17	5
Feb. 7-10, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	31	39	19	8

- Do you think spreading democracy throughout the world is essential for U.S. security, or doesn't it make much difference to U.S. Security?

		Essential for Security	Doesn't Make Much Difference
Feb. 4-6, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	46

- Do you think it is likely or unlikely that the upcoming elections in Iraq will help advance democracy in other countries in the Middle East?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Somewhat Unlikely	Very Unlikely
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	15	32	15	30

## The Future Iraqi Government

- Do you think democracy can succeed if the Iraqi people elect Islamic religious leaders to positions of power, or not?

		Yes, Can	No, Can Not	Don't Know
Feb. 16-21, 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	37	40	23

- Two years from now, do you think it is very likely, likely, not very likely, or not likely at all that Iraq will be a stable democracy?

		Very Likely	Likely	Not Very Likely	Not At All Likely
Feb. 14-16, 2005	Marist	6	28	39	22

- If the Iraqi people choose to elect an Islamic fundamentalist government that might not cooperate with the United States, should the United States support that choice, or should the United States take action to prevent that kind of government in Iraq?

		Support Choice	Take Action To Prevent
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS/NYT	66	20

- Do you think the Iraqi government due to be elected soon will be....?

Jan. 11-16, 2005	Harris Interactive	
A close ally of the United States		15
Friendly but not a close ally		40
Not friendly but not an enemy		25
Unfriendly and an enemy		7

- Which do you believe is more important: an elected, democratic government or a government that is friendly towards the United States?

Jan. 11-16, 2005	Harris Interactive	
Elected government		71
Friendly government		29

- Five years from now, do you think it is more likely that Iraqi will have some form of democracy or some form of a dictatorship?

		Democracy	Dictatorship
Jun. 22-23, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	34	47
Feb. 8-9, 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	56	28

NOTE: June 2004 wording was, "Iraq will have a freely elected government or that it will have some form of..."

### Post-Election

- Did the Iraqi election go better than expected, about as you expected, or worse than you expected?

		Better Than Expected	About As Expected	Worse Than Expected
Feb. 4-6, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	31	2

- Based on what is known about the January 30<sup>th</sup> Iraqi elections to date, do you think the elections were legitimate or not?

		Legitimate	Not Legit
Feb. 8-9, 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	67	14



**PRISONER ABUSE SCANDAL:** *When the story of prisoner abuse in Iraq broke, Americans said they were following it closely, and they didn't like what they had seen or read about it. Perhaps because the military is the most highly respected institution in American life, most Americans do not believe that these incidents are widespread. In most polls, they see them as isolated incidents, and they want the wrongdoers punished. In a May 7-9 Gallup, CNN, USA Today poll, 65 percent blamed the soldiers who carried out the abuse "a great deal." Twenty-six percent blamed Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld a great deal, and 22 percent President Bush. Majorities in the polls thus far do not think Rumsfeld should resign.*

**Awareness**

- Do you feel that these incidents are not a big deal because this kind of thing happens in a war situation or do you think they are a big deal, because this kind of abuse is unacceptable no matter what the situation?

May 5-6, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	Not A Big Deal 28	Big Deal 69
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- How serious a problem do you think the abuse of Iraqi prisoners is for U.S. progress in Iraq right now – very serious, somewhat serious, not too serious, not at all serious?

		Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Too Serious	Not At All
May 11, 2004	CBS News	60	23	10	4
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	55	27	11	5

- What's your personal reaction to the apparent abuse of Iraqi prisoners - would you say you're ...?

May 5-6, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post		
		Not Concerned	7
		Concerned, but not upset	39
		Upset, but not angry	27
		Angry	24

- Would you say the abuse of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. soldiers bothers you – a great deal, a fair amount, not much, or not at all?

		Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not Much	Not All
May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	25	11	9

- How closely have you been following news reports about the apparent abuse of some Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers in Iraq - very closely, somewhat closely, not too closely, or not closely at all?

		Very	Somewhat	Not too	Not All
May 5-6, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	36	39	16	8

● How closely have you been following news about the abuse of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. soldiers at a prison in Iraq?

		Very	Somewhat	Not Too	Not All
May 11, 2004	CBS News	42	37	16	4

● How much, if anything, have you heard about reports of mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. troops a lot, a little, or nothing at all?

		A Lot	A Little	Nothing At All
May 3-9, 2004	Pew Research Center	58	34	7

● Did you happen to see any of the pictures on which the reports of mistreatment or not?

		Yes	No
May 3-9, 2004	Pew Research Center	76	24

**Isolated Incidents?**

● Thinking about the abuse and torture of Iraqi prisoners by American military personnel at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, at which of the following levels do you think the decision was made to abuse and torture the Iraqi prisoners?

		Guards in Prison	Military Leadership	Military & Civilian Leadership
June 25-28, 2004	NBC/WSJ	36	20	35

● Recently, photographs were made public that appeared to show U.S. soldiers abusing Iraqi prisoners. Do you think the soldiers that mistreated these prisoners on their own, or do you think they were following orders from their commanders?

		On Their Own	Following Orders
May 6-9, 2004	NAES	47	31
May 17-23, 2004	NAES	30	48

● Do you think the apparent abuse of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. soldiers represents a few isolated incidents, or do you think it's more widespread than that?

		Isolated Incidents	Abuse Widespread
May 5-6, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	62	31
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	60	38

● Do you think the U.S. soldiers involved in the abuse of Iraqi prisoners were acting on their own or were following orders from they reported to?

		Acting On Their Own	Following Orders From Superiors
May 11, 2004	CBS News	37	46

● Do you think the abuse of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. soldiers are isolated incidents, or do you think they are common occurrences?

		Isolated	Common
May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	30

- Based on what you've heard or read, do you think this behavior is probably more widespread among the U.S. troops who guard Iraqi prisons, or is this behavior probably limited to a few soldiers in these incidents ?

		Limited To A Few Soldiers	Widespread Among U.S. Troops
May 11, 2004	CBS News	65	27
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	59	34

- From what you've seen, heard, or read, do you think the abuse of Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison was a case of low-ranking American soldiers acting on their own or do you think the abuse was authorized by higher-ups in the military chain of command?

		Low-Ranking Soldiers	Authorized By Higher-Ups
May 13-14	Newsweek	36	45

### What should be done?

- Do you think the soldiers involved should or should not be charged with a crime?

		Should	Should Not
May 5-6, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	66	25

- Do you think the United States should financially compensate the abused Iraqi prisoners?

		Yes	No
May 18-19, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	15	73

- Which comes closer to your opinion: 1. What happened to the Iraqi prisoners was justified because the U.S. is at war with Iraq and that is what can happen to prisoners of war or 2. What happened to the Iraqi prisoners was not justified because U.S. soldiers should be different from other armies ?

		Justified	Not Justified
May 11, 2004	CBS News	13	77
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	12	81

### Culpability

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the issue of apparent abuse of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. soldiers?

		Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
May 5-6, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	48	35	17

- Do you think that President George W. Bush and his administration have taken the reports about Iraqi prisoners being abused (by the United States soldiers) as seriously as they should have they not taken the reports seriously enough?

		Taken Seriously	Not Seriously Enough
May 11, 2004	CBS News	51	36

● How satisfied are you with the Bush administration's response to reports of U.S. troops abusing Iraqi prisoners?

		Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
May 18-19, 2004	Fox News/OD	22	27	13	29

● Do you think the Pentagon acted properly in dealing with this matter, or do you think it tried to cover up the abuse?

		Acted Properly	Tried To Cover-Up
May 5-6, 2004	NAES	32	52

● How much do you blame each of the following for the abuse of prisoners by U.S. soldiers – a great deal, a fair amount, not much, or not at all?

		Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not Much	Not At All
	May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today			
The soldiers who carried out the abuse at the prison		65	18	8	6
Officers who directly supervised the soldiers		60	25	7	5
The U.S. military intelligence officers that interrogated the prisoners		40	32	12	10
Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld		26	22	21	28
President Bush		22	20	17	39

● Should people higher up in the military chain of command be held responsible for the acts of the soldiers involved in the abuse even if they didn't know about it, or should only the soldiers involved be held responsible?

		People Higher Up	Only Soldiers
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	44	45

● In their statements about the treatment of prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, do you think members of the Bush Administration are telling the entire truth, are mostly telling the truth but are hiding something, or are mostly lying?

		Entire Truth	Hiding Something	Mostly Lying
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	15	52	27

### Should Rumsfeld resign?

● Do you think Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, should resign because of the prisoner abuse issue, or should he keep his job?

		Resign	Keep Job
May 5-6, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	20	69

● Do you think Donald Rumsfeld should resign as secretary of defense because of this matter, or not?

		Resign	Keep Job
May 5-6, 2004	NAES	24	66

● Do you think Donald Rumsfeld should resign or be removed from his job as Secretary of Defense as a result of these reports of prisoner abuse, or should he remain as Secretary of Defense?

May 11, 2004	CBS News	Resign 37	Not Resign 53
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● Do you think Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld should – or should not – resign as a result of these incidents?

May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Should 31	Should Not 64
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● Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Rumsfeld is handling his job as Secretary of Defense?

May 11, 2004	CBS News	Approve 43	Disapprove 45
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● Do you think Donald Rumsfeld should resign or be removed from his job as Secretary of Defense as a result of the Iraqi prisoner abuse scandal?

May 13-14, 2004	Newsweek	Be Removed 30	Remain 57
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● Do you approve or disapprove of the way Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld is handling the U.S. military's response to the prisoner abuse scandal?

May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	Approve 47	Disapprove 45
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**Long-Term Consequences**

● As you may recall, some U.S. soldiers were found to be abusing Iraqi prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq last year. How much do you think this incident has damaged the United States' reputation around the world for being a country that protects civil liberties – a great deal, a moderate amount, not much, or not at all?

Jan. 7-9, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Great Deal 37	Moderate Amount 30	Not Much 24	Not At All 8
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● As a result of this incident, do you think U.S. soldiers are now in greater danger of being tortured if they are captured, or are they in no more danger than they would have been before this incident took place?

Jan. 7-9, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Greater Danger 53	No More Danger 46
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**“RALLY ROUND THE FLAG” EFFECT:** *In an article in Public Opinion magazine in December/January 1984, Richard Brody, Professor Emeritus at Stanford University, updated work that John Mueller (Ohio State University) and Samuel Kernell (University of California, San Diego) had done on the movement of public opinion in the wake of international incidents involving the United States. Kernell had identified 40 such events in the period from World War II to 1972. Brody added seven events from the Ford and Carter administrations. We have refined the list and added polling data from the Reagan, Clinton, and both Bush administrations, including reactions to the war in Iraq. [For more discussion of the rally effect, see also the essay by Marc J. Hetherington (Bowdoin College) and Michael Nelson’s (Rhodes College) on George W. Bush and the “rally effect” after 9/11 in the January 2003 edition of Political Science and Politics. A very substantial political science literature now exists in this area.]*

*According to Gallup/CNN/USA Today, Bush’s job approval rating jumped 13 points after the start of Operation Iraqi Freedom. The ABC News/Washington Post poll recorded a 5-point jump and CBS News/New York Times had him gaining 3 points.*

● **Presidential Job Approval Rating Before and After President Orders U.S. Soldiers into Combat**

Date	Incident	Polling Company	-----Job Approval-----		Net Change
			Before Hostilities	After Hostilities	
<b>Roosevelt</b>					
Dec. 1941	Entry into WWII	Gallup	73	84	+11
<b>Truman</b>					
Jun. 1950	Korean Invasion	Gallup	37	46	+9
<b>Johnson</b>					
Aug. 1964	Gulf of Tonkin Incident	Gallup	74	70	-4
Apr. 1965	Dominican Rep. Invasion	Gallup	64	70	+6
<b>Nixon</b>					
Apr. 1970	Cambodia Invasion	Gallup	56	57	+1
<b>Ford</b>					
May 1975	Mayaguez Incident	Gallup	40	51	+11
<b>Reagan</b>					
Oct. 1983	Grenada Invasion	Gallup	49	48	-1

Oct. 1983	Grenada Invasion	CBS/NYT	46	49	+3
Apr. 1986	Libya Bombing	Gallup	62	67	+5
Apr. 1986	Libya Bombing	CBS/NYT^	64	68	+4

**Bush**

Dec. 1989	Panama Invasion	Gallup	71	80	+9
Dec. 1989	Panama Invasion	CBS/NYT	63	76	+13
Dec. 1989	Panama Invasion	LAT	72	80	+8
Jan. 1991	Gulf War	Gallup	64	82	+18
Jan. 1991	Gulf War	CBS/NYT	66	86	+20
Jan. 1991	Gulf War	LAT	66	86	+20

**Clinton**

Aug. 1995	Bosnia Campaign	Gallup	46	44	-2
Aug. 1995	Bosnia Campaign	CBS/NYT+	45	44	-1
Aug. 1995	Bosnia Campaign	ABC/WP	51	52	+1
Mar. 1999	Kosovo Campaign	Gallup	64	64	0
Mar. 1999	Kosovo Campaign	CBS	73	65	-8
Mar. 1999	Kosovo Campaign	ABC/WP	64	60	-4

**Bush**

Oct. 2001	Afghanistan Bombing	Gallup	87	89	+2
Oct. 2001	Afghanistan Bombing	CBS	89	90	+1
Oct. 2001	Afghanistan Bombing	ABC/WP*	90	92	+2
Mar. 2003	Gulf War II	Gallup	58	71	+13
Mar. 2003	Gulf War II	CBS/NYT+	64	67	+3
Mar. 2003	Gulf War II	ABC/WP	62	67	+5

NOTE: \*The first poll was conducted by the Washington Post only, the second poll was conducted by ABC News only. +The first poll was conducted by CBS News only. ^The first poll was conducted by the New York Times only.

**ARE WE SAFER?:** Many people believe that the United States will face another terrorist attack in the future. They are less worried about becoming a victim of terrorism themselves.

In September 2003, 60 percent told CBS News/New York Times interviewers that the Bush administration had made the United States safer from terrorism, and 18 percent said the policies had made us less safe. In October 2004, those responses were 52 and 29 percent, respectively. As for the Iraq war, 50 percent in a January 2005 ABC News/Washington Post question said that the Iraq war had contributed to the long-term security of the United States; 47 percent said it had not.

- How worried are you that you or someone in your family will become a victim of terrorism – very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not worried at all?

		Very Worried	Somewhat Worried	Not Too Worried	Not Worried At All
Sep. 11, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	23	35	24	16
Sep. 14-15, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	18	33	35	13
Sep. 21-22, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	14	35	32	18
Oct. 5-6, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	35	27	14
Oct. 11-14, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	18	33	35	14
Oct. 19-21, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	30	33	23
Nov. 2-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	11	28	34	26
Nov. 26-27, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	27	34	30
Feb. 4-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	27	39	25
Mar. 4-7, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	12	33	32	23
Apr. 22-24, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	27	39	25
May 28-29, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	31	37	22
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	30	37	25
Jan. 23-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	31	36	25
Feb. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	35	34	18
Feb 17-19, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	28	33	31
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	30	38	24
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	26	39	26
Jul. 18-20, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	24	38	32
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	11	30	33	26
Dec. 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	28	38	25
Jan. 2-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	5	23	42	30
Feb. 9-12, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	30	36	24
Aug. 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	26	36	30
Sept. 3-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	11	32	36	21
Oct. 14-16, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	34	33	20
Dec. 17-19, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	28	34	25
Jan. 7-9, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	28	37	24

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “How worried are you that you or someone in your family will become a victim of a terrorist attack – very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not worried at all?”

- Do you think the policies of the Bush Administration have made the United States safer from terrorism, less safe from terrorism, or have policies of the Bush Administration not affected the U.S.’s safety from terrorism?

		Safer	Less Safe	No Effect
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003	CBS News/NYT	60	18	18
Mar. 10-14, 2004	CBS News/NYT	62	17	17

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*



Mar. 30 - Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News	53	20	22
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	49	25	21
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	50	26	19
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	51	24	19
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News/NYT	55	24	17
Sept. 20-22, 2004	CBS News	59	23	14
Oct. 1-3, 2004	CBS News	56	27	13
Oct. 14-17, 2004	CBS News/NYT	52	29	15
Oct. 28-30, 2004	CBS News/NYT	54	29	14

● How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States - very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?

		Very Worried	Somewhat Worried	Not Too Worried	Not At All Worried
Oct. 1-3, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	28	45	15	11
Oct. 10-14, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	27	40	19	12
Oct. 15-21, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	29	42	18	10
Dec. 10-16, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	13	39	27	19
Jan. 9-13, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	20	42	28	9
Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	32	44	17	7
Aug. 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	16	46	25	12
Oct. 2-6, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	20	46	22	11
Dec. 4-8, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	31	42	18	8
Jan. 8-12, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	18	50	23	8
Feb. 12-18, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	34	41	17	7
Mar. 13-16, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	22	42	20	14
Jul. 14- Aug. 5, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	13	45	29	12
Dec. 19- Jan. 4, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	20	45	24	10
Feb. 11-16, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	13	42	28	16
Mar. 17-21, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	20	42	25	12
Jun. 3-13, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	25	42	20	12
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	17	41	26	15
Aug. 5-10, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	20	44	25	10
Oct. 15-19, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	17	43	27	12

● How concerned are you about the possibility there will be more terrorist attacks in the United States - is that something that worries you a great deal, somewhat, not too much, or not at all?

		Great Deal	Somewhat	Not Too Much	Not At All
Sep. 11, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	49	38	7	4
Sep. 25-27, 2001	Wash Post	43	39	12	5
Oct. 7, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	41	40	13	4
Oct. 8-9, 2001	ABC News	36	46	12	6
Oct. 15, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	35	43	14	9
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News	27	43	22	8
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	23	47	21	9
Apr. 18-21, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	30	43	18	9
Jul. 11-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	29	44	20	7
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	22	52	19	7
Feb. 12-16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	27	45	18	9
Mar. 20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	29	47	16	8
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	25	46	20	9
Sept. 6-8, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	25	47	20	7

● How concerned are you about the chance that you personally might be the victim of a terrorist attack – does that worry you a great deal, somewhat, not too much or not at all?

		Great Deal	Somewhat	Not Much	None
Nov. 5-6, 2001	ABC News/Washington Post	10	25	33	31
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	7	25	35	33
Feb. 12-16, 2003	ABC News/Washington Post	10	23	37	28
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	10	24	34	31
Sept. 6-8, 2004	ABC News/Washington Post	8	24	36	32

● How likely do you think it is that there will be another terrorist attack in the United States within the next few months - very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Very Likely	Not At All Likely
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	36	42	16	4
Oct. 8, 2001	CBS News	46	39	8	3
Oct. 8-9, 2001	CBS News	48	36	10	3
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/NYT	53	35	8	2
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	23	50	19	5
Jan. 5-6, 2002	CBS News	18	47	27	6
Jan. 21-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	23	48	21	4
Jan. 29, 2002	CBS News	19	46	23	7
Feb. 24-26, 2002	CBS News	18	44	29	5
Apr. 1-2, 2002	CBS News	28	46	17	5
May 13-14, 2002	CBS News	25	47	21	4
May 19-20, 2002	CBS News	33	41	17	6
Jun. 18-20, 2002	CBS News	36	45	13	3
Jul. 8-9, 2002	CBS News	30	43	22	4
Jul. 13-16, 2002	CBS News	28	47	20	4
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News	23	46	23	5
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	21	46	26	5
Oct. 27-31, 2002	CBS News/NYT	27	47	15	7
Nov. 20-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	27	50	15	6
Jan. 19-22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	14	48	28	7
Feb. 10-11, 2003	CBS News/NYT	35	47	13	3
Feb. 24-25, 2003	CBS News	23	51	18	6
Mar. 4-5, 2003	CBS News	27	48	17	4
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	24	47	22	5
Aug. 26-28, 2003	CBS News	15	49	25	8
Apr. 8, 2004	CBS News	12	43	35	6
July 11-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	24	47	20	7
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	CBS News	19	48	23	5
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	17	50	20	5
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News/NYT	18	48	23	8

● Do you think the United States would be more secure or less secure if management of the FBI, CIA, and other intelligence agencies were combined?

		More Secure	Less Secure
July 20-21, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	52	16

● How confident are you that U.S. intelligence agencies have improved their procedures and will be able to prevent attacks like 9/11 in the future?

		Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Very Confident	Not At All Confident
July 20-21, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	14	45	22	13

● In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism - very well, fairly well, not too well, or not at all well?

		Very Well	Somewhat Well	Not Too Well	Not At All Well
Oct. 10-14, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	48	40	6	2
Oct. 15-21, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	38	46	9	4
Oct. 31-					
Nov. 7, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	35	46	9	5
Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	16	60	16	4
Oct. 30-					
Nov. 2, 2002*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	15	54	19	8
Jul. 14-					
Aug. 5, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	19	56	16	7
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	18	53	17	8

NOTE: \*Asked of registered voters.

● How likely is it that there will be further acts of terrorism in the United States over the next several weeks – very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Too Likely	Not At All Likely
Sep. 21-22, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	22	44	24	8
Oct. 7, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	42	9	4
Oct. 19-21, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	45	10	3
Nov. 2-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	50	16	6
Dec. 14-16, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	17	45	27	8
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	43	32	13
May 20-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	21	44	25	7
Jul. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	15	41	30	12
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	12	48	28	9
Sep. 13-16, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	12	44	31	10
Feb. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	16	50	23	9
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	21	52	20	6
May 19-21, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	12	45	32	8
Jul. 18-20, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	7	33	41	16
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	44	35	10
Jan. 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	7	39	36	16
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	12	39	34	11
Dec. 17-19, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	38	39	12
Jan. 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	31	44	15

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “How likely is it that there will be further terrorist attacks in the United States over the next several weeks – very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?”

● How likely do you think it is that an act of terrorism will occur somewhere in the United States in the next twelve months - very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Very Likely	Not At All Likely
Apr. 27, 1995	Harris Interactive	48	38	8	3

Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	40	41	14	3
Nov. 7-8, 2001	Harris Interactive	52	35	7	3
Dec. 19-20, 2001	Harris Interactive	38	43	13	3
Jan. 23-24, 2002	Harris Interactive	33	48	14	4
May 22-23, 2002	Harris Interactive	57	33	6	3
Aug. 28-29, 2002	Harris Interactive	29	50	14	5
Oct. 23-24, 2002	Harris Interactive	39	44	11	3
Sep. 3-4, 2003	Harris Interactive	23	49	18	8

NOTE: Several other polling organizations asked questions about the likelihood of a terrorist attack shortly after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing and shortly before the arrival of the millennium.

- Next, we're interested in how, if at all, people's feelings of safety have changed since the terrorist attacks on the United States two years ago...Do you personally feel a lot less safe where you live and work, somewhat less safe, only a little less safe, or not at all less safe than you did before September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001?

		A Lot Less Safe	Somewhat Less Safe	A Little Less Safe	Not At All Less Safe
Sep. 13-14, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	12	24	27	36
Sep. 27-28, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	11	20	29	39
Oct. 11-12, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	15	22	30	32
Oct. 18-19, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	9	15	27	46
Oct. 25-26, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	10	14	32	43
Nov. 1-2, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	11	15	29	43
Nov. 8-9, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	9	13	29	47
Nov. 15-16, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	13	20	26	39
Jun. 27-28, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	6	18	27	47
Sep. 11-12, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	8	14	23	52

- Do you think the Bush administration has made a lot of progress, some progress, not much progress, or no progress at all in developing a comprehensive plan for protecting the country against terrorism?

		A Lot	Some	Not Much	None At All
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	17	63	13	5
May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	42	44	8	3
Aug. 26-28, 2003*	CBS News	31	47	11	9

NOTE: \*Asked of registered voters. Question wording was, "...in making the United States safer from terrorism?"

- Please tell me whether the following statement applies to Bush or not...he has made the country safer and more secure?

		Yes	No
Dec. 12-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	65	33
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	63	35
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	47

- Compared to a year ago, do you feel more safe from the threat of terrorism, less safe, or about as safe as you felt a year ago?

		-----Compared To A Year Ago-----		
		More Safe	The Same	Less Safe
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	31	51	18
Aug. 26-28, 2003*	CBS News	20	53	26

NOTE: \*Question wording began, "Compared to two years ago...?"

- Do you think the al-Qaeda terrorist network poses more of a threat or less of a threat to the United States today than it did before the 9/11 attacks, or is the threat today about the same as it was before 9/11?

		More	The Same	Less
Nov. 19-20, 2002*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	27	49	21
May 20-21, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	37	37	22

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “Do you think the al-Qaeda terrorist network poses more of a threat or less of a threat to the United States today than it did over a year ago, or is the threat today about the same as it was over a year ago?”

- Do you think there are members of the Al Qaeda terrorist group in the United States today?

		Yes	No
Jul. 29-30, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	92	4

- In your opinion, is the world now more dangerous, less dangerous, or about the same compared to ten years ago?

		More Dangerous	About The Same	Less Dangerous
Aug. 21-Sep. 5, 2001*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	53	30	14
Jul. 14-Aug. 5, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	75	20	5

NOTE: \*Question wording was preceded by: “It has been ten years since the end of the Cold War.”

- Do you think George W. Bush’s policies since September 11, 2001 have - or have not - addressed the fundamental security risks that existed before September 11<sup>th</sup>?

		Yes	No
Jan. 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	73	25

***AFTER IRAQ: ARE WE SAFER?***

- Do you think the invasion of Iraq strengthened or weakened the war on terrorism?

		Strengthened	Weakened
June 2004	Harris Interactive	52	38
Aug. 2004	Harris Interactive	50	40
Sept. 2004	Harris Interactive	43	41
Oct. 2004	Harris Interactive	52	45
Nov. 2004	Harris Interactive	48	48
Feb. 2005	Harris Interactive	46	48

- As a result of the U.S. military action against Iraq, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United States has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?

		Increase	Same	Decrease
Sep. 22-23, 2002*	CBS News	44	34	18
Oct. 3-5, 2002*	CBS News/NYT	50	32	16
Oct. 27-31, 2002*	CBS News/NYT	59	26	12
Nov. 20-24, 2002*	CBS News/NYT	64	23	9
Jan. 19-22, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	62	28	8
Feb. 10-12, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	59	27	12
Feb. 24-25, 2003*	CBS News	58	31	8
Mar. 4-5, 2003*	CBS News	55	29	13
Mar. 7-9, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	55	30	12
Mar. 17, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	53	34	11
Mar. 20, 2003	CBS News/NYT	59	32	8

Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	49	39	10
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	34	45	19
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	34	49	15
Aug. 26-28, 2003	CBS News	32	48	19
Sep. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	25	55	17
Oct. 20-21, 2003	CBS News	26	51	21
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	41	39	18
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	47	38	13
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	43	40	16
Sept. 6-8, 2004	CBS News	41	39	18
Oct. 1-3, 2004	CBS News/NYT	40	36	22
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS News/NYT	33	47	19

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "If the United States takes military action against Iraq, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United States will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?"

- Which of the following statements comes closer to your view: "The overthrow of Saddam Hussein and installation of a new government in Iraq will encourage changes in the Middle East that will reduce the risk of terrorism against the United States" or "The invasion of Iraq has alienated many in the Muslim world, which will increase the risk of terrorism against the United States?"

		-----Overthrow of Saddam Hussein and Installation of a New Government-----	
		Encourage Change/ Reduce Terrorism	Alienated Many Increase Risk of Terrorism
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	44	47

- Do you think the war with Iraq has or has not contributed to the long-term security of the United States?

		Yes	No
Jul. 9-10, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	62	35
Dec. 18-21, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	62	34
Jan. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	59	38
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	58	38
Feb. 11-16, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	56	38
Mar. 4-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	57	40
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	57	40
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	54	43
June 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	51	46
July 8-11, 2004	Washington Post	53	43
July 22-25, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	51	45
Aug. 26-29, 2004	ABC News/ Wash Post	54	42
Sept. 6-8, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	57	40
Sept. 24-26, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	54	42
Oct. 1-3, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	53	42
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	51	46
Jan. 12-16, 2005	ABC News/Wash Post	50	47

- Do you think the invasion of Iraq has helped to protect the United States from another terrorist attack or not?

		Has Helped Protect	Has Not Helped Protect
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	43	52
June 2004	Harris Interactive	41	52
Aug. 2004	Harris Interactive	43	54
Sept. 2004	Harris Interactive	42	51
Oct. 2004	Harris Interactive	47	52
Nov. 2004	Harris Interactive	46	53

- Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?

		Help	Hurt
Oct. 2-6, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	52	34
Apr. 8-9, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	63	22
Apr. 30-May 4, 2003*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	65	22
Sep. 17-22, 2003*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	54	31
Dec. 15-17, 2003*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	59	26
Feb. 11-16, 2004*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	55	32
Feb. 24-29, 2004*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	62	28
Mar. 17-21, 2004*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	50	37
July 8-18, 2004*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	43	45
August 5-10, 2004*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	45	44
Sep. 8-14, 2004 *	PSRA/Pew Research Center	46	40
Oct. 15-19, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	45	40

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?"

- Do you think the United States actions in Iraq have made the world safer or more dangerous?

		Safer	More Dangerous
July 20-22, 2004	SRB/Time	37	55
Aug. 3-5, 2004	SRB/Time	38	52
Aug. 31-Sept. 2, 2004	SRB/Time	45	45
Sept. 7-9, 2004	SRB/Time	44	46
Sept. 21-23, 2004	SRB/Time	39	51
Oct. 6-7, 2004	SRB/Time	39	49

- Since the United States has taken military action against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power, do you think the threat of terrorism in the United States has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?

		Increased	Same	Decreased
Dec. 7-9, 2002*	NBC/WSJ	55	35	9
Jan. 19-21, 2003*	NBC/WSJ	55	32	10
Mar. 17, 2003*	NBC/WSJ	52	29	16
Apr. 12-13, 2003	NBC/WSJ	32	52	14
May 17-19, 2003	NBC/WSJ	28	51	19
Nov. 8-10, 2003	NBC/WSJ	28	50	21
June 25-28, 2004	NBC/WSJ	51	34	14

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "If the United States took military action against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power, do you think the threat of terrorism in the United States would increase, decrease, or stay about the same?"

- Do you think the war with Iraq has made the U.S. safer or less safe from terrorism?

		Safer	Less Safe
Apr. 10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	37
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	33
Oct. 24-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	43
Nov. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	43
Dec. 15-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	33
Mar. 5-7, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	37
Jun 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	55

- In the long run, do you think having gone to war with Iraq will increase or decrease the risk of further terrorism in the United States?

		Increase	Decrease
Mar. 17, 2003*	ABC News/Wash Post	39	48
Apr. 16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	29	58
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	48	40

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...going to war."

- In the long run, do you think the U.S. military action against Iraq will do more to increase the risk or decrease the risk that large numbers of Americans will be killed or injured in a future terrorist attack, or that it won't make much difference either way?

		Increase	No Difference	Decrease
Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	28	41	26
Aug. 21-22, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	36	34	25
Sep. 25-26, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	27	36	30
Oct. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	35	30	27
Dec. 18-19, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	28	34	30
Mar. 18-19, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	36	27	30
Mar. 25-26, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	41	27	25
Apr. 8-9, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	42	24	29

- If Iraq becomes a stable democracy, do you think that will make the United States more safe from terrorism, less safe from terrorism, or won't it make any difference?

		More Safe	No Difference	Less Safe
Sep. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	36	56	5
Nov. 10-12, 2003	CBS News	38	55	6
Dec. 21-22, 2003	CBS News	41	52	4
Jan. 12-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	38	52	6

- As a result of the war, do you yourself feel more safe from terrorism, less safe from terrorism, or hasn't the war affected the way you feel?

		-----As A Result Of The War-----		
		More Safe	Not Affected	Less Safe
Apr. 27-30, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	36	47	16

- Overall, do you think the war in Iraq has made the United States safer or less safe?

		Safer	Less Safe
Jun. 30-Jul. 1, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	46	35

- Do you think the U.S. military action in Iraq will ultimately make the United States safer or not?

		Safer	Not Safer
Jun. 8-9, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	39	46

- Overall, do you think the capture of Saddam Hussein has made the United States safer or not?

		Safer	Not Safer
Jan. 7-8, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	46	46



● How would you rate the job the Bush administration has done in preventing a terrorist attack in the United States since September 11, 2001 - excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

Feb. 9-16, 2004	Harris Interactive	Positive	Negative
		70	30

NOTE: Categories are combined.

**AFTER IRAQ: HOW AMERICA SEES ITSELF AND ITS ROLE:** *For more than half a century, Americans have told the pollsters that it is better for the country to play an active role in foreign affairs than to stay out. That isn't to say we haven't been cranky about the costs sometimes and frustrated by bearing what many Americans feel is a large share of many overseas burdens. We are internationalists, albeit reluctant ones.*

*Even though Americans say they are satisfied with the position of the United States in the world today, they are aware that feelings about us aren't positive in many places. In March and April 2003, Americans were divided about whether foreign leaders had respect for George W. Bush.*

*As for our post-war future, familiar tensions remain in how we see our role. Americans know they must play a global role. The question at the beginning of this section shows that 68 percent in 1947 said it was best for the future of the United States if we took an active role in world affairs, and 25 percent said it would be better if we stayed out. Responses on this question have been fairly stable for 50 years. Lately, however, even more Americans say we must take an active part in world affairs. At the same time many feel we play the role of world policeman more than we should. Americans prefer to share the responsibilities with other nations. If polls from past wars are a guide, Americans' doubts about nations that did not support us in the Iraq war will recede quickly.*

- In trying to achieve its foreign policy goals, do you think the Bush administration has done too much to involve major allies and international organizations, not enough, or about the right amount?

		Too Much	Right Amount	Not Enough
Mar. 13-14, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	17	49	29
Sep. 25-26, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	8	44	41
Mar. 18-19, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	14	42	36
July 29-30, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	11	43	38
Sept. 30-Oct. 2, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	7	36	51

- Do you think it will be best for the future of this country if we take an active part in the world affairs, or if we stay out of world affairs?

National Opinion Research Center

	Active Part	Stay Out		Active Part	Stay Out
1947	68	25	1985	70	27
1948	67	25	1986	65	32
1950	66	25	1988	65	32
1952	68	23	1989	68	28
1953	71	21	1990	69	27
1954	69	25	1991	73	24
1955	72	21	1993	67	28
1956	71	25	1994+	65	29
1965	79	16	1996*	59	35
1973	66	31	1996*	66	28
1975	61	36	1998+	61	28
1976	63	32	1999^	69	28
1978	64	32	1999^	61	34
1982	61	34	2001*	81	14
1983	65	31	2002#	71	24
1984	65	29	2003#	77	15

NOTE: +Survey conducted by the Gallup Organization for the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations. \*Survey conducted by PIPA. ^Survey conducted by Gallup/CNN/USA Today. #Survey conducted by the German Marshall Fund.

- For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it...it's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs?

		Agree	Disagree
1987	Gallup/Times Mirror	87	8
1990	PSRA/Pew Research Center	89	7
1991	PSRA/Pew Research Center	92	6
1992	PSRA/Pew Research Center	91	7
1993	PSRA/Pew Research Center	87	10
1994	PSRA/Pew Research Center	90	9
1997	PSRA/Pew Research Center	91	8
1999	PSRA/Pew Research Center	88	10
2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	90	8
2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	90	8

- Some people think the only way to prevent some countries from picking on others is to have one or two strong nations police the world. In the future, do you think the United States should take on this responsibility alone, or take it on with some other nation, or do you think it just isn't our job at all?

		Alone	With Someone	Not Our Job
1942*	RoperASW	6	44	38
1997	RoperASW	5	47	40

NOTE: \*Question wording was "after the war," instead of "in the future."

- If you had to choose, would you describe yourself more as a hawk, that is someone who believes that military force should be used frequently to promote U.S. policy, or as more of a dove, that is someone who believes the U.S. should rarely or never use military force?

		Hawk	Dove
Feb. 19-20, 2003	Harris Interactive	38	49
Mar. 27, 2003	Harris Interactive	43	45
May 21-22, 2003	Harris Interactive	47	40
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	39	47
Sep. 3-4, 2003	Harris Interactive	44	44

- On the whole, would you say that you satisfied or dissatisfied with the position of the United States in the world today?

		Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Feb. 4-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	27
Feb. 3-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	43
Feb. 17-19, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	50
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	69	29
Apr. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	67	30
Feb. 9-12, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	51

- Compared to a year ago, is America today respected more in the world than it was then, respected less than it was then, or as respected about as much?

		More Respected	The Same	Less Respected
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	19	36	42
Jan. 19-22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	12	32	55
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	26	29	41

- In general, how do you think the United States rates in the eyes of the world - very favorably, somewhat favorably, somewhat unfavorably, or very unfavorably?

		Very Favorably	Somewhat Favorably	Somewhat Unfavorably	Very Unfavorably
Feb. 4-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	20	59	17	3
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	20	46	26	5
Feb. 3-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	11	46	34	7
Feb. 17-19, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	7	47	34	11
Apr. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	12	49	28	9
Feb. 9-12, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	44	34	11

- Do you think leaders of other countries around the world have respect for George W. Bush, or do you think they don't have much respect for him?

		Respect Him	Don't Respect Him
Feb. 4-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	75	21
Apr. 29-May 1, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	31
Feb. 3-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	48
Feb. 17-19, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	55
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	48
Apr. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	48
Feb. 9-12, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	39	57

- Do you think leaders of other countries around the world have respect for George W. Bush, or not?

		Respect Him	Don't Respect Him
Feb. 24-26, 2002	CBS News	67	22
Feb. 24-25, 2003	CBS News	49	39
Mar. 15-16, 2003	CBS News/NYT	42	47
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	47	42
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003	CBS News/NYT	47	44
Oct. 20-21, 2003	CBS News	45	43
Jan. 12-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	49	43

- Now thinking about the possible effects of the U.S. military action against Iraq, do you think...?

		Yes	No
It has created serious divisions between the U.S. and its allies			
Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	55	34
Jan. 16-17, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	54	37
Jan. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	60	32
Feb. 6-7, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	53	38
Mar. 13-14, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	66	28
Mar. 27-28, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	55	38
Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	55	39

It has caused serious problems for the United States throughout the Arab world

Sep. 12-13, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	70	22
Jan. 16-17, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	74	20
Jan. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	72	19
Feb. 6-7, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	71	22
Mar. 13-14, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	69	25
Mar. 27-28, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	62	30
Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	57	36

- Compared to two years ago, are relations today between the United States and its European allies better, worse, or about the same?

		Better	Same	Worse
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	18	49	30
Jan. 19-22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	14	52	31
Feb. 24-25, 2003	CBS News	7	41	46
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	12	29	54
May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	9	33	51

- How do you think the war with Iraq is affecting the image of the United States in the Arab world? Is the war making the image of the United States in the Arab world better, making it worse, or is the war having no effect on the image of the United States in the Arab world?

		Better	No Effect	Worse
Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	15	14	58
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	34	13	44
Apr. 2004	CBS News	10	10	71
May 11, 2004	CBS News	6	14	73

● Do you think the image of the United States has been helped or hurt around the world by its involvement in Iraq, or has the United States' image not been affected one way or the other?

		Helped A lot	Helped Somewhat	Hurt Somewhat	Hurt A lot
Jan. 15-17, 2005	L.A. Times	4	6	25	40

● Which do you think most people in the Arab world are feeling more right now - happy that Saddam Hussein is gone or resentful of a U.S. occupation of Iraq?

		Happy	Resentful
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	52	35

● When it comes to how people around the world feel about the United States today, is it more important for people around the world to like the U.S. for its policies, or more important for them to respect the U.S. for its military power? (Asked of half sample)

		Like For Policies	Respect Power
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	55	30
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	48	38

● When it comes to how people in the Arab world feel about the United States today, is it more important for people in the Arab world to like the U.S. for its policies, or more important for them to respect the U.S. for its military power? (Asked of half sample)

		Like For Policies	Respect Power
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	50	36

● Compared to two years ago, are relations today between the United States and other countries in the world better, worse, or about the same?

		Better	Same	Worse
Feb. 24-25, 2003	CBS News	11	41	47
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	15	32	49

● When it comes to rebuilding Iraq after the war, should the U.S. do what it thinks is right no matter what other countries think, or should the U.S. take the views of other countries into account?

		Do What It Wants	Take Other Views
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	27	69

● Do you favor or oppose allowing countries that opposed action against Iraq, such as France and Germany, to take a role in rebuilding Iraq?

		Favor	Oppose
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	43	47

● Does success in the Iraq war make you feel the United States should be more willing to use military force in the future to help solve international problems, or not?

		Yes	No
Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	28	62

● Should the United States try to change a dictatorship to a democracy where it can, or should the United States stay out of other countries' affairs?

		Change Government	Stay Out
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	29	48
Jul. 8-9, 2003	CBS News	19	61
Jul. 13-27, 2003	CBS News/NYT	24	58
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003	CBS News/NYT	21	61
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	22	62
Feb. 24-28, 2005	CBS News/NYT	27	59

● Do you think the United States should or should not take the leading role among all other countries in the world in trying to solve international conflicts?

		Should	Should Not
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	45	49
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	48	43

● In today's world, does the United States have a responsibility to intervene militarily in trouble spots around the world, or is this not a responsibility of the United States?

		Responsibility	Not A Responsibility
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	54	34

● Which statement comes closest to your position...As the sole remaining superpower, the U.S. should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems, the U.S. should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries, or the U.S. should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems?

		World Leader	Share In Efforts	Withdraw From Efforts
Apr. 18-22, 2003	PIPA	12	76	11

● If, as a result of the Iraq war, some governments around the world are more afraid of the U.S., would this be primarily a positive result or primarily a negative result?

		Positive Result	Negative Result
Apr. 18-22, 2003	PIPA	61	35

● Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: The U.S. plays the role of world policeman more than it should?

		Agree	Disagree
Apr. 18-22, 2003	PIPA	62	36

- Once Iraq is stabilized, do you think that U.S. military forces should or should not be withdrawn from Saudi Arabia?

Apr. 18-22, 2003	PIPA	Should 67	Should Not 30
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- Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right...With a go-it-alone foreign policy that has split NATO and created so much anti-Americanism, America is now a little less secure or with a strong foreign policy and a military that performed so well in Iraq, America is now a little more secure?

May 12-15, 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	More Secure 32	Less Secure 63
-----------------	------------------------	----------------------	----------------------

- Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right...The Bush administration's arrogant foreign policy and rejection of international treaties has unnecessarily created anti-American sentiments in many parts of the world or rising anti-American sentiments in many parts of the world are an unavoidable result of being the world's only superpower?

May 12-15, 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	Bush's Arrogance 38	Sentiments Unavoidable 52
-----------------	------------------------	---------------------------	---------------------------------

- The US has requested that other countries contribute troops to help deal with the situation in Iraq. If allies and other countries were only willing to contribute troops if the operation were under the UN with joint decision making, should the U.S. be willing to do this or not?

Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	Should 70	Should Not 24
Aug. 26-Sep. 3, 2003	PIPA	64	29

- In order to get other countries to send a significant number of troops to Iraq to take over some of the duties now being performed by U.S. troops currently stationed there, would you be willing or not willing to...allow U.S. soldiers to serve under the command of military officers from other countries or the United Nations?

Sep. 3-4, 2003	Harris Interactive	Willing 43	Not Willing 50
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- Do you think people living in other countries around the world generally have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the United States today?

Oct. 14-15, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Favorable 18	Unfavorable 62
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- How much do you care what people in other countries think of the United States and its citizens?

Oct. 14-15, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	A Lot 36	Some, But Not a Lot 33	A Little 12	Not At All 17
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● I am going to read you a list of descriptions that may be used by some people to describe the role of the United States in the world. As I read each, please tell me if you feel the term is very accurate, somewhat accurate, or not accurate in describing how the U.S. presently acts...?

Sep. 5-9, 2003

Zogby International

	Very Accurate	Somewhat Accurate	Not Accurate
A good friend and ally of people who desire freedom and individual human rights	65	28	7
A force to promote the values of freedom and democracy everywhere in the world	58	29	12
A genuine superpower, but one that actively seeks out allies in dealing with global issues	51	34	15
An imperialist power that acts on its own, regardless of what the rest of the world thinks	32	27	40
A nation with self-interests that too often conflict with our espoused ideals of freedom and democracy	32	36	29
A reluctant sheriff with responsibility to police the world and regional trouble spots	31	44	23
A selfish power that is willing to sell out those who want our freedoms when those desires conflict with our own needs as a nation	16	27	56

● Do you think the United States does—or does not—have a responsibility to help other countries rid themselves of dictators and become democracies?

Nov. 14-16, 2003

Gallup/CNN/USA Today

Yes, Does  
56

No, Does Not  
38

● Which do you think is more important – for the United States to be well-liked by other countries around the world or to be respected by other countries around the world?

Mar. 23-24, 2004

Fox News/Opinion Dynamics

Well-Liked  
5

Respected  
82

**THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS:** *In an August 2003 Gallup, CNN, USA Today poll, 60 percent said the United Nations was doing a poor job and 37 percent a good job in trying to solve the problems it has to face. In mid-March in ABC News/Washington Post polling, Americans disapproved of the way the United Nations was handling the situation with Iraq and Saddam Hussein. Still, 70 percent said that in the future the U.S. should continue its usual relationship with the body. Twenty-one percent said we should show less cooperation.*

- Do you think the United Nations is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face?

		Good Job	Poor Job
Dec. 11-16, 1953	Gallup	55	30
Jul. 13-18, 1967	Gallup	50	35
Aug. 25-Sep. 1, 1970	Gallup	44	40
Oct. 29-Nov. 2, 1971	Gallup	35	43
Nov. 21-24, 1975	Gallup	32	51
Feb. 24-27, 1978	Gallup	40	39
Sep. 12-15, 1980	Gallup	31	53
Jun. 25-28, 1982	Gallup	36	49
Oct. 7-10, 1983	Gallup	36	51
Feb. 15-18, 1985	Gallup	38	44
Aug. 13-15, 1985	Gallup	28	54
Oct. 18-21, 1990	Gallup	54	34
Mar. 29-31, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	44
Jun. 18-21, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	41
Aug. 28-30, 1995	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	56
Sep. 19-22, 1995	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	36	49
Oct. 19-22, 1995	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	36	49
Feb. 23-25, 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	46
May 18-21, 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	43
Feb. 1-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	38
Feb. 4-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	36
Oct. 21-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	51
Jan. 23-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	42
Mar. 14-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	58
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	60
Feb. 9-12, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	36	60

- In general, is your opinion of the United Nations very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

		Favorable	Unfavorable
Feb. 6, 2003	Harris Interactive	68	29
Feb. 19-20, 2003	Harris Interactive	65	33
May 21-22, 2003	Harris Interactive	57	39

NOTE: Results are combined.

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way the United Nations is handling the situation with Iraq and Saddam Hussein?

		Approve	Disapprove
Feb. 19-23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	38	56
Mar. 17, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	20	75

● In the future, do you think the United States should continue its usual relationship with the United Nations, or do you think the United States should show less cooperation and support for the United Nations?

		Continue As Usual	Show Less Cooperation
Mar. 17, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	70	21

● Looking ahead, do you think this situation with Iraq has affected the United Nations' ability to influence future international matters. (If Yes) Has it strengthened the United Nations' ability to influence future international matters, or weakened the U.N.'s ability to influence future international matters?

		Yes, Strengthened	Yes, Weakened	No Effect
Mar. 15-16, 2003	CBS/NYT	10	58	23

● Do you think that in the period after the war with Iraq, the UN's role in the world will be more important, less important, or about the same as before the war?

		More Important	The Same	Less Important
Mar. 22-25, 2003	PIPA	30	41	26
Jun. 18-25, 2003	PIPA	30	45	23

● Do you think this means that the UN will not be relevant to matters of war and peace in the future, or do you think that the UN will continue to be relevant to matters of war and peace?

		Relevant	Not Relevant
Mar. 22-25, 2003*	PIPA	58	37
Jun. 18-25, 2003	PIPA	63	30

NOTE: \*Question wording began, "As you may know, the US did not succeed in getting UN Security Council authorization for war against Iraq. Do you think...?"

● Do you think that in the future the United States should feel more free to use force without UN authorization or should not feel more free to use force without UN authorization?

		Should Feel More Free	Should Not Feel More Free
Mar. 22-25, 2003	PIPA	29	66
Apr. 18-22, 2003	PIPA	35	61

● In November, the United Nations passed Resolution 1441 that required Iraq to prove it does not have chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs. How much do you think failure to enforce Resolution 1441 has damaged the credibility of the United Nations...a lot, some, not much, or not at all?

		A Lot	Some	Not Much	Not At All
Apr. 8-9, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	51	28	8	6

● Based on its role in the recent Iraq conflict, do you think that the United Nations can still effectively function as an international peacekeeping force or not?

		Yes	No
Apr. 12-13, 2003	NBC/WSJ	50	42

**PREEMPTIVE STRIKES: REACTIONS TO THE BUSH DOCTRINE:** *In his commencement address at West Point on June 1, 2002 President Bush said that the nation needed to "be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives." Since that speech, several pollsters have explored public support for preemptive action. The results are shown below. Here again, question wording influences responses. Gallup/CNN/USA Today begins by asking people to think about situations in which a country has not attacked the United States. The organization finds little difference in opinion on whether various responses are justified or not justified. PSRA/Pew finds less support for attacking potential enemies first than for letting them know they would be destroyed if they attacked the U.S., but support in both cases is strong. In July 2003, 55 percent told NBC News/Wall Street Journal interviewers that they agreed with the new military policy, defined this way: "The United States's decision to go to war against Iraq represents a change of military policy from one in which we respond to military actions by hostile countries to one in which we initiate military action when there is a threat of hostility." A third disagreed with it.*

- 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	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Apr. 30-May 4, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	22	45	17	13
July 14-Aug. 5, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	20	43	19	13
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	20	40	22	14

- Which comes closer to your opinion? 1. The United States should not attack another country unless that country has attacked the United States first, or 2. The United States should be able to attack any country it thinks might attack the United States?

		Should Be Able To Attack First	Should Not Be Able To Attack First
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	41	47
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	43	44
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	43	44
Mar. 21-22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	52	40
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	47	40
Jan. 12-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	32	58
July 11-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	33	60

- Which comes closer to your opinion on what the United States policy should be after the war with Iraq? 1. The United States should not attack another country unless that country has attacked the United States first, or 2. The United States should be able to attack any country it thinks might attack the United States?

		Should Be Able To Attack First	Should Not Be Able To Attack First
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	38	51
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	42	50
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	39	53
Jul. 8-9, 2003	CBS News	33	58
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003	CBS News/NYT	35	55

- Which comes closer to your opinion? 1. One country should not be able to attack another country unless that country is attacked first, or 2: One country should be able to attack any country it thinks will attack first?

		Should Be Able To Attack First	Should Not Be Able To Attack First
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	33	56
Mar. 21-22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	45	39

- Which comes closer to your opinion? 1. The United States should not attack Iraq unless Iraq has attacked the United States first, or 2. The United States should be able to attack Iraq if it thinks Iraq might attack the United States?

		Should Be Able To Attack Iraq	Should Not Attack Iraq
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	61	26
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	58	32

- Do you think the United States' policy should be to attack groups and countries if we have evidence that they are preparing to commit terrorist acts, or to not attack any country or group until they actually commit a terrorist act?

		Should Attack	Should Not Attack
Sep. 3-5, 2002	NBC/WSJ	67	22
Oct. 18-21, 2002*	NBC/WSJ	52	31

NOTE: \*Asked of registered voters.

- If the United States were to use weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear weapons, on a "first strike" basis, would you trust the government to decide when to make a first strike or would you want the government to give proof, in advance, that a first strike was really necessary?

		Trust Without Proof	Want Proof
Jun. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	37	50

- One way of protecting the U.S. is to make sure our enemies know they would be destroyed if they attacked the U.S. How effective do you think this is as a way of protecting the U.S.?

		Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not Too Effective	Not At All
Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	36	38	15	8

- One way of protecting the U.S. is to attack potential enemies first if we think it is likely they will attack us. How effective do you think this is as a way of protecting the U.S.?

		Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not Too Effective	Not At All
Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	24	39	18	15

- All in all, which way of protecting the U.S. do you favor most...making sure our enemies know that they would be destroyed if they attack us, or attacking our enemies first if we think it is likely they will attack us?

		Making Sure Enemies Know	Attack Enemies First
Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	66	25

- Next, I'd like you to think about some situations in which a country has not attacked the United States, but is considered a threat. For each of the following situations, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose the United States using military action against the country if there was strong evidence that..

Jun. 21-23, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today				
		Justified	Not Justified	Favor	Oppose
	The country was aiding terrorists who were making plans to attack the U.S.	87	12	82	15
	The country was planning to attack the U.S. in the future	81	18	82	15
	The country was an enemy and was developing chemical/biological weapons	79	19	77	19
	The country was an enemy and was developing nuclear weapons	75	23	72	22

- In general, do you think the U.S. has the right to try to weaken or overthrow governments that it believes pose a threat to the United States, or not?

Aug. 6-7, 2002	CBS News	Does 57	Does Not 33
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- In general, do you think the U.S. has a right to try to weaken or overthrow governments that are unfriendly to the United States, or not?

Aug. 6-7, 2002	CBS News	Does 31	Does Not 55
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- Now I'm going to read a few different scenarios, and for each one, please tell me if you would support a US attempt at regime change. Okay... How about: When a country directly attacks a US ally? Would you support a US attempt at regime change?

Oct. 7-13, 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	Yes 74	No 16
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- Now I'm going to read a few different scenarios, and for each one, please tell me if you would support a US attempt at regime change. How about: When a country directly attacks the United States? Would you support a US attempt at a regime change?

Oct. 7-13, 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	Yes 91	No 6
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- How about: When a country is known to support terrorism? Would you support a US attempt at a regime change?

		Yes	No
Oct. 7-13, 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	70	24

- How about: When a country has the capability and apparent intent to harm the US? Would you support a US attempt at regime change?

		Yes	No
Oct. 7-13, 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	78	15

- How about: When a country is led by a dictator? Would you support a US attempt at regime change?

		Yes	No
Oct. 7-13, 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	35	56

- Which comes closest to your view, the United States should attack nations that harbor terrorists or have weapons of mass destruction even if these countries have not attacked the U.S. first; or, the United States should not attack nations that have not attacked it first even if they harbor terrorists or have weapons of mass destruction?

		Should Attack	Should Not Attack
Dec. 17-18, 2002	Harris Interactive	43	46

- Finally, do you think that using military force to remove dictators of countries that may threaten the United States, but have not attacked us, is usually the right thing to do, sometimes the right thing to do, rarely the right thing to do, or never the right thing to do?

		Usually Right	Sometimes Right	Rarely Right	Never Right
Apr. 8-9, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	15	51	20	10

- The United States's decision to go to war against Iraq represents a change of military policy from one in which we respond to military actions by hostile countries to one in which we initiate military action when there is a threat of hostility. Do you agree or disagree with this new military policy?

		Agree	Disagree
Apr. 12-13, 2003	NBC/WSJ	63	25
Jul. 26-28, 2003	NBC/WSJ	55	36

***IRAN'S THREAT?:*** Thus far in 2003, the pollsters have asked only a handful of questions about Iran. If they include references to preventing the development of nuclear weapons or to weapons of mass destruction or to ties to terrorist organizations, majorities say they support U.S. military action. When Iran is described as a nation that some people say is a "potential threat to the United States," people are opposed to taking military action.

- Which comes closest to your view – Iran poses an immediate threat to the United States, Iran poses a long-term threat to the U.S., but not an immediate threat, or Iran does not pose a threat to the United States at all?

		Immediate Threat	Long-Term Threat	Does Not Pose A Threat
May 30-Jun. 1, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	64	20
Jul. 30-Aug. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	18	60	17
Nov. 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	23	58	14

- How likely do you think it is that the United States will take military action against Iran in the next year?

		Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Not Very Likely	Not At All Likely
Jun. 30-Jul. 1, 2003	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	14	29	27	13

- Thinking about another country in the region: Would you support or oppose the United States taking military action against Iran to prevent it from developing nuclear weapons?

		Support	Oppose
Jun. 18-22, 2003	ABC/WP	56	38

- Would you support or oppose the United States taking military action against Iran if it is proven that country is aiding terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda?

		Support	Oppose
Jun. 3-4, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	61	29

- I'm going to read you a list of nations that some people say pose a potential threat to the United States. For each, please tell me whether you think that the United States should or should not take military action against that nation . . . Iran?

		Should	Should Not
Apr. 12-13, 2003	NBC/WSJ	21	64

- As you may know, the U.S. believes Iran, North Korea, and Syria are either providing assistance to terrorists or attempting to develop weapons of mass destruction. For each, please say if you think the U.S. should or should not go to war with that country. How about . . . Iran?

		Should	Should Not
Apr. 10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	69



● Please tell me if you would support the United States using military force against any of the following countries that, like Iraq, have been linked to terrorism or have weapons programs considered a threat to other countries. Would you support using military force against . . . Iran, or not?

Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	Yes 45	No 41
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● There is evidence that Iran is developing nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Do you think the U.S. should or should not take military action against Iran if they continue to develop these weapons?

Apr. 2-3, 2003	LAT	Should 50	Should Not 36
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● Thinking about another country, would you support or oppose the United States taking military action against Iran to prevent it from developing nuclear weapons?

Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	Support 65	Oppose 31
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● What if most members of the UN Security Council opposed such military action – in that case would you favor or oppose having US forces take military action against Iran? (Asked of those who said they support military action in Iran)

Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	Favor 77	Oppose 19
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● Do you think, in the near future, the US should or should not go to war to overthrow the government of Iran?

Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	Should 20	Should Not 69
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***NORTH KOREA'S THREAT?:*** In January 2003, large majorities told Gallup, CNN, USA Today interviewers that preventing both Iraq and North Korea from developing weapons of mass destruction was a very important goal. In early 2003, people said that Iraq posed a greater immediate threat than North Korea.

- Which comes closest to your view – North Korea poses an immediate threat to the United States, North Korea poses a long-term threat to the U.S., but not an immediate threat, or North Korea does not pose a threat to the United States at all?

		Immediate Threat	Long-Term Threat	Does Not Pose A Threat
Mar. 14-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	23	63	12
Jul. 30-Aug. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	15	62	16
Nov. 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	20	60	15

- Which of these do you think represents the greater threat to peace and stability – Iraq or North Korea?

		Iraq	N. Korea
Jan. 4-6, 2003	CBS News	58	24
Jan. 19-22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	55	34
Feb. 10-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	68	20
Mar. 7-9, 2003	CBS News/NYT	61	28

- Which of the following countries do you think poses the greatest immediate danger to the United States...North Korea, Iraq, or Iran?

		Iraq	N. Korea	Iran
Oct. 22-23, 2002*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	49	15	4
Dec. 17-18, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	43	23	8
Apr. 22-23, 2003+	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	10	54	6

NOTE: \*Asked of likely voters. +Question wording included Syria, which was mentioned by 10 percent of respondents.

- As I read a list of specific foreign policy problems, tell me whether each one should have top priority in the U.S. government, a priority but not top priority, or no priority. First, how about...?

		Top Priority	A Priority	No Priority
<b>Getting Saddam Hussein out of Iraq</b>				
Sep. 1993	PSRA/Pew Research Center	54	28	17
Mar. 1999	PSRA/Pew Research Center	60	28	10
Jan. 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	60	27	11
<b>Countering the threat of threat of North Korean militarism</b>				
Sep. 1993	PSRA/Pew Research Center	20	49	25
Mar. 1999	PSRA/Pew Research Center	29	49	14
Jan. 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	47	40	8

(Asked of those who said that either “getting Saddam Hussein out of Iraq” or “countering the threat of North Korean militarism” was a “top priority”) Focusing just on Iraq and North Korea for a moment, which do you think is the higher priority for the United States right now?

Jan. 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	Iraq 57	N. Korea 34
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- How important a goal should each of the following be for U.S. military action – should it be a very important goal, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all? How about...?

		Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Too Important	Not Important At All
Jan. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today				
	Preventing Iraq from developing weapons of mass destruction	86	10	2	1
	Preventing North Korea from developing weapons of mass destruction	77	17	3	2

- Which of the following poses the bigger threat to the United States – Iraq or North Korea, or are both equal threats to the United States?

Jan. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Iraq 51	N. Korea 18	Both 28
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- Which of these two nations do you think poses a greater threat to the United States...North Korea or Iraq?

Jan. 2-5, 2003	ABC News	Iraq 55	N. Korea 35
Feb. 6-9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	56	33

- Which country do you think poses the greatest immediate threat to the United States - Iraq or North Korea?

Jan. 14-15, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Iraq 40	N. Korea 33
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- Which comes closer to your view? Statement A: The Bush administration has paid too much attention to Iraq and not enough attention to the situation in North Korea, OR Statement B: The Bush administration has spent the right amount of time on both the situation in Iraq and North Korea?

Jan. 19-21, 2003	NBC News/WSJ	Right Amount 58	Too Much On Iraq 35
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- As you may know, North Korea says that it is processing nuclear materials to make nuclear weapons. Do you think North Korea presents an immediate threat, or no threat at all?

Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	Immediate Threat 21	Long-Term Threat 61	Not Threat 15
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***INTERVENTION IN LIBERIA?:*** The questions displayed below about U.S. involvement in Liberia show that even small changes in question wording and emphasis can change poll responses. This is especially true when Americans have little information about a situation such as the one in Liberia. The Gallup question from early July 2003 shows majority support for ground troops "along with troops from other countries, in an international peacekeeping force." An ABC News/Washington Post question that asks people about sending "2,000 troops" as part of an international force "to help enforce a cease-fire in the civil war there" produces bare majority opposition. Another question that uses the words "U.N. peacekeeping mission" finds 46 percent favoring sending "some troops" and 41 percent disagreeing. Awareness of other U.S. troop commitments abroad, especially in Iraq, may also influence responses.

- Would you favor or oppose the presence of U. S. ground troops, along with troops from other countries, in an international peacekeeping force in Liberia?

		Favor	Oppose
Jul. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	36
Jul. 25-27, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	30
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	33

- On another subject, would you support or oppose sending up to 2,000 U. S. troops to the African nation of Liberia as part of an international force to help enforce a cease-fire in the civil war there?

		Support	Oppose
Jul. 9-10, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	41	51

- On another subject...would you support sending U.S. military forces to the African nation of Liberia to participate in a peace-keeping operation there?

		Yes	No
Jul. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	51	36

- Do you think the United States should send troops to participate in peacekeeping activities in Liberia or not?

		Should	Should Not
Jul. 15-16, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	35	46

- Do you agree or disagree that the United States should send some troops to Liberia as part of a U.N. peacekeeping mission?

		Agree	Disagree
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Zogby International	46	41

- As you may know, the United States has been asked to deal with the situation in Liberia. Do you favor or oppose sending about a hundred troops into Liberia for a few months or less? (Asked of half sample)

		Favor	Oppose
Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	43	50

● As you may know, the United States has been asked to contribute military troops to an international peacekeeping force to deal with the military situation in Liberia. Do you favor or oppose sending about a thousand troops into Liberia for a year or more? (Asked of half sample)

Jul. 16-17, 2003	Harris Interactive	Favor 35	Oppose 57
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● President Bush is considering sending approximately 2,000 marines to Liberia to be part of a UN peacekeeping mission along with several thousand troops from other countries. Would you approve or disapprove of this?

Jul. 11-20, 2003	PIPA	Approve 48	Disapprove 41
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● The West African nation of Liberia, which was founded by former U.S. slaves, has recently experienced growing poverty and civil war. The United Nations wants to negotiate a ceasefire in this war and send armed peacekeepers to enforce it. Would you approve or disapprove of sending a thousand American soldiers to Liberia as part of a UN peacekeeping force?

Jul. 26-28, 2003	NBC/WSJ	Approve 58	Disapprove 35
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**TRUST IN GOVERNMENT AFTER 9/11:** As the data below show, trust in the government in Washington to do what is right turned up after 9/11, but it's not clear what that means. Two questions asked by ABC News in early January 2002 suggest the uptick was limited to national security and the war on terrorism. Since then, the "trust in government" numbers have returned to pre-9/11 levels.

Writing in the January/February 2002 issue of the Public Perspective, David Moore of the Gallup Organization argued that journalists and academics have relied too much on the "trust in government" question, first asked nationally by the University of Michigan in 1958. They have never demonstrated that a decline in trust in Washington in the past quarter century represented a threat to the American democracy, he says. Further, he argues, "It is not clear that this resurgence of trust means very much for democracy."

- How much confidence do you have in the ability of the U.S. government to prevent further terrorist attacks against Americans in this country: a great deal, a good amount, only a fair amount, or none at all?

		Great Deal	Good Amount	Fair Amount	None
Sep. 11, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	35	31	30	2
Nov. 5-6, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	17	35	40	7
Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	24	39	32	5
Jan. 24-27, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	18	40	37	6
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	18	38	39	5
May 18-19, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	17	29	42	10
Jun. 7-9, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	14	30	44	11
Jul. 11-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	13	33	45	9
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	12	38	43	6
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	14	31	48	7
Jan. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	19	36	34	10
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	15	33	42	9
Sept. 6-8, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	16	35	39	8

- How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right - just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

		Just About Always	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	Never (Vol.)
Jan. 3-4, 1999	CBS News	4	30	64	2
Sep. 14-18, 1999	CBS News/NYT	4	34	59	2
Oct. 3-4, 1999	CBS News/NYT	3	27	66	4
Oct. 29-31, 2000	CBS News/NYT	5	35	57	2
Jan. 15-17, 2001	CBS News/NYT	3	28	64	3
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/NYT	10	45	42	2
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	5	42	49	2
Jan. 21-25, 2002	CBS News/NYT	5	41	51	2
Jul. 13-16, 2002	CBS News/NYT	5	33	57	4
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	5	33	57	4
Jul. 13-27, 2003	CBS News/NYT	4	32	60	3

● How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right - just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

		Just About Always	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	Never (Vol.)
Feb. 4-8, 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	5	29	64	2
Jul. 6-9, 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	4	38	56	2
Oct. 5-6, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	47	38	1
Jun. 17-19, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	39	51	3
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	38	52	2

● How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right - just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

		Just About Always	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	Never (Vol.)
Feb. 12-14, 1999	Wash Post	3	29	63	4
Mar. 30-Apr. 2, 2000	ABC News/Wash Post	4	26	64	5
Sep. 25-27, 2001	Wash Post	13	51	35	1
Sep. 3-6, 2002	Wash Post	6	34	59	2

● How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what's right - just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

		About Always	Most of the Time	Only Some of the Time	Never
Aug. 31-Sep. 1, 1994	Yankelovich	2	17	72	9
Dec. 19-20, 2001*	Harris Interactive	8	41	48	2

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "trust the government to do what is right."

● How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right - just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time, or hardly ever?

		Just About Always	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	Hardly Ever
Mar. 3-5, 2001	L.A. Times	3	26	51	18
Nov. 10-13, 2001	L.A. Times	6	43	42	8
Aug. 22-25, 2002	L.A. Times	6	33	51	10

● How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right - just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

		Just About Always	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	Never (Vol.)
Jun. 18-Jul. 18, 2001	PSRA/Brookings	4	25	66	4
Sep. 27-Oct. 6, 2001	PSRA/Brookings	15	42	39	2
May 2-12, 2002	PSRA/Brookings	8	32	53	4

● In general, how much do you trust the following organizations. First, what about the federal government in Washington?

		Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not too Much	Not at All
Jun. 18-Jul. 18, 2001	PSRA/Brookings	7	56	29	7
Sep. 27-Oct. 6, 2001	PSRA/Brookings	17	63	16	4

● When it comes to handling national security and the war on terrorism, how much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? Would you say just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

		Just About Always	Most Of The Time	Some Of The Time	Never (Vol.)
Jan. 9-13, 2002	ABC News	22	47	28	2

● When it comes to handling social issues like the economy, health care, Social Security, education, how much of the time do you trust the government in Washington to do what is right? Would you say just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

		Just About Always	Most Of The Time	Some Of The Time	Never (Vol.)
Jan. 9-13, 2002	ABC News	6	32	56	5

● Now I am going to read you a list of institutions in American society. Please tell me how much confidence you, yourself, have in each one - a great deal, quite a lot, some, or very little...the military?

		Great Deal/ Quite A Lot	Some	Very Little/ None (Vol.)
1975	Gallup	58	25	12
1977	Gallup	57	25	13
1978	Gallup	48	30	17
1979	Gallup	54	29	14
1980	Gallup	52	28	16
1981	Gallup	46	34	16
1983	Gallup	53	29	13
1985	Gallup	61	28	9
1986	Gallup	63	24	11
1987	Gallup	61	28	10
1988	Gallup	58	30	10
1989	Gallup	63	37	--
1990	Gallup	68	22	8
1991	Gallup	69	20	9
1993	Gallup	67	23	9
1994	Gallup	64	26	8
1995	Gallup	64	27	8
1996	Gallup	66	25	7
1997	Gallup	60	27	12
1998	Gallup	64	25	10
1999	Gallup	68	26	6
2000	Gallup	64	26	8
2000	Gallup	72	20	7
2001	Gallup	66	24	8
2002	Gallup	79	16	5
2003	Gallup	82	14	4
2004	Gallup	75	19	5



- How much confidence do you have in the U.S. government to protect its citizens from future terrorist attacks – a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

		Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not Very Much	None At All
Sep. 14-15, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	47	9	2
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	58	15	2
May 20-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	22	54	18	5
Jun. 7-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	27	49	17	5
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	56	16	3
Feb. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	29	53	14	4
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	23	53	19	5
Jan. 2-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	31	50	15	4
Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	28	50	15	6

- In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism - very well, fairly well, not too well, or not at all well?

		Very Well	Somewhat Well	Not Too Well	Not At All Well
Oct. 10-14, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	48	40	6	2
Oct. 15-21, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	38	46	9	4
Oct. 31-					
Nov. 7, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	35	46	9	5
Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	16	60	16	4
Oct. 30-					
Nov. 2, 2002*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	15	54	19	8
Jul. 14-					
Aug. 5, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	19	56	16	7

NOTE: \*Asked of registered voters.

- In general, which of the following kinds of government would you rather have - a government that provides more services but costs more in taxes, a government that costs less in taxes but provides fewer services?

		More Services More Taxes	Fewer Services Less Taxes
Aug. 4-5, 1994	PSRA/Newsweek	27	57
Oct. 18-19, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	52	36

- If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services?

		Bigger Government Many Services	Smaller Government Fewer Services
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/NYT	39	48
Jan. 21-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	40	46
Jul. 13-27, 2003	CBS News/NYT	40	48

- Generally speaking, would you say you favor smaller government with fewer services, or larger government with many services?

		Larger Government Many Services	Smaller Government Fewer Services
Mar. 3-5, 2001	L.A. Times	29	59
Nov. 10-13, 2001	L.A. Times	41	48

- If 1 represents someone who generally believes that, on the whole, federal government programs should be cut back greatly to reduce the power of government, and 6 represents someone who feels that federal government programs should be maintained to deal with important problems, where on the scale of 1 to 6 would you place yourself?

		Mean
Jun. 18-Jul. 18, 2001	PSRA/Brookings	3.86
Sep. 27-Oct. 6, 2001	PSRA/Brookings	4.15
May 2-12, 2002	PSRA/Brookings	3.96

- Do you think that in general the federal government creates more problems that it solves, or do you think that it solves more problems than it creates?

		Creates More Problems	Solves More Problems
Jan. 3-4, 1999	CBS News/NYT	64	25
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	44	42

NOTE: The forty-two percent who said “solves more problems” is the highest point ever recorded on this question for CBS and the New York Times. It was asked for the first time in 1981.

- Occasionally, major events like terrorist attacks can change the way people view themselves, other people or the world in general. How true are the following statements about you?

		Entirely True	Mostly True	A Little True	Not At All True
Apr. 5-7, 2004	AP/Ipsos-Reid				
	You have less faith in government’s ability to protect you than you did before	13	21	26	39

**VIEWS ON INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE 9/11 ATTACKS:** Questions asked by NBC News/Wall Street Journal, ABC News, and CBS News interviewers present different pictures of public reaction to issues surrounding U.S. intelligence and the terrorist attacks. Around 20 percent in September 2001 and May 2002 placed a great deal of blame for the terrorist attacks on the CIA and the FBI; fewer than 10 percent blamed the Bush administration. In June 2004, this proportion had risen to 17 percent. In September 2001, 57 percent told Harris Interactive interviewers that the government should investigate whether the CIA and other government agencies could have prevented the attacks; in May 2002, 68 percent told PSRA/Newsweek interviewers that it was in the national interest for Congress to investigate intelligence failures of the CIA and FBI in connection with 9/11. In a May 2002 CBS News question, 36 percent said Congress should hold hearings to investigate what the White House knew; 41 percent said this wasn't necessary.

- From what you know, do you think that the Bush Administration did all that could reasonably be expected to prevent the September eleventh terrorist attacks, or do you think that the Administration should have done more?

		Did All It Could	Could Have Done More
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	58	36
June 25-28, 2004	NBC/WSJ	50	43

- Based on what you know now, do you believe that the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> represented a failure of the American intelligence and security systems, or do you believe that these attacks were beyond what was reasonable to expect the American intelligence and security systems to uncover?

		Failure Of Intelligence Systems	Beyond What Is Reasonable To Expect
Sep. 12, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	41	49
Sep. 15-16, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	47	45
May 18, 2002	NBC News/WSJ	42	50
Jun. 8-10, 2002	NBC News/WSJ	45	49

- Some people have said that the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon represent the biggest failure for American intelligence operations since Pearl Harbor. Do you think that these attacks were something that government intelligence agencies should have been able to discover in advance?

		Yes	No
Sep. 11-12, 2002	CBS News/NYT	55	29
May 19-20, 2002	CBS News/NYT	54	36

- Do you think the United States government did all it reasonably could do to try to prevent the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks, or do you think it could have done more?

		Did All It Could	Could Have Done More
Sep. 11, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	43	44
Sep. 13, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	31	65
May 18-19, 2002	ABC News	43	53

● Overall, how much do you blame each of the following for the terrorist attacks this past Tuesday – a great deal, a moderate amount, only a little, or not at all? How about...?

Gallup/CNN/USA Today

	Great Deal	Moderate Amount	Only A Little	Not At All
<b>Clinton Administration</b>				
Sep. 14-15, 2001	16	29	18	3
June 21-23, 2004	13	27	24	34
<b>Bush Administration</b>				
Sep. 14-15, 2001	9	25	20	44
May 16, 2002*	7	22	26	43
June 7-8, 2002	9	23	26	40
June 21-23, 2004	17	25	23	34
<b>CIA</b>				
Sep. 14-15, 2001	22	37	20	18
May 16, 2002*	19	30	27	18
<b>FBI</b>				
Sep. 14-15, 2001	18	34	24	22
May 16, 2002*	16	29	24	27

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “each of the following for the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks...?”

● Now, do you think it is in the national interest for Congress to investigate intelligence failures of the CIA and FBI in connection with the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks, or would such a public investigation at this time not be in the national interest?

	Yes, National Interest	No, Not National Interest
May 16-17, 2002 PSRA/Newsweek	68	24

● Do you think the federal government should or should not conduct an investigation into whether the CIA or other government agencies could have prevented the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon?

	Should Investigate	Should Not Investigate
Sep. 27, 2001 Harris Interactive	57	40

● Do you think that there should be a full-scale investigation into the handling of intelligence before September 11<sup>th</sup>, or do you feel that this would be unproductive and too political?

	Should Be An Investigation	Investigation Would Be Unproductive/Too Political
May 18, 2002 NBC News/WSJ	36	58

● As you may know, the Bush administration said today that it was aware before September 11 that Osama bin Laden’s terrorist organization had plans to hijack U.S. airplanes. However, the administration was not aware that the airplanes would be used to blow up buildings, and they were not aware of a specific date or location of attack. Do you think there should or should not be a Congressional investigation into the fact that the Bush administration did not release this information sooner?

		Should Investigate	Should Not Investigate
May 16, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	55

● Do you think the U.S. Congress should or should not conduct an investigation into what the Bush administration knew about the terrorist attacks before September 11<sup>th</sup>, and how it handled that intelligence?

		Should Investigate	Should Not Investigate
May 18-19, 2002	ABC News	56	41

● Do you think Congress should hold hearings to investigate what the White House knew about possible terrorist attacks, or don’t you think that is necessary?

		Hold Hearings	Not Necessary
May 19-20, 2002	CBS News	36	41

● When you think about the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, do you place a lot of blame, some blame, or no blame at all on the United States intelligence agencies like the CIA and FBI - a lot, some, or none at all?

		A Lot	Some	None
Sep. 2-5, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	24	50	24
Jul. 24-25, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	19	53	23

● Do you think the United States is doing all it reasonably can do to try to prevent further terrorist attacks, or do you think it should do more?

		Doing All It Can	Should Do More
Oct. 8-9, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	71	27
Oct. 15, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	68	29
Nov. 5-6, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	56	43
Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	62	36
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	59	40
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	66	33
May 18-19, 2002	ABC News	54	42
Jun. 12-16, 2002	ABC News	56	40
Dec. 12-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	55	43
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	56	42
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	56	42

- Do you think the government had information before September 11, 2001 that could have prevented the terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, or didn't they have that information?

		Had Information	Did Not Have Information
Dec. 21-22, 2003	CBS News	51	37

- Does it sound to you like these intelligence reports were detailed enough for the government to have taken specific action to increase security, or do you think these reports were too vague for the government to know what action to take?

		Detailed	Vague
May 19, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	32	56
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	32	62

- Compared to the way it handled intelligence reports about terrorist threats before September 11<sup>th</sup>, do you think the Bush administration is now doing a better job handling intelligence about terrorist threats, a worse job, or what?

		Better	Worse	Same (VOL)
May 19, 2002*	ABC News/Wash Post	82	3	6
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	81	8	8

NOTE: \*Question wording, "terrorist threats last summer."

- Do you think—Bill Clinton/George W. Bush— does or does not bear any personal responsibility for not doing more to prevent the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks?

		Responsible	Not Responsible
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post		
	Bill Clinton	52	44
	George W. Bush	50	47

### ***Historical Trends on the FBI and CIA***

- Please tell me your overall opinion of each organization. Is it favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable?

PSRA/Newsweek	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable
CIA				
Oct. 31-Nov. 10, 1991*	8	42	26	9
May 15-18, 1997*	4	35	23	10
Feb. 19-22, 1998*	7	44	25	7
Sep. 13-14, 2001	28	44	9	6
May 16-17, 2002	20	46	12	8
FBI				
Aug. 17-20, 1995*	16	48	19	9
May 15-18, 1997*	12	48	21	7
Sep. 25-Oct. 31, 1997*	13	54	17	8
Jun. 9-13, 1999*	17	54	13	7
July 2-12, 2001*	16	45	29	9
Sep. 13-14, 2001	37	48	8	3
May 16-17, 2002	27	47	12	7

NOTE: \*PSRA/Pew Research Center.

● We'd like to know your overall opinion of the Central Intelligence Agency, also known as the CIA. Is your opinion of the CIA very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable
Jun. 1985	Gallup	7	43	23	10
Jul. 1986	Gallup	7	43	18	6
Apr. 1987	Gallup	5	35	35	11
Feb. 1994	Gallup	8	40	31	13

● Is your opinion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (the FBI) favorable, not favorable, undecided, or haven't you heard enough about the F.B.I. to say?

		Favorable	Not Favorable	Haven't Heard
Oct. 3-4, 1999	CBS News	43	18	8
Apr. 15-17, 2000	CBS News	43	10	19
May 10-12, 2001	CBS News	24	25	30
June 9, 2001	CBS News	37	19	18
May 19-20, 2002	CBS News	29	17	25

● Next, I'd like your overall opinion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or FBI. If you have a favorable opinion of the FBI, choose a number between plus one and plus five – the higher the number, the more favorable your opinion – with plus five being the most favorable. If you have an unfavorable opinion of the FBI, choose a number between minus one and minus five, with minus five being the most unfavorable.

		Very Favorable	Favorable	Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable
Nov. 18-23, 1965+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	84	12	*	*
Jul. 6-9, 1973+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	33	7	4
Oct. 31-Nov. 3, 1975+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	43	11	5
Jul. 10-11, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	27	44	16	8
May 28-29, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	44	18	10

NOTE: Scale is Very Favorable (+5, +4) Favorable (+3, +2, +1), Unfavorable (-1, -2, -3) Very Unfavorable (-4, -5).  
 +Question wording was, "Here is an interesting experiment. You notice that the boxes on this card go from the highest position to plus 5 – or something you like very much – all the way down to the lowest position to a minus 5 – or something you dislike very much. How far up the scale or how far down the scale would you rate the following organizations? How about the FBI?"

● Now let me ask you about a few specific federal agencies. Using this card, first the... - is your opinion of them highly favorable, moderately favorable, not too favorable, or rather unfavorable?

RoperASW		Highly Favorable	Moderately Favorable	Not Too Favorable	Rather Unfavorable
CIA					
	Aug. 1983	15	38	24	9
	Aug. 1984	17	41	22	8
	Aug. 1985	15	38	22	11
	Aug. 1987	12	40	29	9
	Aug. 1988	15	46	17	7
	Aug. 1989	16	43	23	7
	Aug. 1990	12	41	20	8
	Aug. 1991	7	36	23	13
	Sep. 1993	8	39	21	12
	Aug. 1994	7	36	22	13
	Aug. 1995	6	38	23	12
	Jul. 1996	11	40	25	16
	Jul. 1997	7	37	25	13
	Jul. 1999	11	39	23	11
	Jul. 2000	13	38	19	9
	Jul. 2001	12	37	25	8
FBI					
	Aug. 1983	29	46	14	5
	Aug. 1984	30	47	14	5
	Aug. 1985	24	48	15	5
	Aug. 1987	28	50	14	3
	Aug. 1988	24	51	14	3
	Aug. 1989	32	45	13	4
	Aug. 1990	22	47	17	5
	Aug. 1991	19	45	15	8
	Sep. 1993	13	46	19	10
	Aug. 1994	12	49	17	8
	Aug. 1995	12	47	19	11
	Jul. 1996	16	47	19	6
	Jul. 1997	13	50	17	9
	Jul. 1999	21	45	17	7
	Jul. 2000	19	49	13	7
	Jul. 2001	14	45	23	8

● I will read you a list of federal government agencies. Please say for each if you understand what it is and does, or not.

Harris Interactive		Understand	DHS	Understand
FBI	Sept. 2001	96	Oct. 2003	81
	Oct. 2003	97	Oct. 2004	86
	Oct. 2004	96		
CIA				
	Sept. 2001	87		
	Oct.. 2003	87		
	Oct. 2004	91		



- Overall how would you rate the job...does – excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

Harris Interactive		Excellent	Pretty Good	Only Fair	Poor
CIA	Sept. 19-24, 2001	13	45	28	11
	Oct. 2003	8	49	35	9
	Oct. 2004	8	45	36	11
FBI	Sept. 19-24, 2001	19	50	23	7
	Oct. 2003	11	58	26	5
	Oct. 2004	11	54	29	7
DHS	Oct. 2003	8	47	30	14
	Oct. 2004	12	48	28	13

**CLARKE, CONDI AND THE 9/11 COMMISSION:** *In polls conducted after 9/11 and in the spring of 2002, two things stood out. First, Americans wanted to know how the terrorist attacks happened, and second, they also feared that a commission or congressional investigation could become too political and counterproductive (see “Views on Investigations into the 9/11 Attacks” section of this document). Americans weren't in the mood to assign blame. In the spring of 2004, roughly equal numbers in new polls say the Clinton and Bush administrations could have done more to prevent the terrorist attacks (71 percent for the Clinton administration, 67 percent for the Bush administration in a CBS News poll); slightly more say the FBI and CIA could have done more (79 percent). The hearings did not appear to have altered views about how President Bush was handling his job as president. Some polls show a decline in the President's handling of the issue of terrorism, others do not (see “President Bush’s Ratings” section of this document) around the time of the hearings. A poll taken by the Pew Research Center in early April 2004 showed that people were paying closer attention to higher gas prices than they were to the 9/11 Commission hearings. In poll questions after Richard Clarke's testimony, people questioned his motivations. Condoleezza Rice has a better favorable to unfavorable ratio than either President Bush or Senator Kerry. In late July 2004 polling by Gallup, 37 percent said they approved of the 9/11 Commission’s report, around 10 percent disapproved, and about 50 percent said they hadn’t heard enough to have an opinion. A Pew poll from August 2004 shows 62 percent approved of the job the Commission had been doing.*

**Attention Paid**

- 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 - the high price of gasoline these days, recent attacks on U.S. civilians and troops in Iraq, the September 11 Commission’s hearings on the 2001 terrorist attacks, or former White House aide Richard Clarke’s criticism of the Bush administration for mishandling the war on terrorism?

		Gas Prices	Attacks On Troops/Civilians	9/11 Hearings	Clarke’s Criticisms
Apr. 1-4, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	58	36	29	28

- How closely have you been following news about the hearings in Washington investigating the terrorist attacks on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001? Have you been following it very closely, somewhat closely, not too closely, or not at all?

		Very Closely	Somewhat Closely	Not Too Closely	Not At All
Apr. 8, 2004	CBS News	16	45	25	14

NOTE: Poll is re-interview of individuals surveyed from Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004.

- Retired national security official Richard Clarke recently released a book in which he criticizes the Bush administration’s handling of the war on terrorism. Have you heard or read anything about Richard Clarke’s criticism of the Bush administration?

		Yes	No
Mar. 23-24, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	65	33

● As you may know, the commission investigating the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks has heard testimony from national security advisor Condoleezza Rice. How much attention have you paid to what she told the commission— a lot, some, or not too much attention?

Apr. 8-9, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	A Lot 28	Some 28	Not Too Much 42
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● How much, if anything, have you heard about a former aide to President Bush who claims that the president ignored serious warnings prior to the Sept 11 terrorist attacks... a lot, a little, or nothing at all?

Mar. 22-28, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	A Lot 42	A Little 47	Nothing 10
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● How much attention have you paid to what former government official Richard Clarke told the commission investigating the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks this week, a lot, some, or not too much?

Mar. 25-26, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	A Lot 25	Some 25	Not Too Much 44
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**Clarke's Credibility**

● Do you find Richard Clarke's accusations to be very believable, somewhat believable, not very believable, or not believable at all?

		Very Believable	Somewhat Believable	Not Believable	Not At All Believable
Mar. 23-24, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	23	29	18	18

● From what you have heard and read, do you think Clarke is a dedicated public servant speaking out about government mistakes or do you think he is motivated by personal and political reasons?

		Dedicated Public Servant	Motivated By Personal/ Political Reasons
Mar. 25-26, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	25	50

● Richard Clarke, the Bush administration's former counter terrorism chief recently wrote a book which is critical of how the Bush administration has handled the threat of terrorism. Here are some statements that have been made by both Clarke and the Bush administration— do you agree or disagree? Richard Clarke's book is politically motivated and released at this time to impact the presidential election. Do you (agree/disagree) strongly or only somewhat?

		Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Mar. 27-30, 2004	LA Times	33	25	11	16

● Richard Clarke, the Bush administration's former counter terrorism chief recently wrote a book which is critical of how the Bush administration has handled the threat of terrorism. Here are some statements that have been made by both Clarke and the Bush administration— do you agree or disagree? Do you (agree/disagree) strongly or only somewhat? Richard Clarke is attacking the Bush administration because he was turned down for the job of deputy secretary of the Department of Homeland Security?

		Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Mar. 27-30, 2004	LA Times	11	17	22	20

**Condi's Credibility**

● I'm going to read the names of some people. Please tell me whether you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of each. If you've never heard of one, please just say so.

Apr. 6-7, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Favorable	Unfavorable	Can't Say/Never Heard Of
	George W. Bush	49	44	7
	John Kerry	43	35	22
	Condoleezza Rice	45	22	33

● I'd like to get your overall opinion of National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of her, or have you never heard of her?

Apr 8, 2004	CBS News	Favorable	Unfavorable	Never Heard Of
		56	17	16

NOTE: Poll is re-interview of individuals surveyed from Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004.

● Do you generally have a favorable or generally unfavorable impression of National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, or are you not familiar enough with her to say one way or another?

Apr. 8, 2004	Harris Interactive	Favorable	Unfavorable	Not Familiar
		41	13	43

● As you may know, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice testified today before the commission currently examining the terrorists attacks which occurred on September 11, 2001. How much have you read or heard about what Condoleezza Rice said when she spoke today—a great deal, a moderate amount, only a little, or nothing at all?

Apr. 8, 2004	Harris Interactive	A Great Deal	Moderate Amount	Only A Little	Nothing At All
		20	23	24	32

**Bottom Line**

● As you may know, a commission known as the 9-11 Commission has been investigating the events that led up to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the job this commission has been doing?

July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	61	24	15
August 5-10, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	62	21	17

● Would you say you approve or disapprove of the 9/11 Commission's report about the September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 terrorist attacks, or haven't you heard enough about it to say?

July 30-31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Approve	Disapprove	Haven't Heard Enough
July 30-31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	11	51
July 30-August 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	10	52

● Has what Clarke said about Bush made you more favorable toward Bush, less favorable toward Bush, or hasn't it made much difference either way?

		More Favorable	Less Favorable	Not Much Difference
Mar. 25-26, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	10	17	65

● Has Condoleezza Rice's testimony made you more likely or less likely to think the Bush administration did all it could to prevent the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks – or has her testimony not made much difference?

		More Likely	Less Likely	Not Made Much Difference
Apr. 8-9, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	21	15	46

● Based on the information available to the Bush administration before the terrorists attacks on September 11, 2001, do you think the Bush administration did or did not do all that could be expected to prevent the terrorist attacks?

		Did Do All It Could	Did Not Do All It Could
Mar. 26-28, 2004	Harris Interactive	42	54
Apr. 8, 2004	Harris Interactive	48	40

● As you may know, Clarke told the commission that the Bush Administration did not do all it could to fight terrorism. What do you think... has the Bush Administration done all it could to fight terrorism or has it not done all it could?

		All It Could	Not Done All It Could
Mar. 25-26, 2004	PSRA/Newsweek	46	43

● Overall, do you think the 9/11 commission hearings have been mostly fair and impartial, or not?

		Fair	Not Fair
Apr. 8, 2004	CBS News	53	22

NOTE: Poll is re-interview of individuals surveyed from Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004.

● When you think of the federal commission investigating the U.S. government's performance prior to the terrorist attacks of September eleventh, 2001, would you say that it has been fairly objective or that it has been too partisan?

		Fairly Objective	Too Partisan	Mixed	Not Sure
May 1-3, 2004	NBC/WSJ	36	43	9	12

NOTE: Asked of registered voters. Mixed was a volunteered answer.

● Which of the following ... do you think better describes the 9/11 commission investigation?

		All	Dem	Rep	Ind
Apr. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics				
	Constructive, bi-partisan activity	34	42	26	33
	Destructive, partisan activity	35	29	49	29

- Which of the following ... best describes how you feel about the 9/11 Commission?

Apr. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	All	Dem	Rep	Ind
	Commission is an important, bi-partisan panel	29	35	23	29
	Commission could have been useful, but it has become a partisan joke	40	37	48	40
	Commission was always a joke	16	14	18	15
	Not sure	15	14	11	16

- Two weeks ago, former White House terrorism official Richard Clarke criticized the Bush administration's policy on terrorism before 9/11 when he testified before the commission. Today, Condoleezza Rice defended the Bush administration's record on terrorism in her testimony. If you had to choose, are you more likely to believe Richard Clarke or Condoleezza Rice on this matter?

Apr. 8, 2004	Harris Interactive	Clarke	Rice	Not Sure
		36	43	21

- Do you think the... did all they could to prevent the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, or could they have done more?

Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News	Did All The Could	Could Have Done More
	Clinton Administration	17	71
	Bush Administration	23	67
	Intelligence Agencies-- FBI and CIA	13	79

- Please say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Apr. 8-15, 2004	Harris Interactive	Agree	Disagree
	Before 9/11 there were so many intelligence reports indicating so many different things that it was very difficult for the government to know which ones were real threats and which were not.	71	24
	President Bush did everything that a reasonable person would have done under the circumstances before 9/11 to protect the United States	59	36
	Before 9/11 President Bush and his advisors did not take enough notice of intelligence reports indicating that terrorists might hijack airplanes and fly them into major buildings in the United States.	52	43

**TERROR WARNINGS:** A CBS News question asked several times since November 2001 shows steady support for a system of warnings about terrorist attacks, even if the administration does not have specific information. The August 2004 poll shows that 68 percent thought it was a good idea for the government in Washington to issue warnings.

A June 2003 Fox News/Opinion Dynamics question found that 51 percent thought the color-coded terror alert system was helpful; 38 percent said it was not. A question asked by Zogby International in May 2002 shows that a bare majority (51 percent) believe the warnings are an example of what will become a "continuous and necessary" message from the government as a result of terrorism. In this question, 31 percent said the warning system was a purely political response to deflect criticism over what the administration knew prior to 9/11.

The proportion that expresses a great deal of concern about more terrorist attacks in the United States is down since the immediate post-9/11 period. Still, in early 2003, in an ABC News/Washington Post question, 27 percent said they worried a great deal about more terrorist attacks, and 45 percent worried somewhat. (See section "Are We Safer?" for more data on concerns about terrorist attacks.)

- Do you think it is a good idea or a bad idea for the government in Washington to issue warnings to the public about possible terrorist attacks, even if they don't have specific information?

		Good Idea	Bad Idea
Nov. 13-14, 2001	CBS News	66	28
May 19-20, 2002	CBS News	71	25
Jun. 18-20, 2002	CBS News	66	29
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	68	27

- Which of these statements comes closest to your view: The government is putting out too many warnings that turn out to be false alarms or the government should be giving the public all the warnings it can, even if they turn out to be false alarms?

		Too Many Warnings False Alarms	Government Should Give All Warnings
August 5-10, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	28	66

- Do you think the government's color-coded terror alert system is helpful or not?

		Helpful	Not Helpful
Nov. 19-20, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	39	41
Feb. 11-12, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	50	37
Jun. 3-4, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	51	38

● If the government believes a terrorist attack may occur somewhere in the United States, do you think it is better for the government to issue a nationwide alert to all Americans, or to issue an alert only to law enforcement officials?

Feb. 2002	Quinnipiac	Nationwide 76	Law Enforcement 21
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● In the past few days, Bush administration officials have warned about the potential of suicide bombers in the U.S., the potential of terrorists with nuclear weapons, and that a terrorist attack is likely to happen soon. Which of the following statements best reflects your position on the terrorism alerts? STATEMENT A: They unfairly alarm residents since no specific targets or locations or cautions are ever mentioned. STATEMENT B: They represent an example of what will become a continuous and necessary message from now on by the government as a result of terrorism. STATEMENT C: It is a purely political response to recent criticism over what the Bush administration knew prior to September. 11. Because even with escalating talk about threats, officials have not raised the nation's level of alert. It remains at yellow, the midpoint of the five-level warning system established in March?

May 2002	Zogby International	Continuous/ Necessary 51	Unfairly Alarming 12	Purely Political 31
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● I'm going to read you two statements about the federal government's alerts about possible terrorist attacks. Please tell me which one comes closer to your point of view...the alerts do more good than harm because they alert people to take safety precautions or the alerts do more harm than good because they scare people and cause them to worry about something that is out of their control?

Jun. 2002	NBC News/WSJ	More Good Than Harm 60	More Harm Than Good 32
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● Do you think the Bush administration has been overstating the level of threat the country faces from terrorism, understating it, or accurately describing it?

Jun. 2002	ABC News	Overstating 12	Accurately Describing 45	Understating 39
Sep. 2002	ABC News	15	50	33

● In their warnings to Americans about possible terrorist attacks, do you think the government is exaggerating the dangers, are they not taking the dangers seriously enough, or are the warnings about right?

Jun. 2002	CBS News	Exaggeration Dangers 9	Not Taking Dangers Seriously 16	Warnings are About Right 66
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● Do you think the terror alerts are getting to be like "the boy who cried wolf," or do you think the alerts are still useful even if there are false alarms?

Jun. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Like Crying Wolf 16	Still Useful 72
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● Last week the federal government changed the level of alert in the “Homeland Security Advisory System.” Do you happen to know what color or alert level the country is now under?

		Correct	Incorrect/ Not Sure
Jul. 9-10, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	22	78
Feb. 11-12, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	84	16

● In response to terrorist attacks, which of the following, if any, have you personally done to try to reduce your risk of becoming a victim of terrorism. Have you.... assembled a kit with food, water, batteries, first aid, and other emergency supplies, or avoided crowded public spaces like shopping malls and amusement parks or reported a suspicious person or activity to the police?

		Assembled Emergency Kit	Avoided Public Spaces	Reported Suspicious Activity/Person
Apr. 5-7, 2004	AP/Ipsos-Reid	28	19	9

**ATTITUDES TOWARD ARAB AMERICANS:** Although pollsters did not explore attitudes toward Arab Americans systematically before 9/11, Gallup suggests that there is evidence that the public held "somewhat negative views" about Arabs. In polls by CBS and ABC News, negative or suspicious feelings about Arabs declined after the immediate post-9/11 polls. While majorities are opposed to "singling out" Arab Americans (in the Zogby International question) or putting Arab Americans under "special surveillance" (the PSRA/Newsweek formulation), people are supportive of increased security requirements such as more extensive security checks and tightening immigration requirements. Question wording in this area, as in many others, has an impact on responses.

In January and October 2002, ABC News polled about attitudes toward Islam. The full results can be found at <http://abcnews.go.com/sections/us/PollVault/PollVault.html>

- Now thinking about some specific religious groups...Is your overall opinion of Muslim-Americans very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable
Aug. 24-					
Sep. 10, 2000*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	11	39	13	8
Mar. 5-18, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	7	38	16	8
Nov. 13-19, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	15	44	12	5

NOTE: \*Registered voters.

- Since the terrorist attacks, have you yourself become more suspicious of people who you think are of Middle-Eastern descent, or not?

		Yes	No
Sep. 21-25, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	28	70
Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	36	62
Aug. 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	37	61

- Have last month's terrorist attacks made you personally more suspicious of people who you think are of Arab descent, or not?

		Yes	No
Sep. 13, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	43	56
Oct. 8-9, 2001	ABC News	38	60
Dec. 18-29, 2001	ABC News	31	67
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	39	60

- Would you say that you have less trust in Arabs living in this country than you did before the terrorist attacks on September 11<sup>th</sup>, or has your trust in Arabs living in this country not changed?

		Less Trust	Trust Not Changed
Sep. 14-15, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	63
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	61

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "Would you say that you now have less trust in Arabs living in this country than you did before the terrorist attacks on Tuesday, or has your trust in Arabs living in this country not changed?"

- These days, do you ever have any negative feelings toward Arabs because of the attack?

		Yes	No
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	24	74
Oct. 8, 2001	CBS News	15	83

- On another subject, do you feel you do or do not have a good basic understanding of the teaching and beliefs of Islam, the Muslim religion?

		Yes	No
Oct. 8-9, 2001	ABC News	34	65
Jan. 2-6, 2002	ABC News	31	61
Oct. 11-15, 2002	ABC News/BeliefNet	25	73
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	33	64

- Would you say you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of Islam?

		Favorable	Unfavorable
Oct. 8-9, 2001	ABC News	47	39
Jan. 2-6, 2002	ABC News	41	24
Oct. 11-15, 2002	ABC News	42	33
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	39	38

- Please tell me if you would favor or oppose the government doing each of the following as a way to prevent terrorist attacks in the United States...?

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive		
	Require U.S. citizens of Arab descent to carry an identification card issued by the federal government	49	49
	Allow the federal government to hold Arabs who are U.S. citizens in camps until it can be determined whether they have links to terrorist organizations	31	65

- Thinking of the situation here in the United States, please tell me if you support or oppose giving the police powers to stop and search...?

		Yes	No
Oct. 8-9, 2001	ABC News		
	Any person, at random	52	46
	Any person who fits the profile of as suspected terrorist	83	15
	Any one who appears to be an Arab or Muslim, at random	42	55

- There are many factors that could go into the profile of a suspected terrorist, such as having contacts with terrorist groups. Do you think....should be part of the profile of a suspected terrorist?

Oct. 8-9, 2001 ABC News

	Should Be Part of Profile	Should Not Be Part of Profile
Expressing support for terrorists' goals	81	14
Being Arab or Muslim	51	45

- I'm going to read you some other things that might be done to improve security and protect against terrorism in the United States. For each one, tell me if you strongly favor it, would accept if necessary, or think it would go too far. What about closely monitoring the whereabouts of legal immigrants to the United States from Arab and Muslim countries?

		Strongly Favor Monitoring Whereabouts	Would Accept If Necessary	Would Go Too Far
Sep. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	53	29	17

- In response to the terrorist attacks, do you think that the United States should put Arabs and Arab-Americans in this country under special surveillance or that it would be a mistake to target a nationality group, as was done with Japanese-Americans after Pearl Harbor?

		Put Arabs Under Special Surveillance	Would Be a Mistake
Sep. 13-14, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	32	62
Sep. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	27	68
Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	30	62

- Based on recent events, do you think there should be tighter controls on all Muslims - including Muslims living in the United States - who are traveling on airlines or trains?

		Yes	No
Sep. 15-17, 2001	Wirthlin Worldwide	58	39

- Would you favor or oppose any policy that singles out Arab Americans for special scrutiny at airport check-ins?

Sep.-Oct. 2001		Zogby International			
	Favor	Oppose		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 20	38	55	Oct. 1	44	50
Sep. 21	39	55	Oct. 2	41	54
Sep. 23	39	55	Oct. 3	38	55
Sep. 24	39	56	Oct. 4	38	56
Sep. 25	38	56	Oct. 5	37	57
Sep. 26	41	53	Oct. 6	39	56
Sep. 27	41	53	Oct. 7	41	53
Sep. 28	39	55			
Sep. 29	43	51			
Sep. 30	45	50			

● Next, please tell me if you would favor or oppose each of the following as a means of preventing terrorist attacks in the United States. How about requiring Arabs, including those who are U.S. citizens, to carry a special ID?

Sep. 14-15, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Favor 49	Oppose 49
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● Next, please tell me if you favor or oppose taking each of the following actions in the United States for at least the next several years. How about requiring Arabs, including those who are U.S. citizens, to carry a special ID?

Oct. 19-21, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Favor 49	Oppose 49
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● How about requiring Arabs, including those who are U.S. citizens, to undergo special, more intensive security checks before boarding airplanes in the U.S.?

Sep. 14-15, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Favor 58	Oppose 41
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● Do you personally know anyone who is a Muslim, or not?

Oct. 8-9, 2001	ABC News	Yes 41	No 58
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● When you hear or see each of the following, do you sometimes think it may be an indication of a terrorist attack or not...seeing people who look Middle Eastern in origin?

Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive	Yes 17	No 80
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● Do you agree or disagree that most Arab-Americans and immigrants from the Middle East are loyal to the United States?

Oct. 31-Nov. 12, 2001	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	Agree 62	Disagree 27
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● Do you think that most Arab-Americans and immigrants from the Middle East feel about the terrorists' cause? Do you think they are more sympathetic to the terrorists' cause than other Americans, or about the same as other Americans?

Oct. 31-Nov. 12, 2001	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	More Sympathetic To Terrorists' Cause 20	About the Same as Other Americans 73
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● How do you think most Arab-Americans and immigrants feel about the terrorists' acts? Do you think they are more sympathetic to the terrorists' acts than other Americans, or about the same as other Americans?

Oct. 31-Nov. 12, 2001	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	More Sympathetic To Terrorists' Acts 18	About The Same As Other Americans 77
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- Do you think American Muslims support the United States in the war on terror, or not?

Jun. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Yes 49	No 29
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- To combat terrorism, do you think the government should have access to travel, credit, and medical records of the following groups of people or not? As I read each one please say yes or no. OK?...Non citizens of apparent Arab or Muslim background?

Aug. 4-10, 2003	TIPP/IBD/CSM	Yes 66	No 28
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- How would you describe the opinion of Americans toward Muslims and Arabs since September 11?

**Attitudes Among Arab-Americans:**

		Very Favorable	Somewhat Favorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable
Nov. 8-19, 2001	Zogby International/ Project MAPS	12	25	34	23

NOTE: The Zogby/Project MAPS (Muslims in the American Public Square) survey of 1,781 American Muslim adults is, according to Zogby, the first ever systematic poll of American Muslims.

***IMMIGRATION:*** Most people in polls conducted since the 1940s have said that immigration should be decreased or kept at its current level. Usually only about 10 percent favor increased immigration. As the questions that follow show, the polls conducted after 9/11 revealed new public anxiety about immigration. It has receded a bit.

- Should legal immigration into the United States be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased?

		Increased	Present Level	Decreased
Sep. 13-14, 2001	CBS News/NYT	10	29	53
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	11	29	57
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	9	29	59
Jul. 13-27, 2003	CBS News/NYT	9	37	48
Jan. 12-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	16	34	45

- In your view, should immigration be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased?

		Increased	Present Level	Decreased
Oct. 19-21, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	30	58
Jun. 3-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	12	36	49
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	17	26	54
Jun. 12-18, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	37	47

- If the U.S. were to restrict immigration of certain ethnic or religious groups as a result of the terrorist attacks, would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose doing so?

Oct.-Nov. 2001		Zogby International							
	Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose		Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Oct. 8	31	20	22	24	Nov. 1	40	21	15	20
Oct. 9	32	19	22	24	Nov. 2	39	20	17	20
Oct. 10	34	21	18	25	Nov. 3	38	21	18	19
Oct. 11	35	19	19	25	Nov. 4	37	19	18	20
Oct. 12	35	21	18	23	Nov. 5	35	22	18	21
Oct. 13	34	21	20	21	Nov. 6	32	23	18	23
Oct. 14	35	22	19	20	Nov. 7	34	22	20	21
Oct. 15	35	22	19	20	Nov. 8	34	21	18	22
Oct. 16	33	23	18	22					
Oct. 17	33	24	17	22					
Oct. 18	32	23	18	23					
Oct. 19	32	22	18	24					
Oct. 20	31	23	18	25					
Oct. 21	31	22	19	25					
Oct. 22	31	23	18	25					
Oct. 23	31	23	20	23					
Oct. 24	32	24	19	22					
Oct. 25	35	24	17	21					
Oct. 26	32	24	19	22					
Oct. 27	36	22	15	23					
Oct. 28	34	23	15	24					
Oct. 29	34	25	14	21					
Oct. 30	37	24	15	20					
Oct. 31	39	21	15	20					

● During the war on terrorism, do you favor or oppose each of the following measures?

		Favor	Oppose
Imposing stricter controls on immigration from countries thought to be connected to terrorists			
Nov. 14-15, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	90	7
Imposing stricter control on foreign student visas			
Nov. 14-15, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	85	11
Imposing stricter penalties on illegal immigrants			
Nov. 14-15, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	82	12
May 14-15, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	79	16
Making it more difficult for all foreigners, regardless of country, to enter the United States			
Nov. 14-15, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	69	26
May 14-15, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	61	32
Sealing U.S. borders and stopping all immigration for up to two years while the search for terrorists is conducted			
Nov. 14-15, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	52	42
May 14-15, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	48	45
Cancelling all immigration from countries thought to be connected to terrorists			
May 14-15, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	65	28
Sealing U.S. borders and stopping all immigration of young Arab men while the search for terrorists is conducted			
May 14-15, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	53	40
Canceling all foreign student visas			
May 14-15, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	36	53

● Do you think the United States has made it too easy for people from other countries to enter the U.S. or not?

		Too Easy	Not too Easy
Sep. 13-14, 2001	CBS News/NYT	80	15
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	83	15



● If an immigrant had no actual involvement in a terrorist action taken, but the person was family member or friend of a proven terrorist, would you favor or oppose a law that would allow for that person's quick deportation?

		Favor	Oppose
Nov. 3, 2001	Zogby International	48	43
Nov. 4, 2001	Zogby International	46	46
Nov. 5, 2001	Zogby International	46	46
Nov. 6, 2001	Zogby International	45	47

● If the U.S. adopted laws to allow faster deportation of individuals found to have ties to proven terrorists would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this?

		Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Oct. 8, 2001	Zogby International	82	8	3	5

● Based on recent events, do you think U.S. immigration laws should be tightened to restrict the number of immigrants from Arab or Muslim countries into the United States?

		Yes	No
Sep. 15-17, 2001	Wirthlin Worldwide	83	16

● In light of Tuesday's attack, should the United States toughen restrictions on visas for foreign students and other visitors to the United States?

		Yes	No
Sep. 13-14, 2001	L.A. Times	84	12

● Do you favor or oppose temporarily sealing U.S. borders and stopping all immigration into the U.S. during the war on terrorism?

		Yes	No
Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	65	29

● Should the number of people who are allowed to immigrate to the United States from the Middle East be increased, decreased, or kept at its present level?

		Increased	Kept At Present Level	Decreased
Oct. 31-Nov. 12, 2001	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	4	36	57

● Should the number of people who are allowed to immigrate from other countries be increased, decreased, or kept at its present level?

		Increased	Kept At Present Level	Decreased
Oct. 31-Nov. 12, 2001	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	6	31	61

● Overall, would you say most recent immigrants to the United States contribute to this country, or do most of them cause problems?

		Contribute	Cause Problems
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	51	31

**CIVIL LIBERTIES AFTER 9/11:** *Sixty-one percent in a Los Angeles Times national poll from September 2001 said it would be necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties in order to curb terrorism, but 33 percent said it would not be necessary. In a July 2004 PSRA/Pew poll, those responses were 38 to 56 percent, respectively. The increase in the number saying it would not be necessary for the average person to give up some liberties may be explained by a reduced fear factor. Another possibility, as data in the “Trust in Government” section of this document suggest, is that Americans’ familiar suspicion of government power has returned. People do not want their own civil liberties violated as the Gallup/CNN/USA Today data below show. Still, Americans seem to be willing to give the administration latitude in this area. Criticizing the administration is okay. We include in this section some polling organizations’ ratings of Attorney General John Ashcroft.*

- In order to curb terrorism in this country, do you think it will be necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?

		Yes	No
Sep. 13-14, 2001	LA Times	61	33
Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	55	35
Sep. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	63	32
Jan. 9-13, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	55	39
Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	49	45
Jun. 27-28, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	46	46
Aug. 28-29, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	47	47
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew Research Center	38	56

- Which comes closer to your view – the government should take all steps necessary to prevent additional acts of terrorism in the U.S. even if it means your basic civil liberties would be violated, or the government should take steps to prevent additional acts of terrorism but not if those steps would violate your basic civil liberties?

		Take Steps	Take Steps But Not If They Violate Basic Civil Liberties
Jan. 25-27, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	49
Jun. 21-23, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	56
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	33	62
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	33	64
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	29	67

- Do you think the Bush administration has gone too far, has been about right, or has not gone far enough in restricting people’s civil liberties in order to fight terrorism?

		Too Far	About Right	Not Far Enough
Jun. 21-23, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	11	60	25
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	15	55	26
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	21	55	19

- Do you think Americans will have to give up some of their personal freedoms in order to make the country safe from terrorist attacks?

		Yes	No
Sep. 13-14, 2001	CBS News/NYT	74	21
Apr. 15-18, 2002	CBS News	72	24

- In order to reduce the threat of terrorism, would you be willing or not willing to allow government agencies to monitor the telephone calls and emails of ordinary Americans on a regular basis?

		Willing	Not Willing
Sep. 13-14, 2001	CBS News/NYT	39	53
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	45	51
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	31	65
Jan. 5-6, 2002	CBS News	40	54
Jan. 15-17, 2002	CBS News	34	60
Feb. 24-26, 2002	CBS News	36	61
Nov. 20-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	33	62
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	27	69

- How concerned are you about losing some of your civil liberties as a result of the recent measures enacted by the Bush administration to fight terrorism - are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not very concerned, or not at all concerned?

		Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Not Very Concerned	Not At All Concerned
Jan. 5-6, 2002	CBS News	20	26	25	28
Jan. 15-17, 2002	CBS News	22	32	22	21
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	22	30	25	21
Aug. 26-28, 2003	CBS News	30	29	21	18

- These days, if someone disagrees with the president's decisions on military issues, do you think it's okay to criticize him publicly, or should people not publicly criticize the president on military issues?

		Okay To Criticize	Not Okay To Criticize
Oct. 8, 2001	CBS News	41	54
Nov. 13-14, 2001	CBS News	55	40
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	58	39
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	60	37
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	64	32
Feb. 5-6, 2003	CBS News	62	34
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	54	41
Dec. 10-13, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	58	37
Dec. 14-15, 2003*	CBS News/NYT	64	30

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...issues relating to terrorism?"

- These days, if someone disagrees with the president’s proposals on economic or other domestic issues, do you think it’s okay to criticize him publicly, or should people not publicly criticize the president on economic or domestic issues?

		Okay To Criticize	Not Okay To Criticize
Oct. 8, 2001	CBS News	58	38
Nov. 13-14, 2001	CBS News	67	28
Dec. 7-10, 2002	CBS News/NYT	73	22
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	70	26
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	72	26

- What concerns you more right now? That the government will fail to enact strong new anti-terrorism laws, or that the government will enact new anti-terrorism laws which excessively restrict the average person’s civil liberties?

		Fail To Enact Strong Laws	Enact Laws That Restrict Liberties
Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	39	34
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	43	45
Jan. 9-13, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	40	45
Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	35	49
Nov. 20-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	40	44

- I’m going to read you some things that might be done to improve security and protect against terrorism in the United States. For each one, tell me if you strongly favor it, would accept it if necessary, or think it would go too far? First, what about...

		Strongly Favor	Accept If Necessary	Goes Too Far
More restrictions on air travel, including no curbside check-in, arrival at the airport two or more hours before a flight and no knives, scissors, or other sharp instruments allowed on the plane				
Sep. 13-14, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	71	23	5
Sep. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	76	20	4
Sep. 27-28, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	72	22	5
Jun. 27-28, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	62	32	5
ID checks at all workplaces and public buildings				
Sep. 13-14, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	51	34	14
Sep. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	52	32	15
Sep. 27-28, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	50	35	14
Jun. 27-28, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	43	44	11
Random ID checks on the streets and highways				
Sep. 13-14, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	23	32	44
Sep. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	25	35	39
Sep. 27-28, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	26	33	40
Jun. 27-28, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	18	38	42

Making it easier for intelligence and law enforcement agents to monitor people's private telephone conversations and e-mail

		Strongly Favor	Accept If Necessary	Goes Too Far
Sep. 13-14, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	15	32	51
Sep. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	21	35	43
Sep. 27-28, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	20	33	44
Jun. 27-28, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	12	28	57

Issuing ID cards for every citizen and legal immigrant designed to be as tamper-proof as possible

Sep. 27-28, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	51	29	18
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• Would you favor or oppose the following measures to curb terrorism?

Requiring that all citizens carry a national identity card to show to a police officer on request

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	70	26
Aug. 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	59	38

Allowing the U.S. government to monitor your credit card purchases

Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	40	55
Aug. 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	32	63

Allowing the U.S. government to take legal immigrants from unfriendly countries to internment camps during times of tension or crisis

Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	29	57
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Allowing the U.S. government to monitor your personal telephone calls and e-mails

Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	26	70
Aug. 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	22	76

• Do you favor or oppose allowing your mail to be searched at random?

Zogby International

	Favor	Oppose		Favor	Oppose
Nov. 3, 2001	67	32	Nov. 11, 2001	61	38
Nov. 4, 2001	67	32	Nov. 12, 2001	60	37
Nov. 5, 2001	66	32	Nov. 13, 2001	61	35
Nov. 6, 2001	65	34	Nov. 14, 2001	61	36
Nov. 7, 2001	65	34	Nov. 15, 2001	61	37
Nov. 8, 2001	63	36	Nov. 29, 2001	54	44
Nov. 9, 2001	63	36	Nov. 30, 2001	53	46
Nov. 10, 2001	59	40	Dec. 1, 2001	55	44
Mar. 27, 2002	36	62			
Aug. 2, 2002	35	62			

- Do you favor or oppose allowing your car to be searched at random?

Zogby International

	Favor	Oppose		Favor	Oppose
Nov. 3, 2001	75	24	Nov. 11, 2001	65	33
Nov. 4, 2001	75	24	Nov. 12, 2001	63	33
Nov. 5, 2001	77	22	Nov. 13, 2001	66	31
Nov. 6, 2001	76	24	Nov. 14, 2001	67	31
Nov. 7, 2001	75	25	Nov. 15, 2001	65	34
Nov. 8, 2001	71	29	Nov. 29, 2001	57	41
Nov. 9, 2001	69	30	Nov. 30, 2001	60	39
Nov. 10, 2001	65	34	Dec. 3, 2001	60	39
Dec. 14, 2001	62	37			
Mar. 6, 2002	62	35			
Mar. 27, 2002	48	51			
Aug. 2, 2002	47	51			

- Please tell me if you support or oppose each of the following possible solutions that have been proposed as ways of dealing with terrorism.

Fox News/Opinion Dynamics

	Support	Oppose
Allowing police to stop and search anyone who fits the general description of suspected terrorists		
Sep. 19-20, 2001	69	26
Nov. 28-29, 2001	58	36
Sep. 8-9, 2002	62	31
Allowing the government to increase monitoring of private telephone and email communications		
Sep. 19-20, 2001	54	39
Nov. 28-29, 2001	40	52
Sep. 8-9, 2002	38	53
Imposing stricter immigration and border crossing penalties		
Sep. 19-20, 2001	92	5
Sep. 8-9, 2002	88	7
Allowing the government to hold suspected terrorists as long as deemed necessary, possibly a year or more		
Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 2001	83	12
Nov. 28-29, 2001	66	26
Sep. 8-9, 2002	67	26

● Here are some increased powers of investigation that law enforcement agencies might use when dealing with people suspected of terrorist activity, which would also affect our civil liberties. For each, please say if you would favor or oppose it.

Harris Interactive	Favor	Oppose
Stronger document and physical security checks for travelers		
Sep. 19-24, 2001	93	6
Mar. 13-19, 2002	89	9
Feb. 12-16, 2003	84	14
Feb. 9-16, 2004	84	14
Stronger document and physical security checks for access to government and private office buildings		
Sep. 19-24, 2001	92	7
Mar. 13-19, 2002	89	10
Feb. 12-16, 2003	82	15
Feb. 9-16, 2004	85	14
Expanded under-cover activities to penetrate groups under suspicion		
Sep. 19-24, 2001	93	5
Mar. 13-19, 2002	88	10
Feb. 12-16, 2003	81	17
Feb. 9-16, 2004	80	17
Use of facial-recognition technology to scan for suspected terrorists at various locations and public events		
Sep. 19-24, 2001	86	11
Mar. 13-19, 2002	81	17
Feb. 12-16, 2003	77	20
Feb. 9-16, 2004	80	17
Issuance of a secure ID technique for persons to access government and business computer systems, to avoid disruptions		
Sep. 19-24, 2001	84	11
Mar. 13-19, 2002	78	16
Feb. 12-16, 2003	75	21
Feb. 9-16, 2004	76	19
Closer monitoring of banking and credit card transactions, to trace funding sources		
Sep. 19-24, 2001	81	17
Mar. 13-19, 2002	72	25
Feb. 12-16, 2003	67	30
Feb. 9-16, 2004	64	34
Adoption of a national ID system for all U.S. citizens		
Sep. 19-24, 2001	68	28
Mar. 13-19, 2002	59	37
Feb. 12-16, 2003	64	31
Feb. 9-16, 2004	56	40

Expanded camera surveillance on streets and in public places

	Favor	Oppose
Sep. 19-24, 2001	63	35
Mar. 13-19, 2002	58	40
Feb. 12-16, 2003	61	37
Feb. 9-16, 2004	61	37

Law enforcement monitoring of Internet discussions in chat rooms and other forums

Sep. 19-24, 2001	63	32
Mar. 13-19, 2002	55	41
Feb. 12-16, 2003	54	42
Feb. 9-16, 2004	50	45

Expanded government monitoring of cell phones and email, to intercept communications

Sep. 19-24, 2001	54	41
Mar. 13-19, 2002	44	51
Feb. 12-16, 2003	44	53
Feb. 9-16, 2004	36	60

- Would you be willing to give up some of your personal freedom in order to reduce the threat of terrorism?

		Yes	No
Oct. 17-18, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	71	20
Jun. 4-5, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	64	21
Sep. 8-9, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	61	24

- Based on what the Bush administration has done so far and proposes to do in response to terrorism, do you think they are going too far in restricting civil liberties, not far enough, or are handling this situation just about right?

		Too Far	Not Far Enough	Just Right
Sep. 28-29, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	8	17	72
Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	11	14	72
Jan. 31-Feb. 1, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	12	23	59
Jun. 27-28, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	13	24	57

- The Bush administration has proposed several measures that might affect the civil liberties of some people. From what you've heard or read, do you think these proposals go too far, are they about right, don't they go far enough, or don't you know enough about them yet to say?

		Go Too Far	About Right	Don't Go Far Enough	Don't Know Enough
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	12	29	9	49

- How worried are you that some of these changes might apply to people like you – very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?

		Very Worried	Somewhat Worried	Not Too Worried	Not At All Worried
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	8	28	34	28



● Please tell me if you would favor or oppose each of the following as a means of preventing terrorist attacks in the United States. How about allowing police to stop people on the street at random to search their possessions?

Sep. 14-15, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Favor 29	Oppose 69
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● Please tell me if you would favor or oppose each of the following actions in the United States for at least several years. How about making it easier for legal authorities to read mail, e-mail, or tap phones without the person's knowledge?

Oct. 19-21, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Favor 37	Oppose 60
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● Which of these statements comes closer to your opinion on investigating terrorism? Statement A: I worry that the United States will go too far in its investigation of terrorism and will infringe on other people's civil liberties and rights. Statement B: I worry that the United States will go too far in protecting people's rights and civil liberties and will not be aggressive enough in investigating terrorism.

Dec. 8-10, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	Statement A/ Go too Far 33	Statement B/ Not Aggressive Enough 53
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● Now I'd like to ask you about some specific actions that the United States might take its efforts to fight terrorism and increase security. For each item that I read, please tell me whether you think that the United States is going too far, striking the right balance, or not going far enough in its efforts to increase security.

Dec. 8-10, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	Going Too Far	Striking the Right Balance	Not Going Far Enough
Wiretapping conversations between detained suspects and their lawyers without a court order while guaranteeing that the information obtained will not be used in court		34	44	14
Detaining as many as six hundred people without charging them with a crime or releasing their names		32	47	13
Trying suspected terrorists in military tribunals, in which there is a limited appeals process and there are special rules that can allow evidence and witnesses to be kept secret from the public		23	54	15
Interviewing as many as five thousand young men from Arab countries who are living in the United States legally to find out whether they have information about terrorist activities		16	63	17
Greater monitoring on the Internet and email by federal authorities investigating terrorism		14	56	23

● Do you think it should be legal or illegal for the federal government to wiretap conversations between people who are being held on terrorism charges and their lawyers?

Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	Legal 73	Illegal 24
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● In general, do you think the protections in The Bill of Rights should apply only to American citizens or should they be extended to non-citizens living in this country as well?

Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	Only U.S. Citizens 51	Non- Citizens 42
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● The U.S. government is detaining about 600 people in its investigation of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, most of them overstaying their visas or otherwise violating immigration laws. Do you think the United States is or is not justified in detaining these people?

Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	Justified 86	Not Justified 12
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● Do you think Americans who oppose taking military action should be allowed to carry out peaceful protest rallies or should they not be allowed to do this?

Oct. 1-3, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	Should Be Allowed 71	Should Not Be Allowed 24
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● Racial profiling is a method of policing that uses appearances and other exterior factors to determine whether a person should be given extra scrutiny or questioned in connection with criminal investigations. Which is closer to your view on this type of policing: Using someone's appearance as a reason to question them for possible wrong-doing is un-American, unconstitutional and plain wrong or law enforcement officials must use whatever actions necessary to stop crime and protect American citizens?

Nov. 19-21, 2001	Penn/Schoen/Berland	Unconstitutional And Wrong 43	Whatever Actions Necessary 45
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● Do you think Americans who say U.S. policies were to blame for the terrorist attacks should or should not be allowed to express their views in the media?

Oct. 1-3, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	Should 75	Should Not 18
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● Do you think the Americans who are protesting against the war are acting unpatriotic during a time of national crisis, or acting appropriately by expressing their opinions?

Oct. 17-18, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Expressing Opinions 59	Acting Unpatriotic 33
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● Do you favor or oppose Congress immediately passing whatever laws the Attorney General and law enforcement officials say are needed to curb terrorists, even if such laws limit some civil liberties?

Oct. 3-4, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Favor 65	Oppose 20
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- Do you think the federal government threatens your own personal rights and freedoms, or not?

		Yes	No
May 26-Jun. 15, 2000	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	46	54
Oct. 31-Nov. 12, 2001	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	30	67
Aug. 7-13, 2002	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	32	63

- In general, do you think United States civilians and those who are not citizens but are here illegally should be treated the same way under the law, or should they be treated differently?

		Treated Same Way	Treated Differently
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	78	19

- Overall, how confident do you feel that U.S. law enforcement will use its expanded surveillance powers in what you would see as a proper way, under the circumstances of terrorist threats? Would you say very confident, somewhat confident, not very confident, or not confident at all?

		Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Not Very Confident	Not Confident
Sep. 19-24, 2001	Harris Interactive	34	53	8	4
Mar. 13-19, 2002	Harris Interactive	12	61	17	6
Feb. 12-16, 2003	Harris Interactive	22	52	14	9
Feb. 9-16, 2004	Harris Interactive	23	53	15	9

- Thinking about America's war in Afghanistan, which comes closer to your own point of view...it's wrong for Americans to publicly criticize the government's policy during a time of war or it's as important as ever that people speak their minds, even if they disagree with the government's policy.?

		Speak Mind	Wrong To Criticize
Jan. 2-23, 2002	Public Agenda	72	24

- Do you think requiring U.S. citizens to carry national identification cards is a good idea or a bad idea?

		Good Idea	Bad Idea
Jun. 18-19, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	62	26

- Please tell me if you would favor or oppose the government doing each of the following as a way to prevent terrorist attacks in the United States...require everyone in the U.S. to carry an identification card issued by the federal government?

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	57	41

- How helpful do you think it would be to law enforcement officials in catching terrorists, if U.S. citizens were required to carry national identification cards?

		Very Helpful	Somewhat Helpful	Not Very Helpful	Not At All Helpful
Jun. 18-19, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	33	32	15	13

● Would you support or oppose a law requiring all adults in this country to carry a national identification card that includes information such as their photograph and social security number?

Mar. 11-Apr. 16, 2002	ISR	Support 73	Oppose 27
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● To enhance workplace security, how willing would you be to have an ID card issued by your employer that would have your photo, a biometric identifier (such as a fingerprint), and your basic personnel information stored on the card? (Asked of those who are employed full or part time)?

Mar. 27-Apr. 2, 2002	Harris Interactive	Very Willing 44	Somewhat Willing 37	Not Very Willing 11	Not At All Willing 7
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● Do you think the Bush administration will go too far, will do about right, or will not go far enough in restricting people's civil liberties in order to fight terrorism?

Jun. 21-23, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Too Far 24	About Right 53	Not Far Enough 19
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● Do you favor or oppose the U.S. government's policy of holding American citizens without formal charges or trial in cases of suspected terrorism?

Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	Favor 55	Oppose 36
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● How much, if at all, do you worry that this policy might weaken the protections built into the American legal system – a great deal, a fair amount, not much, or not at all?

Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/ Pew Research Center	Great Deal 22	Fair Amount 31	Not Much 28	Not At All 15
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● Which concerns you the most, the possibility of the FBI violating your constitutional rights or the possibility of additional terrorist attacks?

Jun. 3-6, 2002	Andres McKenna	Violating Rights 20	More Attacks 62
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● Do you personally feel that the government’s anti-terrorism efforts are intruding on your civil liberties, or not? (If Yes) In your view, is it a minor intrusion or a major intrusion?

		Major Intrusion	Minor Intrusion	Not An Intrusion
Sep. 25-29, 2002	ABC News	10	7	80

(If Yes) Do you think that intrusion is necessary right now, or not necessary?

		Necessary	Not Necessary	Not An Intrusion
Sep. 25-29, 2002	ABC News	5	12	80

● After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Congress passed the Patriot Act which, in part, gives federal officials wider authority to use wiretaps and other surveillance techniques. Some people say the Patriot Act is a necessary and effective tool in preventing terrorist attacks, while others say the act goes too far and could violate the civil liberties of average Americans. Which comes closer to your view - overall, would you say the Patriot Act is a good thing for America or a bad thing for America?

		Good Thing	Bad Thing
Jul. 29-30, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	55	27
Apr. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	54	28

● Based on what you know, do you support or oppose extending the Patriot Act, which is scheduled to expire in one year?

		Support Extending	Oppose	Not Sure
Apr. 21-22, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	53	32	15

● How much have you heard or read about the USA Patriot Act, adopted in 2001, which is now up for renewal in Congress– a lot, some, not much, or nothing so far?

		A Lot	Some	Not Much	Nothing
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	12	27	28	30

● Some people say the Patriot Act is a necessary tool that helps the government find terrorists, while others say it goes too far and is a threat to civil liberties. Which comes closer to your view– Is the Patriot Act a necessary tool that helps the government find terrorists or does it go too far and pose a threat to civil liberties? (Asked of those who had heard “a lot” or “some” about the Patriot Act in the question above.)

		Necessary Tool	Goes Too Far
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	52	42

● What do you think is more important right now – for the FBI to investigate possible terrorists threats, even if that intrudes on personal privacy; or for the FBI not to intrude on personal privacy, even if that limits its ability to investigate possible terrorist threats?

		Investigate Threats	Respect Privacy
Jun. 7-9, 2002	ABC News	79	18
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	78	18
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	73	21

- In investigating terrorism, do you think the federal agencies like the FBI are or are not intruding on some Americans' privacy rights?

Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	Are 58	Are Not 33
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(If Yes) Do you think those intrusions are justified or not justified?

Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	Justified 63	Not Justified 29
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- And which of the following comes closest to your point of view...I am more concerned with losing legal and privacy rights than with the threat of terrorism. I am equally concerned about both the threat of terrorism and losing legal and privacy rights. I am more concerned about the threat of terrorism than losing legal and privacy rights?

Aug. 4-10, 2003	TIPP/IBD/CSM	More Concerned With Rights 17	Equally Concerned 49	More Concerned With Terrorism 31
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- To combat terrorism, do you think the government should have access to travel, credit, and medical records of the following groups of people or not? As I read each one please say yes or no. OK?...All citizens?

Aug. 4-10, 2003	TIPP/IBD/CSM	Yes 35	No 63
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- To combat terrorism, do you think the government should have access to travel, credit, and medical records of the following groups of people or not? As I read each one please say yes or no. OK?...All non-citizens?

Aug. 4-10, 2003	TIPP/IBD/CSM	Yes 69	No 28
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- To combat terrorism, do you think the government should have access to travel, credit, and medical records of the following groups of people or not? As I read each one please say yes or no. OK?...People suspected of criminal activity?

Aug. 4-10, 2003	TIPP/IBD/CSM	Yes 75	No 22
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- For each individual or group I name, please tell me what kind of job you think it's done dealing with the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> and the war on terrorism – excellent, good, not so good or poor... The U.S. Justice Department?

Sep .5- 8, 2002	ABC News	Excellent 10	Good 55	Not So Good 24	Poor 7
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	9	50	24	11

- And how would you rate the job Attorney General John Ashcroft is doing - excellent, pretty good, only fair or poor?

		Positive	Negative
Dec. 2001	Harris Interactive	65	23
Jan. 2002	Harris Interactive	64	23
Feb. 2002	Harris Interactive	59	26
Mar. 2002	Harris Interactive	57	27
Apr. 2002	Harris Interactive	61	24
May 2002	Harris Interactive	56	29
Jun. 2002	Harris Interactive	52	33
Jul. 2002	Harris Interactive	50	36
Aug. 2002	Harris Interactive	53	34
Sep. 2002	Harris Interactive	52	32
Oct. 2002	Harris Interactive	53	32
Nov. 2002	Harris Interactive	54	32
Nov. 2002	Harris Interactive	51	33
Feb. 2003	Harris Interactive	51	37
Apr. 2003	Harris Interactive	57	30
Jun. 2003	Harris Interactive	54	32
Aug. 2003	Harris Interactive	48	39
Oct. 2003	Harris Interactive	42	42
Dec. 2003	Harris Interactive	41	45
Dec. 2003	Harris Interactive	51	37
Feb. 2004	Harris Interactive	44	42
Apr. 2004	Harris Interactive	40	45
June 2004	Harris Interactive	43	41
Aug. 2004	Harris Interactive	42	44
Sept. 2004	Harris Interactive	40	49
Oct. 2004	Harris Interactive	46	47
Nov. 2004	Harris Interactive	45	49

NOTE: Results combined.

- Do you approve or disapprove of the job John Ashcroft is doing as Attorney General?

		Approve	Disapprove
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	69	8
Dec. 12-13, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	69	12
Jun. 4-5, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	59	18
Sep. 8-9, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	60	17

- I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and groups, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative...John Ashcroft?

		Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative
Jan. 13-15, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	8	12	26	8	14
Mar. 1-4, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	14	19	25	9	12
Dec. 8-10, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	29	28	15	5	8

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way the following people are handling the war on terrorism since September 11<sup>th</sup>? How about Attorney General John Ashcroft?

		Approve	Disapprove
Nov. 8-11, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	77	10
Dec. 6-9, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	76	14

● For each individual or group I name, please tell me what kind of job you think it's done dealing with the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> and the war on terrorism – excellent, good, not so good or poor... Attorney General John Ashcroft?

		Excellent	Good	Not So Good	Poor
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	12	54	19	7
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	10	44	22	14



**MILITARY TRIBUNALS:** *As the data below show, responses to questions about military tribunals are influenced by the information given to respondents. Americans want to give the President latitude in this situation.*

- Suppose Osama bin Laden is captured alive by the U.S., which of the following would be better for the U.S. to do to him -- execute him immediately, or put him on either a civilian or a military trial?

		Execute Him Immediately	Put Him On Trial
Nov. 26-27, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	62

- Suppose Osama bin Laden is captured alive and put on trial, which of the following would you prefer...that he be put on a public trial by an international court with judges from different countries, put on trial by a secret military tribunal by the U.S., or put on a public trial in a regular civilian court in the U.S., or does it make no difference to you?

		International Court	Secret Military Tribunal	Civilian Court	No Difference
Nov. 26-27, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	29	17	11

- When Osama bin Laden or other terrorists are brought to trial, in which court do you think they should be tried?

		World Court	Regular U.S. Court	Military Tribunal
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	29	22	36

- Do you think suspected terrorists should be tried in a non-public military tribunal, in which the names of the defendants and the evidence is withheld, or should they be tried in the normal justice system?

		Military Tribunals	Normal Justice System
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	30	57

- Do you think the president has the right to bypass the normal judicial system and ask for a military tribunal for suspected terrorists?

		Yes	No
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	64	25

- From what you've seen or heard in the news, do you approve or disapprove of the Bush administration's plan to put non-U.S. citizens charged with terrorism on trial in special military tribunals rather than in the regular criminal court system?

		Approve	Disapprove
Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	68	22

- If there are military tribunals for this purpose, do you think they should be conducted...?

		Entirely in Secret	Mostly in Secret	Mostly in Public	Entirely in Public
Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	11	27	28	30

- Do you think civilian judges should have some involvement in these tribunals or that only the military should be involved?

		Civilian Judges Involved	Only Military
Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	42	52

- Do you think these tribunals should be...

Nov. 29-30, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	Yes	No
	Limited to foreign suspects captured during the fighting in Afghanistan	16	74
	Also apply to foreign suspects captured in other places around the world	74	16
	Also apply to foreign suspects within the United States who have arrived here in recent years	46	44
	Also apply to non-U.S. citizens who have lived in this country for many years if they are suspected of terrorism	33	57

- Do you think that non-U.S. citizens who are charged with terrorism should be put on trial in the regular U.S. criminal court system or in a special military tribunal?

		Regular U.S. Criminal Crt.	Special Military Tribunal
Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	37	59

- George W. Bush favors the use of special military tribunals. Knowing Bush's position, what do you think -- should non-U.S. citizens who are charged with terrorism be put on trial in the regular U.S. criminal court system or in a special military tribunal?

		Regular U.S. Criminal Crt.	Special Military Tribunal
Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	34	64

- Its been proposed that non-U.S. citizens who are charged with terrorism should be put on trial in a special military tribunal, where trials can be closed to the public, with a military judge and jury, and there's no right to appeal. Some people say this would protect ongoing investigations and avoid the use of civilian jurors who may fear for their lives. Others say it would be wrong to let the military conduct closed trials under new rules, and to single out non-citizens this way. Do you think that non-U.S. citizens who are charged with terrorism should be put on trial in the regular U.S. criminal court system or in a special military tribunal?

		Regular U.S. Criminal Crt.	Special Military Tribunal
Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	38	58
Jan. 24-27, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	35	60

- And based on what you've heard, do you favor or oppose military tribunals for non-citizens suspected of terrorism who are arrested inside the United States?

		Favor	Oppose
Nov. 20-25, 2001	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	64	27

● If military tribunals are used to try non-citizens, do you think people convicted of terrorism by military tribunals should be allowed to appeal their cases to civilian courts or not?

Nov. 20-25, 2001	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	Yes 31	No 61
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● If military tribunals are used to try non-citizens, do you think that the panel of judges on a military tribunal should be able to sentence someone to death for committing terrorism against the United States or not?

Nov. 20-25, 2001	NPR/Kaiser/Harvard	Yes 68	No 25
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● In the past, the United States has tried suspected murderers in criminal court, requiring a jury, a unanimous verdict, and a civilian judge. Do you think this is the right way to deal with suspected murderers, or not?

Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	Yes 82	No 9
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● In the past, the United States has tried suspected terrorists in criminal court, requiring a jury, a unanimous verdict, and a civilian judge. Do you think this is the right way to deal with suspected terrorists involved in attacks against the United States, or not?

Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	Yes 53	No 37
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● Some people say that in order to preserve national security and intelligence and protect jurors, suspected terrorists who are foreigners should be tried in military courts. There would be a military judge and there would not have to be a unanimous verdict. Trials could be held in secret and evidence against the suspect could be kept secret from the defense. Do you think this is the right way to deal with suspected terrorists involved in attacks against the United States, or not?

Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	Yes 40	No 51
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● When it comes to dealing with people suspected of involvement in terrorist attacks against the United States, which would you prefer trying them in open criminal court with a jury, a unanimous verdict, and a civilian judge, or trying them in a secret military court with a military judge and without a unanimous verdict?

Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	Criminal Court 50	Military Court 40
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● Do you approve or disapprove of the Bush administration's decision to detain people of Middle Eastern origin as possible links to terrorism without disclosing their identities while they are being questioned?

Dec. 8-10, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	Approve 67	Disapprove 26
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● During terrorist investigations in the United States, do you think that rules and regulations that apply to the investigation of U.S. citizens and non-citizens should be the same, or do you think that a different set of rules is acceptable?

Dec. 8-10, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	Same Rules 41	Different Rules 52
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● I'm going to describe two approaches to trying suspected terrorists that are being discussed. Please tell me which approach you would be more likely to favor – using military tribunals, in which there is a limited appeals process and there are special rules that can allow evidence and witnesses to be kept secret from the public, or using a courts martial process, in which there is an appeals process and the trial is open to the public?

		Military Tribunals	Courts Martial
Dec. 8-10, 2001	NBC News/WSJ	49	41

● Suppose Osama bin Laden is captured alive and put on trial by the U.S. would you rather see that happen in a regular court of law in which evidence would be presented in a public trial or a military tribunal in which U.S. officers would examine evidence in secret hearings?

		Regular Court	Military Tribunal
Dec. 14-16, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	54

● Suppose Osama bin Laden is captured alive and put on trial, do you think he should be tried by an international court or by U.S. authorities?

		International Court	U.S. Authorities
Dec. 14-16, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	37

● As you may know, some of our European allies have criticized the way the Taliban and al Qaida prisoners being detained at the Guantanamo military bases have been treated. Do you think the United States has not treated them properly and should make changes, has them properly but should more closely follow the Geneva Conventions to keep European support, or has treated them properly and should not make changes?

		Has Not Treated Them Properly	Should More Closely Follow Conventions	Has Treated Them Properly
Jan. 31-Feb. 1, 2002	PSRA/Newsweek	6	32	55

● Some people say that suspected terrorists should be tried in military courts with a military judge and without a unanimous jury verdict in order to preserve national security and protect jurors. Other people say this violates the U.S. Constitution, and that suspected terrorists should be tried in criminal court with a civilian judge and a unanimous jury verdict. Which would you prefer, trying suspected terrorists in a military court, or trying them in a criminal court?

		Military Court	Criminal Court
Jun. 18-20, 2002	CBS News	57	36

**VIEWS ABOUT ASSASSINATIONS:** *In an article in Public Opinion Quarterly (Winter 2000) on attitudes toward assassinations, Professor Sheldon Appleton (Oakland University) argues that opposition to assassination "appears to have eroded somewhat during the 1980s in both the United States and other Western nations. In specific cases, majorities of Americans are willing to approve of assassinating terrorists and other foreign leaders whom they are convinced threaten the national security of the United States." The data here confirm the shift in opinion. When asked whether they would kill bin Laden in the unlikely event that possibility would present itself, the population split, 45 percent yes, and 43 percent no. Men said they would, by 64 to 26 percent. Women would not, 29 to 57 percent.*

- Do you approve or disapprove of President Bush's order last Wednesday night to attack the building where it was believed Saddam Hussein was located?

		Approve	Disapprove
Mar. 25-26, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	83	12

- Do you think the United States should attempt to assassinate Saddam Hussein?

		Yes	No
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	50	38
Jun. 18-19, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	55	32
Feb. 25-26, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	42	48

- How effective do you think each of the following would be in preventing terrorist attacks in the future? What about killing suspected terrorist leaders, as Israel does? Would this be very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective, or not at all effective?

		Very Effective	Somewhat Effective	Not Too Effective	Not At All Effective
Sep. 13-14, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	44	29	10	10
Sep. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	45	30	12	9

- In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures. The first is assassination of individual terrorist leaders. Do you favor or oppose this measure?

		Favor	Oppose
Sep. 15-17, 2001	Wirthlin Worldwide	76	20

- Currently it is against United States law for the government to seek out and assassinate people in foreign countries who commit terrorist acts in the United States and elsewhere. Do you think this law should be changed so the U.S. government can assassinate people in foreign countries who commit terrorist acts, or should the current law not be changed?

		Change Law	Do Not Change Law
Sep. 13-14, 2001	CBS News/NYT	65	23

● Here are some military actions the U.S. could take once it knows who is responsible for the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Please tell me whether you favor or oppose taking each action against the responsible party: Assassination of leaders responsible for the terrorism.

Sep. 13, 2001	Harris Interactive	Favor 81	Oppose 16
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● Do you think the United States should attempt to assassinate Osama bin Laden?

Sep. 19-20, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Yes 66	No 23
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● President Bush has said that Osama bin Laden is wanted “dead or alive.” Would you prefer to see bin Laden assassinated or captured and brought to trial in the U.S.?

		Prefer Assassination	Prefer Trial
Oct. 3-4, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	36	51
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	43	45
Feb. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	38	46

● Would you be willing - or not willing - to have the U.S. government do each of the following, if the government thought it were necessary to combat terrorism? How about...?

Oct. 5-6, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today		
		Willing	Not Willing
	Assassinate known terrorists	77	20
	Assassinate leaders of countries that harbor terrorists	52	45

Jan. 7-9, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today		
		Willing	Not Willing
	Assassinate known terrorists	65	33
	Assassinate leaders of countries that harbor terrorists	37	59

● Would you favor or oppose the following measures to curb terrorism...allowing the CIA to conduct assassinations overseas when pursuing suspected enemies of the U.S.?

Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	Favor 67	Oppose 22
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● Do you think that the United States should or should not help those who might be able to assassinate Saddam Hussein?

Oct. 18-21, 2002	NBC/WSJ	Should 64	Should Not 23
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NOTE: Asked of registered voters.

● Would you support a cover operation to assassinate individuals overseas who give major financial support to terrorists, or not?

Oct. 11-12, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	Support 59	Oppose 35
Dec. 12-13, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	45	48

- While it is a highly unlikely situation, if you had the opportunity, would you personally kill Usama bin Laden?

		Yes	No
Jun. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	45	43

**PERSONAL REACTIONS TO 9/11:** *The polls after 9/11 provided an indication of how ordinary Americans reacted to the tragedy. A deeply religious nation found prayer a source of comfort. A deeply patriotic nation displayed the flag and sang the national anthem.\* A generous nation donated to relief funds. A majority of men and women in Gallup's September 14-15 poll said they cried. Many Americans told friends and family they loved them and called to be in touch. Around three in ten told Harris Interactive pollsters that they considered stocking up on water and food supplies. Nine percent told Fox News/Opinion Dynamics interviewers in late September 2001 that they actually did. In early March 2002, Gallup found that 13 percent had stockpiled food, water, and other supplies in case of another terrorist attack. The proportion that felt depressed or had trouble sleeping has declined.*

*Gallup revisited some of these issues in March and September 2002, and found – unsurprisingly - that smaller numbers had flown the flag, prayed more than usual, cried, or called loved ones “in the past two weeks” than had done so immediately after 9/11.*

*A number of sociologists, political scientists, and public health experts are looking at the public’s reaction to 9/11 in great detail. In June 2003, Tom Smith of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, brought these individuals together to discuss their findings. The Russell Sage Foundation will publish a book based on their research. Most Americans are resilient as the data below show.*

*\*For an AEI compilation of polls on patriotism in America, go to:  
[http://www.aei.org/publications/pubID.14889/pub\\_detail.asp](http://www.aei.org/publications/pubID.14889/pub_detail.asp)*

- Did you, personally, do any of the following because of today’s attacks...?

Sep. 11, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post		
		Yes	No
	Watch or listen to broadcast news reports	99	1
	Pray for the victims and their families	91	8
	Change your daily plans or activities in any way	53	47
	Stay home from work or leave early	31	69
	Call or email a friend or relative in New York or Washington to see how they were	28	72

- As a result of the terrorist attacks, are you...?

Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center		
		Yes	No
	Keeping the TV or radio tuned to the news	81	19
	Praying more	69	30
	Reading newspapers more closely	46	54
	Checking the Internet for news updates	33	66
	Considering cancelling an airplane trip	24	73
	Considering cancelling a trip to a major city	21	77



- Within the past two weeks, have you, personally, done any of the following as a direct result of September 11<sup>th</sup>? How about...

		Yes	No
<b>Display an American flag</b>			
Sep. 14-15, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	82	18
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	68	32
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	34
<b>Show more affection for your loved ones than you normally do</b>			
Sep. 14-15, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	77	22
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	51
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	53
<b>Pray more than you usually do</b>			
Sep. 14-15, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	74	25
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	63
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	58
<b>Cry</b>			
Sep. 14-15, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	70	30
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	21	79
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	22	78
<b>Attend a memorial service</b>			
Sep. 14-15, 2001*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	40
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	28	72
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	63

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "As a result of the terrorist attacks this past Tuesday, have you, personally, done or plan to do any of the following? How about...?"

- Please tell me whether or not you have done each of the following things in response to last week's events. Have you...?

Sep. 20-21, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	Yes	No
	Displayed an American flag	79	21
	Donated money, food, or other supplies to the relief efforts	64	36
	Light a candle	60	40
	Gone to a religious or ecumenical service	50	50
	Donated blood to the relief efforts	21	79

- In the past week have you made a special effort to display the flag?

		Yes	No
Sep. 19-20, 2001*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	80	20
Oct. 3-4, 2001*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	79	20
Mar. 12-13, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	61	39

NOTE: \*Wording "since September 11."

- In the past week have you made a special effort to be nice to people?

		Yes	No
Oct. 3-4, 2001*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	56	42
Mar. 12-13, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	88	11

NOTE: \*Wording "since the September 11 terrorist attack."

- In the past week have you...?

Sep. 19-20, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Yes	No
Said a prayer for peace		91	9
Made a special attempt to display the flag		80	20
Donated money or clothing		63	37
Made or renewed your commitment to your religious faith		52	46
Cancelled or postponed travel plans		12	87
Donated blood		10	90
Stocked up on canned food, bottled water, or other staples		9	91
Bought a cell phone		4	96

- Please tell me whether each of these is something you have or have not done as a result of the terrorist attacks...?

Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	Yes	No
Told someone you love them		79	21
Sang God Bless America		70	30
Prayed or attended a religious ceremony		67	33
Cried		64	36
Sang the Star Spangled Banner		63	37
Kept in closer contact with relatives		61	39
Phoned or written a friend you hadn't spoken with in a long time		37	63
Cancelled travel plans		15	84
Planned an escape route from work or home in case something happens		15	85
Reduced your investments in the stock market		10	89

- Please tell me whether you have purchased or are considering purchasing any of the following to prepare for the possibility of another terrorist attack or whether you have not considered purchasing them...?

Extra bottled water		Have Considered	Have Not Considered
Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	31	69
Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive	33	66
Nov. 7-8, 2001	Harris Interactive	22	78
Extra food supplies			
Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	30	70
Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive	31	69
Nov. 7-8, 2001	Harris Interactive	22	78

Vaccines for anthrax or smallpox if they were available

			Have Considered	Have Not Considered
	Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	25	74
	Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive	26	73

Antibiotics to combat anthrax

	Nov. 7-8, 2001	Harris Interactive	11	89
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A gun or rifle

	Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	22	77
	Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive	20	80
	Nov. 7-8, 2001	Harris Interactive	13	87

A gas mask

	Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	17	83
	Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive	12	88
	Nov. 6-7, 2001	Harris Interactive	6	93

- Since September 11, have you been more or less likely to...?

Oct. 3-4, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	More Likely	Less Likely	Same
	Wear red, white, and blue	60	8	30
	Tell family and friends "I love you"	52	3	43
	Spend time with your family	48	3	48
	Go out for dinner or a movie	27	12	59
	Attend a sporting event or go to other large-scale events	17	20	56
	Watch violent television or movies	12	33	48
	Be late for work	8	24	52

- In the past few days, have you yourself felt depressed because of your concerns about terrorist attacks or the war against terrorism?

		Yes	No
Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	71	27
Oct. 1-3, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	42	57
Oct. 10-11, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	33	65
Oct. 12-14, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	29	68
Oct. 31-Nov. 7, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	24	75

NOTE: In January 1991, according to Pew, 50 percent said they felt depressed about the Persian Gulf War and 49 said they did not.

- In the past few days, have you had any trouble sleeping because of your concerns about terrorist attacks or the war against terrorism?

		Yes	No
Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	33	66
Oct. 1-3, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	18	81
Oct. 10-11, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	14	86
Oct. 12-14, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	12	87

- Have you had any difficulty concentrating on your job or your normal activities because of the way you feel about the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon?

		Yes	No
Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	59	50
Oct. 1-3, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	31	68

NOTE: In January 1991, with the onset of the Persian Gulf War, Pew found that 15 percent of respondents had difficulty concentrating on normal activities, whereas 85 percent did not.

- In the past few days, have you had any difficulty concentrating on your job or your normal activities because of the way you feel about the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon?

		Yes	No
Oct. 1-3, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	21	79

- Since last Tuesday, September 11<sup>th</sup>, did you do any of the following in direct response to the attacks in New York City and Washington, DC?

		Yes	No
Sep. 13-27, 2001	National Opinion Research Center		
	Gave money, clothing, or other items to charity	49	51
	Donated blood or tried to donate blood	24	76
	Stocked up on gas, food, or other necessities	17	83
	Avoided going to a specific place like a government building or the downtown of a large city	13	87
	Did extra volunteer work for an organization	8	92

NOTE: Answers for New York City residents are also available.

- Which of the following, if any, apply to you because of concerns about terrorism since the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks and recent anthrax cases? As a result of concerns about these events have you...?

		Yes	No
Oct. 25-26, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek		
	Had trouble concentrating or focusing on work, school, or other responsibilities	21	79
	Had difficulty getting to sleep or had your dreams disrupted	20	80
	Felt unusually depressed	20	80
	Had nightmares or bad dreams	11	89

- As a result of concerns about terrorism since September 11<sup>th</sup>, have you...

Oct. 25-26, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	Yes	No
	Prayed more often or attended religious services more often	41	59
	Consulted a doctor, psychologist or other health care professional to help you cope with stress, anxiety, or depression	5	95
	Started taking prescription drugs to help you sleep	5	95
	Started taking prescription medicines used for depression or anxiety disorders	4	96
	Started taking over-the-counter or store-bought aids to help you sleep	4	96

- How much does the fear of a terrorist attack occupy your mind during a routine day?

		Constantly	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
Oct. 15, 2001	Zogby International	8	43	33	16
Oct. 21, 2001	Zogby International	8	36	41	15
Oct. 22, 2001	Zogby International	7	37	41	15
Oct. 23, 2001	Zogby International	7	36	41	16
Oct. 24, 2001	Zogby International	5	37	40	17
Oct. 25, 2001	Zogby International	6	37	37	20
Oct. 26, 2001	Zogby International	5	37	40	17
Oct. 27, 2001	Zogby International	7	37	36	19
Oct. 28, 2001	Zogby International	6	39	37	17

- As of today, do you feel that your life...?

		Has Returned To Normal	Is Beginning To Return To Normal	Will Never Return To Normal
Sep. 27-28, 2001	PSRA/Newsweek	40	35	7
Oct. 15-21, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	41	31	8

NOTE: The Oct. 15-21 results are from a sample of 1,281 adults who were interviewed for an earlier survey on Aug. 15-21, 2001.

- After you heard the news, did you continue your usual activities? If yes, were you able to carry on pretty much as usual, or did you find it more difficult?

		Carried On As Much As Usual	Carried On, But Difficult	Did Not Carry On
Sep. 13-27, 2001	National Opinion Research Center	24	27	49

NOTE: Responses for New York City residents are also available.

- Can you think of any other time in your life when you had the same sort of feelings you had when you heard this news?

		Yes	No
Sep. 13-27, 2001	National Opinion Research Center	49	51

NOTE: Responses for New York City residents are also available.

- Did you personally say any special prayers at any time during this period?

		Yes	No
Sep. 13-27, 2001	National Opinion Research Center	84	16

NOTE: Responses for New York City residents are also available.

- Americans are reacting to the terrorist attack in various ways. What about you? Since the terrorist attack, have you had any trouble sleeping? If yes, are you still having trouble sleeping?

		Still Having Trouble	Not Now	No
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/NYT	6	11	83
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	5	19	76

- Since the attacks, have you felt nervous or edgy? If yes, do you still feel nervous or edgy?

		Still Nervous	Not Now	No
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/NYT	20	14	66
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	16	28	55

- In the weeks since the terrorist attack, have you been spending more time with your family and close friends, less time, or hasn't it had much effect on how much time you're spending with your family and close friends?

		More Time	Less Time	No Effect
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/NYT	35	1	64
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	35	2	63

- Do you think that things are getting back to normal since September 11<sup>th</sup>? Would you say that things are completely back to normal, somewhat back to normal, or not back to normal?

		Completely Normal	Somewhat Normal	Not Normal
Oct. 3-4, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	5	70	24
Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	6	58	35
Dec. 12-13, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	10	68	20

- Did your own life change as a result of the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, or not?

		Yes	No
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	55	45
Jan. 5-6, 2002*	CBS News/NYT	55	44

NOTE: \*When those who said that their lives had changed were asked, "which way did your life change?," the top replies were "lost job/income" (9 percent) and "more alert/more careful" (9 percent).

- How about your own personal life - have the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> changed your own personal life in a lasting way or not?

		Yes	No
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	55	45
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	57	43

(If changed) Have they mainly changed the way you live your day-to-day life or mainly changed the way you feel about things?

		Way You Live	Way You Feel
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	25	72
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	24	73

(If changed) Is it a change for the better or a change for the worse?

		Better	Worse
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	71	28
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	73	24

- Which of the following best describes your level of patriotism after September 11? Would you say you feel much more patriotic, somewhat more patriotic, or do you have about the same level of patriotism?

		Much More Patriotism	Somewhat More Patriotism	About the Same
Jan. 9-13, 2002	TIPP/IBD-CSM	36	24	39

- Are you displaying an American flag on a daily basis these days - either at your home, on your car or anywhere else, or not?

		Yes	No
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	65	35
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	68	32

(If Yes) Did you start displaying the flag on a daily basis after September 11<sup>th</sup>, or were you doing it before then?

		Before	After
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	38	62
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	45	55

- And again, thinking about your own community, are there a lot, some, or hardly any displays of patriotism such as flags, bumper stickers, and signs?

		A Lot	Some	Hardly Any
Aug. 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	78	18	4

- As a result of the events that occurred on September 11<sup>th</sup>, do you currently have stockpiles of food, water, or other supplies in case of future terrorist attacks, or not?

		Yes	No
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	87

- Since September 11<sup>th</sup>, has there been too much, too little or the right amount of expressions of religious faith and prayer by political leaders?

		Too Much	Right Amount	Too Little
Oct. 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	12	60	22
Mar. 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	16	53	24

- Since September 11<sup>th</sup>, has there been too much, too little or the right amount of showing the American flag?

		Too Much	Right Amount	Too Little
Oct. 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	8	73	17
Mar. 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	16	66	16

- The next questions are about the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks on the United States. As far as you can tell, did each of the following actually happen, or not? (If Yes) Do you think this will probably last for a long while, for only a few months or is it already over?

Jan. 2002		Public Agenda/Pew Charitable Trusts				
		Yes, Happened	No, Did Not Happen	Long Time	Few Months	Already Over
Some people thought that Americans would appreciate their country more in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks.		87	12	54	38	6
Some people thought that people would become more caring and thoughtful toward one another as a result of the terrorist attacks		74	24	34	46	18
Some people thought that America's elected officials would put politics aside and pay more attention to what was good for the country as a result of the terrorist attacks		55	39	30	45	23

- Do you think Americans are more...today than they were before September 11<sup>th</sup>?

Jun 26-27, 2002		Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	
		Yes	No
Patriotic		85	12
Caring		77	19
Determined		76	17
Honest		40	46

- Do you think life in the United States will ever completely return to normal, that is, the way it was before 9/11?

		Already Has	Will Eventually	No
Jun. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	10	25	62



● Please tell me if you or members of your family have made any of the following emergency plans in case a terrorist attack were to take place in your area. Have you...

Jul. 9-10, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics		
		Yes	No
	Set aside some cash	37	62
	Identified your local emergency personnel	35	63
	Stocked up on food and or/water	23	76
	Mapped an escape route	14	85
	Purchased a radiation monitor	2	98

● Would you say that as a result of the terrorist attacks last September, America has changed for the better, changed for the worst, or not really changed?

Aug. 2-6, 2002	Associated Press	Better 50	No Change 28	Worse 15
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● Have the terrorist attacks of last September 11 caused you to change any aspect of your personal life or activities in order to reduce your chances of being a victim of terrorist attacks or not?

Aug. 2-6, 2002	Associated Press	Yes 25	No 73
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● Have you or members of your family made any emergency plans, such as stocking up on food and water, or mapping an escape route, in case a terrorist attack were to take place in your area?

Sep. 8-9, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	Yes 17	No 83
Feb. 11-12, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	24	74
Mar. 25-26, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	22	78

● Next I am going to read a list of things some people have done in order to prepare for a terrorist attack. For each one, please say if this is something you currently have or do not have. How about...?

A stockpile of food and water in your home		Yes	No
Feb. 24-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	40
Mar. 26-28, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	59

A designated person outside your area whom your family members would contact in the event of a terrorist attack

Feb. 24-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	53
Mar. 26-28, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	38	61

An interior room in your house as a "safe room" in the event of an attack

Feb. 24-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	38	61
Mar. 26-28, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	76

***VIEWS ABOUT NYC AND REBUILDING THE WTC:*** *Nice place to visit, wouldn't want to live there. Those sentiments have long characterized Americans' views of New York City. In 1939, in response to a question asked by Elmo Roper, just 10 percent told interviewers that New York City was one of the best places in the world in which to work and live. Forty-seven percent chose the response that it was a good place to visit for a short time, but not to work or live. In the crime-ridden late 1970s, just 34 percent told CBS/New York Times interviewers that the city was an excellent or good place to visit. By 1998, 61 percent gave that response. Still, only about 15 percent said the city was an excellent or good place to live. Americans were impressed by New Yorkers' response to 9/11. How questions were worded affected views about whether and how the World Trade Center should be rebuilt.*

● How would you rate New York City...?

Nov. 29-Dec. 5, 2001	Quinnipiac	Excellent/ Good	Not So Good/ Poor
		90	8
		89	6
		85	5
		85	12
		64	20
		48	45
		46	34
		43	51

● Have you ever been to New York City?

Nov. 29-Dec. 5, 2001	Quinnipiac	Yes	No
		47	53

NOTE: In February 1950 the Gallup Organization asked, "Have you ever visited New York City?" Forty-two percent said they had and 58 percent said they had not.

● If you could afford it and had the vacation time, would you visit New York City in the next year or so, or not?

Nov. 29-Dec. 5, 2001	Quinnipiac	Yes	No
		66	33

● Do you think the World Trade Center in New York City should or should not be rebuilt?

Sep. 14-15, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Should	Should Not
		64	29

● Do you think the World Trade Center should be rebuilt in some form, or not?

Nov. 29-Dec. 5, 2001	Quinnipiac	Should	Should Not
		72	22

- Would you like to see the twin towers of the World Trade Center rebuilt as they were, would you prefer to see completely different buildings there, or do you think there should be a monument and no building?

		Rebuilt	Different Buildings	Monument/ No Building
Nov. 28-29, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	22	29	30

- Forgetting any issues of age or health, if it were to become necessary to defend America, would you be willing to fight and, if need be, die in this war against terrorism?

		Yes	No
Jun. 3-4, 1998*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	74	18
Oct. 3-4, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	76	15
Jun. 18-19, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	74	17
Sep. 8-9, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	74	16

NOTE: \* Question wording was, "If the United States were under a military threat from a foreign country, would you be willing to fight and, if need be, die for your country?"

**PRESIDENT BUSH'S RATINGS (OVERALL/TERRORISM/IRAQ):** Americans rallied around President Bush after 9/11, and his ratings moved into the public opinion stratosphere. President Roosevelt had an impressive 72 percent approval rating before Pearl Harbor. It climbed to 84 percent. George W. Bush had ratings in the low-to mid-fifties before 9/11. His rating climbed to around 90 percent. In its mid-July 2002 poll release, ABC News/Washington Post analysts described Bush's ratings this way: "...the longest, highest run of presidential job approval since modern polling began in the late 1930s." In a January 2003 release, the same polling team noted that while Bush's overall job approval rating was nearly back to its pre-9/11 level, his career average to date was 73 percent. In Gallup and ABC News/Washington Post polls at the start of the President's second term, his overall rating has been hovering below 50 percent.

Throughout 2002 and 2003 in most polls, 60 percent or more approved of the job the President was doing handling terrorism. In 2004, his approval rating were generally in the high forties or low fifties.

After Operation Iraqi Freedom began in mid-March 2003, President Bush's ratings rose [see section of this document titled "Rally Round the Flag" Effect] and then began to decline. The President's Thanksgiving Day 2003 trip to Iraq and the capture of Saddam Hussein boosted his approval rating and his rating on handling the situation in Iraq. In early 2005 before the Iraq elections on January 30, majorities in all the major polls disapproved of the way the President is handling the situation there.

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

		Approve	Disapprove
Sep. 7-10, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	39
Sep. 14-15, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	86	10
Sep. 21-22, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	90	6
Oct. 5-6, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	87	10
Oct. 11-14, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	89	8
Oct. 19-21, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	88	9
Nov. 2-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	87	9
Nov. 8-11, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	87	9
Nov. 26-27, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	87	8
Dec. 6-9, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	86	10
Dec. 14-16, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	86	11
Jan. 7-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	84	12
Jan. 11-14, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	83	13
Jan. 25-27, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	84	13
Feb. 4-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	82	14
Feb. 8-10, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	82	14
Mar. 1-3, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	81	14
Mar. 4-7, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	77	18
Mar. 8-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	80	14
Mar. 18-20, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	79	16
Mar. 22-24, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	79	17
Apr. 5-7, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	76	19
Apr. 8-11, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	75	20
Apr. 22-24, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	77	17
Apr. 29-May 1, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	77	20

May 6-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	76	19
May 20-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	76	17
May 28-29, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	77	17
Jun. 3-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	70	23
Jun. 7-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	74	18
Jun. 17-19, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	74	20
Jun. 21-23, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	73	21
Jun. 28-30, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	76	19
Jul. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	76	18
Jul. 9-11, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	73	21
Jul. 22-24, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	69	24
Jul. 26-28, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	69	26
Jul. 29-31, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	23
Aug. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	68	26
Aug. 19-21, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	28
Sep. 2-4, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	29
Sep. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	30
Sep. 13-16, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	70	26
Sep. 20-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	30
Sep. 23-26, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	68	26
Oct. 3-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	67	28
Oct. 14-17, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	31
Oct. 21-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	67	28
Oct. 31-Nov. 3, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	29
Nov. 8-10, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	68	27
Nov. 11-14, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	26
Nov. 22-24, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	28
Dec. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	29
Dec. 9-10, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	32
Dec. 16-17, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	33
Dec. 19-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	32
Jan. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	32
Jan. 10-12, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	37
Jan. 13-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	34
Jan. 20-22, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	36
Jan. 23-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	36
Jan. 31-Feb. 2, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	35
Feb. 3-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	35
Feb. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	34
Feb. 17-19, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	37
Feb. 24-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	37
Mar. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	37
Mar. 14-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	38
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	25
Mar. 24-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	69	27
Mar. 29-30, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	26
Apr. 5-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	70	27
Apr. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	69	26
Apr. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	24
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	70	26
May 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	69	28
May 19-21, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	30
May 30-Jun. 1, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	32
Jun. 9-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	34
Jun. 12-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	33
Jun. 27-29, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	36
Jul. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	34
Jul. 18-20, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	38

Jul. 25-27, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	38
Aug. 4-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	36
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	37
Sep. 8-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	43
Sep. 19-21, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	47
Oct. 6-8, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	42
Oct. 10-12, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	40
Oct. 24-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	42
Nov. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	43
Nov. 10-12, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	45
Nov. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	47
Dec. 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	43
Dec. 11-14, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	41
Dec. 15-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	34
Jan. 2-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	35
Jan. 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	38
Jan. 12-15, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	44
Jan. 29-Feb. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	48
Feb. 6-8, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	44
Feb. 9-12, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	46
Feb. 16-17, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	46
Mar. 5-7, 2004	Gallup./CNN/USA Today	49	48
Mar. 8-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	47
Mar. 26-28, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	44
Apr. 5-8, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	45
Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	45
May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	51
May 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	49
Jun. 3-6, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	49
Jun 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	49
July 8-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	49
July 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	49
July 30-31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	49
July 30-Aug.1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	49
Aug. 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	46
Aug. 23-25, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	47
Sept. 3-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	46
Sept. 13-15, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	45
Sept. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	44
Oct. 1-3, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	48
Oct. 9-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	49
Oct. 11-14, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	49
Oct. 14-16, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	47
Oct. 22-24,2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	46
Oct. 29-31, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	47
Nov. 7-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	44
Nov. 19-21, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	42
Dec. 5-8, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	44
Dec. 17-19, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	46
Jan. 3-5, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	44
Jan. 7-9, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	44
Jan. 14-16, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	46
Feb. 4-6, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	40
Feb. 7-10, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	48
Feb. 21-24, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	45
Feb. 25-27, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	45

Aug. 28-31, 2001	CBS News/NYT	50	38
Sep. 11-12, 2001	CBS News	72	15
Sep. 13-14, 2001	CBS News/NYT	84	9
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	89	7
Oct. 8, 2001	CBS News	90	5
Oct. 9, 2001	CBS News	90	7
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/NYT	87	8
Nov. 13-14, 2001	CBS News	85	7
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	86	9
Jan. 5-6, 2002	CBS News/NYT	84	10
Jan. 15-17, 2002	CBS News	82	11
Jan. 21-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	82	12
Jan. 29, 2002	CBS News	86	11
Feb. 24-26, 2002	CBS News	78	14
Apr. 1-2, 2002	CBS News	77	17
Apr. 15-18, 2002	CBS News	76	15
Apr. 28-May 1, 2002	CBS News/NYT	73	18
May 13-14, 2002	CBS News	77	16
May 19-20, 2002	CBS News	71	18
Jun. 18-20, 2002	CBS News	70	20
Jul. 8-9, 2002	CBS News	74	19
Jul. 13-16, 2002	CBS News/NYT	70	20
Jul. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	65	27
Aug. 6-7, 2002	CBS News	66	25
Sep. 2-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	63	28
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	66	27
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	63	29
Oct. 27-31, 2002	CBS News/NYT	62	28
Nov. 2-4, 2002*	CBS News	61	30
Nov. 20-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	65	27
Jan. 4-6, 2003	CBS News	64	28
Jan. 19-22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	59	35
Feb. 5-6, 2003	CBS News	63	28
Feb. 10-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	54	38
Feb. 24-25, 2003	CBS News	56	35
Mar. 4-5, 2003	CBS News	58	32
Mar. 7-9, 2003	CBS News/NYT	56	37
Mar. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	58	35
Mar. 17, 2003	CBS News	64	31
Mar. 20, 2003	CBS News/NYT	67	31
Mar. 20-21, 2003	CBS News/NYT	67	26
Mar. 22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	68	26
Mar. 23, 2003	CBS News/NYT	71	23
Mar. 24, 2003	CBS News/NYT	70	26
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	68	26
Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	67	26
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	73	21
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	67	24
May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	67	26
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	64	29
Jun. 12-13, 2003	CBS News	66	27
Jul. 8-9, 2003	CBS News	60	32
Jul. 13-27, 2003	CBS News/NYT	54	41
Aug. 11-12, 2003	CBS News	55	35
Aug. 26-28, 2003	CBS News	55	37
Sep. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	52	39
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003	CBS News/NYT	51	42
Oct. 20-21, 2003	CBS News	54	36

Nov. 10-12, 2003	CBS News	50	42
Dec. 10-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	52	40
Dec. 14-15, 2003	CBS News/NYT	58	33
Dec. 21-22, 2003	CBS News	60	33
Jan. 12-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	50	45
Feb. 12-15, 2004	CBS News	50	42
Feb. 24-27, 2004	CBS News	47	44
Mar. 10-14, 2004	CBS News/NYT	51	42
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News	49	44
Apr. 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	46	47
May 11, 2004	CBS News	44	49
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	41	52
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	42	51
July 11-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	45	48
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	CBS News	44	49
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	46	45
Sept. 6-8, 2004	CBS News	50	43
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News/NYT	50	42
Sep. 20-22, 2004	CBS News	48	44
Oct 1-3, 2004	CBS News/NYT	47	43
Oct. 9-11, 2004	CBS News	43	48
Oct. 14-17, 2004	CBS News/NYT	44	48
Oct. 28-30, 2004	CBS News/NYT	49	44
Oct. 29-Nov. 1, 2004	CBS News	49	44
Nov. 18-21, 2004	CBS News/NYT	51	44
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS News/NYT	49	46
Feb. 24-28, 2005	CBS News/NYT	49	46
Sep. 6-9, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	55	41
Sep. 13, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	86	12
Sep. 25-27, 2001	Wash Post	90	6
Oct. 8-9, 2001	ABC News	92	6
Nov. 5-6, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	89	9
Nov. 27, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	89	9
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	86	12
Jan. 24-27, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	83	14
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	82	16
Mar. 28, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	79	18
Apr. 18-21, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	78	20
May 18-19, 2002	ABC News	76	22
Jun. 7-9, 2002	ABC News	77	20
Jun. 17, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	74	22
Jul. 11-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	72	25
Jul. 24-28, 2002	ABC News	69	28
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	71	27
Sep. 23-26, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	67	30
Oct. 24-27, 2002	ABC News	67	29
Oct. 31-Nov. 2, 2002*	ABC News	67	32
Dec. 12-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	66	32
Jan. 16-20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	59	38
Jan. 27, 2003	ABC News	59	37
Jan. 28, 2003	ABC News	62	36
Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	62	34
Feb. 6-9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	64	34
Feb. 19-23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	60	34
Feb. 26-Mar. 2, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	62	35
Mar. 20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	67	28
Mar. 23, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	68	27



Apr. 3, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	71	25
Apr. 9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	77	20
Apr. 16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	74	23
Apr. 27-30, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	71	26
Jun. 18-22, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	68	29
Jul. 9-10, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	59	38
Aug. 7-11, 2003	Wash Post	59	37
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	56	41
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	58	40
Sep. 30, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	54	44
Oct. 9-13, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	53	42
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	56	42
Nov. 12-16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	57	39
Dec. 3-7, 2003	ABC News	53	40
Dec. 14, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	57	39
Dec. 18-21, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	59	38
Jan. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	58	40
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	47
Mar. 4-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	48
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	51	47
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	47	50
Jun. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	47	51
July 8-11, 2004	Washington Post	48	50
July 22-25, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	47
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	47	49
Aug. 26-29, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	47
Sept. 5-8, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	52	43
Sept. 23-26, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	45
Oct. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	46
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	48	49
Jan. 12-16, 2005	ABC News/Wash Post	52	46

NOTE: \*Asked of likely voters.

- Thinking about the following characteristics and qualities, please say whether you think it applies or doesn't apply to George W. Bush. How about...is a strong and decisive leader?

		Yes	No
Oct. 5-6, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	75	23
Apr. 29-May 1, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	77	21
Jul. 26-28, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	70	27
Jan. 10-12, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	76	23
Apr. 5-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	80	19
Jun. 27-29, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	75	24
Nov. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	34
Feb. 16-17, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	33

- Please tell me whether the following statement applies to Bush or not...He is a strong leader?

		Yes	No
Jul. 11-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	75	24
Dec. 12-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	75	23
Apr. 27-30, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	74	25
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	66	34
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	62	37
Dec. 18-21, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	67	32
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	61	38
Mar. 4-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	63	36

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	64	36
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	62	37

- Do you approve or disapprove of the job President Bush is doing handling the issue of terrorism?

		Approve	Disapprove
Sep. 24-25, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	70	23
Oct. 22-23, 2002*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	67	22
Dec. 3-4, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	66	22
May 20-21, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	73	19
Sep. 9-10, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	65	29
Nov. 18-19, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	57	34
Jan. 7-8, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	67	24
June 22-23, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	52	40
Oct. 3-4, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	53	41

NOTE: \*Likely voters.

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling terrorism?

		Approve	Disapprove
Nov. 2-4, 2001+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	86	12
Mar. 20-22, 2002+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	86	12
Apr. 5-7, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	83	13
May 20-22, 2002*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	83	13
Jan. 31-Feb. 3, 2003*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	26
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	31
Sep. 8-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	34
Dec. 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	33
Mar. 26-28, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	39
Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	39
May 2-4, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	45
May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	43
Jun. 3-6, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	43
Jun 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	44
Aug 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	40
Sep. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	36
Oct. 14-16, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	41
Nov. 7-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	37
Jan. 7-9, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	39
Feb. 7-10, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	42
Feb. 25-27, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	37

NOTE: \*Question wording was, “U.S. military action abroad to fight terrorism.”+ Data are the average of two wordings: “efforts to prevent future acts of terrorism in the U.S.” and “U.S. military action abroad to fight terrorism.”

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling the U.S. campaign against terrorism?

		Approve	Disapprove
Oct. 15, 2001	ABC News	92	5
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	89	9
Jan. 24-27, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	88	10
Mar. 7-10, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	88	10

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

Apr. 18-21, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	81	18
May 18-19, 2002	ABC News	79	19
Jul. 11-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	83	15
Jul. 24-28, 2002	ABC News	81	17
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	74	24
Sep. 23-26, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	70	28
Oct. 24-27, 2002	ABC News	74	23
Dec. 12-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	79	20
Jan. 16-20, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	71	25
Jan. 27, 2003	ABC News	72	26
Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	75	21
Feb. 6-9, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	74	23
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	67	28
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	70	27
Oct. 9-13, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	67	29
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	63	35
Dec. 18-21, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	70	28
Jan. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	66	33
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	64	34
Mar. 4-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	63	34
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	63	35
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	58	39
Jun. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	50	48
July 8-11, 2004	Washington Post	55	43
July 22-25, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	57	40
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	53	43
Jan. 12-16, 2005	ABC News/Wash Post	61	38

● Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the situation with Iraq?

		Approve	Disapprove
Feb. 10-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	53	42
Feb. 24-25, 2003	CBS News	52	44
Mar. 4-5, 2003	CBS News	54	39
Mar. 7-9, 2003	CBS News/NYT	51	42
Mar. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	55	41
Mar. 17, 2003	CBS News	63	32
Mar. 20-21, 2003	CBS News/NYT	69	25
Mar. 22, 2003	CBS News/NYT	72	23
Mar. 23, 2003	CBS News/NYT	75	22
Mar. 24, 2003	CBS News/NYT	71	24
Mar. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	69	27
Apr. 2-3, 2003	CBS News	69	25
Apr. 11-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	79	17
Apr. 26-27, 2003	CBS News	75	19
May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	74	21
May 27-28, 2003	CBS News	72	20
Jul. 8-9, 2003	CBS News	58	32
Aug. 11-12, 2003	CBS News	57	33
Sep. 15-16, 2003	CBS News	46	47
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003	CBS News/NYT	47	48
Oct. 20-21, 2003	CBS News	49	45
Nov. 10-12, 2003	CBS News	48	48
Dec. 10-13, 2003	CBS News/NYT	45	48
Dec. 14-15, 2003	CBS News/NYT	59	35
Dec. 21-22, 2003	CBS News	57	36
Jan. 12-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	48	46
Feb. 12-15, 2004	CBS News	49	45

Feb. 24-27, 2004	CBS News	46	47
Mar. 10-14, 2004	CBS News/NYT	49	43
Mar. 30-Apr. 1, 2004	CBS News	44	49
38117	CBS News	39	58
May 20-23, 2004	CBS News	34	61
June 23-27, 2004	CBS News/NYT	36	58
July 11-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	37	58
July 30-Aug. 1, 2004	CBS News	38	55
Aug. 15-18, 2004	CBS News	40	54
Sept. 6-8, 2004	CBS News	45	48
Sept. 12-16, 2004	CBS News/NYT	46	49
Sept. 20-22, 2004	CBS News	45	50
Oct. 1-3, 2004	CBS News/NYT	45	51
Oct. 9-11, 2004	CBS News	42	54
Oct. 14-17, 2004	CBS News/NYT	42	54
Oct. 28-30, 2004	CBS News/NYT	45	50
Oct. 29-Nov. 1, 2004	CBS News	45	50
Nov. 18-21, 2004	CBS News/NYT	40	55
Jan. 14-18, 2005	CBS News/NYT	40	55
Feb. 24-28, 2005	CBS News/NYT	45	50

- Do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing handling the situation with Iraq?

		Approve	Disapprove
Apr. 22-23, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	71	22
Jun. 30-Jul. 1, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	60	30
Jul. 15-16, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	57	35
Jul. 29-30, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	58	32
Sep. 9-10, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	54	38
Nov. 18-19, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	46	48
Jan. 7-8, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	57	35
June 22-23, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	45	49
Oct. 3-4, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	45	50
Jan. 11-12, 2005	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	44	51

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the situation with Iraq?

		Approve	Disapprove
Oct. 21-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	40
Dec. 9-10, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	39
Jan. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	40
Jan. 31-Feb. 2, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	42
Mar. 14-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	41
Mar. 24-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	26
Mar. 29-30, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	27
Apr. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	76	21
Jun. 12-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	34
Jul. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	39
Jul. 18-29, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	39
Jul. 25-27, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	38
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	41
Sep. 8-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	47
Oct. 6-8, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	50
Nov. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	54
Dec. 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	47
Jan. 2-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	36

*American Enterprise Institute compilation*

Jan. 29-Feb. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	53
Mar. 26-28, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	47
Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	49
May 2-4, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	55
May 7-9, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	58
Jun. 3-6, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	57
Jun 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	56
Aug 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	52
Sept. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	49
Oct. 14-16, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	52
Nov. 7-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	51
Jan. 7-9, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	56
Feb. 4-6, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	48
Feb. 25-27, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	53

● Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling the situation in Iraq?

		Approve	Disapprove
Apr. 27-30, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	75	22
Jun. 18-22, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	67	30
Jul. 9-10, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	58	41
Aug. 7-11, 2003	Wash Post	56	41
Aug. 20-24, 2003	ABC News	56	37
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	49	47
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	52	46
Sep. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Nightline	50	47
Oct. 9-13, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	50	47
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	47	51
Nov. 12-16, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	48	48
Dec. 14, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	58	38
Dec. 18-21, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	60	39
Jan. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	55	42
Feb. 10-11, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	47	52
Mar. 4-7, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	46	53
Apr. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	45	54
May 20-23, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	40	58
Jun. 17-20, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	44	55
July 8-11, 2004	Washington Post	43	55
July 22-25, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	45	53
Aug. 26-29, 2004	ABC News/ Wash Post	47	51
Dec. 16-19, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	42	57
Jan. 12-16, 2005	ABC News/Wash Post	40	58

**CONGRESS'S RATINGS:** Polls taken after 9/11 showed improvements in the public's rating of Congress. Those ratings have come down, and in some polls, they have fallen more dramatically than the President's overall approval rating has fallen.

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?

		Approve	Disapprove
Aug. 16-19, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	37
Sep. 7-10, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	44
Oct. 11-14, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	84	10
Nov. 8-11, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	73	19
Dec. 6-9, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	72	19
Jan. 7-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	29
Feb. 4-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	62	28
Apr. 8-11, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	34
May 6-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	57	33
Jun. 3-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	38
Jul. 9-11, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	36
Jul. 26-28, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	36
Aug. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	43
Sep. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	40
Oct. 3-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	40
Nov. 11-14, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	39
Dec. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	40
Jan. 13-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	40
Feb. 3-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	39
Mar. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	44
Apr. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	33
May 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	44
Jun. 12-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	50	41
Jul. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	45
Aug. 4-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	46
Sep. 8-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	53
Oct. 6-8, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	51
Nov. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	51
Dec. 11-14, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	50
Jan. 12-15, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	45
Feb. 9-12, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	51
Mar. 8-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	51
Apr. 5-8, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	51
May 2-4, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	52
June 3-6, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	52
July 8-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	53
Aug. 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	52
Sep. 13-15, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	52
Oct. 11-14, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	40	51
Nov. 7-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	52
Dec. 5-8, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	50
Jan. 3-5, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	48
Feb. 7-10, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	48

● Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?

		Approve	Disapprove
Aug. 28-31, 2001	CBS News/NYT	43	41
Oct. 25-28, 2001	CBS News/NYT	67	24
Dec. 7-10, 2001	CBS News/NYT	57	31
Jan. 21-24, 2002	CBS News/NYT	47	37
Feb. 24-26, 2002	CBS News	50	34
Jun. 18-20, 2002	CBS News	43	40
Jul. 13-16, 2002	CBS News/NYT	49	38
Sep. 22-23, 2002	CBS News	48	36
Oct. 3-5, 2002	CBS News/NYT	41	47
Oct. 27-31, 2002	CBS News/NYT	45	40
Mar. 20, 2003	CBS News/NYT	52	36
May 9-12, 2003	CBS News/NYT	35	48
Jul. 13-27, 2003	CBS News/NYT	39	46
Sep. 28-Oct. 1, 2003	CBS News/NYT	37	47
Jan. 12-15, 2004	CBS News/NYT	45	42

● Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress is doing its job?

		Approve	Disapprove
Jul. 30, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	48	48
Sep. 6-9, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	45	48
Dec. 18-19, 2001	ABC News/Wash Post	59	34
Jan. 24-27, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	58	35
Jul. 11-15, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	57	36
Sep. 23-26, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	51	43
Apr. 27-30, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	57	37
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	40	52

● Do you approve or disapprove of the way the United States Congress is handling its job?

		Approve	Disapprove
Nov. 10-13, 2001	L.A. Times	68	20
Jan. 31-Feb. 3, 2002	L.A. Times	59	32
Aug. 22-25, 2002	L.A. Times	53	36
Dec. 12-15, 2002	L.A. Times	49	39

***MEDIA PERFORMANCE: THE WAR ON TERRORISM/WAR WITH IRAQ:*** In September 2001, 89 percent said they thought the press was doing an excellent or good job covering the terrorist attacks and the war against terrorism. When Pew last repeated the question, in an April-May 2002 poll, 77 percent gave that response. Right after President Bush issued an ultimatum to Saddam Hussein in mid-March 2003, 80 percent gave the press high marks for its coverage of the war in Iraq in a Pew survey. Sixty-four percent gave that response in Pew's June-July poll. Americans want war coverage to be neutral, not pro-American.

- In general, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the terrorist attacks and the war against terrorism/ excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

		Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Sep. 13-17, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	56	33	6	3
Oct. 1-3, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	48	37	10	3
Oct. 10-14, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	32	42	17	6
Nov. 13-19, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	30	47	16	5
Dec. 10-16, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	32	45	15	5
Apr. 26-May 12, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	29	48	17	4

NOTE: For more information about Americans' attitudes toward the media, see the Pew Research Center's online report, "Terror Coverage Boosts News Media's image" at <http://www.people-press.org/112801rpt.htm>

- In general, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the war in Iraq...excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

		Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Mar. 20-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	42	38	11	4
Mar. 23-24, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	34	42	14	5
Mar. 25-27, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	34	41	16	7
Mar. 28-Apr. 1, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	32	40	16	9
Apr. 2-7, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	32	42	15	9
Jun. 19-Jul. 2, 2003*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	22	42	25	9

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...news about the current situation in Iraq?"

- Now I will 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...The U.S. military effort in Afghanistan?

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not Too Closely	Not At All Closely
Oct. 10-14, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	51	35	10	3
Oct. 31-					
Nov. 7, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	45	36	12	6
Nov. 13-19, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	49	36	11	3
Dec. 10-16, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	44	38	12	5
Jan. 9-13, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	51	35	9	4
Feb. 12-18, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	47	39	8	5
Apr. 3-8, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	45	37	12	5
Apr. 26-					
May 12, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	39	39	13	8
Jun. 19-23, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	38	32	20	9
Jul. 8-16, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	41	38	13	7



- In your opinion, which is better... that news coverage of a war be pro-American or that news coverage of a war be neutral?

		Pro-American	Neutral
Nov. 13-19, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	30	64
Feb. 12-18, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	16	78
Mar. 28-Apr. 1, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	25	68
Apr. 2-7, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	23	69

- Do you think the military should exert more control over how news organizations report about the war or do you think that most decisions about how to report about the war should be left to the news organizations themselves?

		Give Military More Control	News Organizations Should Decide
Oct. 12, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	59	28
Nov. 13-19, 2001	PSRA/Pew Research Center	50	40
Feb. 12-18, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	40	50

- Do you approve or disapprove of the job the media is doing covering the war on terrorism?

		Approve	Disapprove
Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	45	46

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way the following people are handling the war on terrorism since September 11<sup>th</sup>? How about the news media?

		Approve	Disapprove
Nov. 8-11, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	54
Dec. 6-9, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	59	38

- Please tell me whether or not you think the following phrase applies to the U.S. news media's coverage of the Iraq war - "fair and reliable." Does this apply to the U.S. news media's coverage of the Iraq war, or not?

		Yes	No
Mar. 27-28, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	66	26
Apr. 10-11, 2003	PSRA/Newsweek	70	23

- In general, how would you rate the job the news organizations in this country have done in covering the situation in the Mideast concerning the war with Iraq? Would you say it has been excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

		Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Mar. 22-23, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	32	10	5

- Do you think the media coverage of the Bush administration and its handling of the war in Afghanistan has been too critical of Bush and the administration, not critical enough of Bush and the administration, or has it been about right?

		Too Critical	Not Critical Enough	About Right
Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 2001	Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics	25	12	54

● Do you think each of the following is currently a problem or not a problem in how information is provided about the war against terrorism?

Oct. 12, 2001	Harris Interactive		
		Problem	Not Problem
	The government withholding too much information from the media and the American public	24	72
	The media providing too much detailed information about U.S. military actions	68	30

● Thinking about the news coverage of the campaign against terrorism, do you think the Bush administration and the military have been cooperative enough in providing information to the news media, or not?

Oct. 5-6, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	Cooperative Enough	Not Cooperative Enough
		88	11

● If you had to pick, which of these would you say is more important - the right to a free press in this country or the government's ability to keep military secrets in wartime?

Jan. 8-12, 2003	ABC News	Free Press	Military Secrets
		34	60

● Specifically in a time of war, do you think the news media have more of an obligation to support how the government carries out the war or more of an obligation to question how the government carries out the war?

Jan. 8-12, 2003	ABC News	Support	Question
		56	36

● Again, specifically in time of war, do you think the government should or should not have the right to prohibit the news media from reporting sensitive military information?

Jan. 8-12, 2003	ABC News	Should	Should Not
		66	31

● In covering the war on terrorism, do you think the news media have been too supportive of the Bush administration, too critical of the Bush administration, or about right? (Half sample)

Jan. 8-12, 2003	ABC News	Too Supportive	About Right	Too Critical
		19	60	15

● In covering the possibility of war with Iraq, do you think the news media have been too supportive of the Bush administration, too critical of the Bush administration, or about right? (Half sample)

Jan. 8-12, 2003	ABC News	Too Supportive	About Right	Too Critical
		13	61	17

● Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way newspapers and television channels have been reporting on U.S. military operations in Iraq?

		Approve	Disapprove
Mar. 25-26, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	56	33
Apr. 8-9, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	52	39
Oct. 14-15, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	36	46

● Generally speaking, do you think news reports about U.S. military operations in Iraq have been more likely to focus on the negative things happening in Iraq and leave out the positive things or more likely to focus on the positive things happening in Iraq and leave out the negative things?

		More Likely to Focus on the Negative Things Happening in Iraq and Leave Out the Positive Things	More Likely to Focus on the Positive Things Happening in Iraq and Leave Out the Negative Things
Oct. 14-15, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	60	19

● Do you trust....a lot, some, only a little, or none at all for accurate information about the situation in Iraq?

Oct. 23-27, 2003		Quinnipiac	A Lot	Some	A Little	None
	The White House		19	37	24	19
	Television news		15	48	26	9
	Newspapers		12	46	29	11
	The Democratic candidates for President		10	42	25	17

***THE ECONOMY:*** Americans clearly feel that both the war on terrorism and the economy are important issues. A number of factors, including most likely the corporate scandals, the gyrations of the stock market and perceptions of a generally anemic economy, pulled the President's ratings on handling the economy down in the summer of 2002, where they remained through early 2004. Some polls show a slight uptick in his ratings in this area in early summer.

• Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the economy?

		Approve	Disapprove
May 18-20, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	41
July 10-11, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	36
Oct. 5-6, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	72	23
Nov. 2-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	71	24
Jan. 25-27, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	30
Feb. 4-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	66	30
Mar. 1-3, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	64	31
Mar. 22-24, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	65	29
Apr. 5-7, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	60	33
May 20-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	61	29
Jun. 28-30, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	63	33
Jul. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	58	36
Jul. 26-28, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	43
Oct. 21-22, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	44
Nov. 8-10, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	55	39
Dec. 9-10, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	47
Jan. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	47
Jan. 10-12, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	47
Jan. 23-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	49
Jan. 31-Feb. 2, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	48
Feb. 3-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	52
Mar. 14-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	52
Mar. 24-25, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	42
Mar. 29-30, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	47
Apr. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	45
May 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	44
Jun. 12-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	48
Jul. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	50
Jul. 18-20, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	51
Jul. 25-27, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	51
Aug. 25-26, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	52
Sep. 8-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	53
Oct. 6-8, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	55
Nov. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	50
Dec. 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	48	49
Jan. 2-5, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	43
Jan. 29-Feb. 1, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	54
Feb. 9-12, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	52
Mar. 26-28, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	42	55
Apr. 16-18, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	52
May 2-4, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	56
May 7-9, 2004*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	56
June 3-6, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	58
June 21-23, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	50
Aug. 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	51
Sept. 24-26, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	48

Oct. 14-16, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	46	51
Nov. 7-10, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	47	51

- What do you think is a bigger problem facing the nation right now...terrorism or the economy?

		Economy	Terrorism
Dec. 16, 2001	ABC News	47	49
Jan. 24-27, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	54	43
Sep. 5-8, 2002	ABC News	51	46
Sep. 23-26, 2002	ABC News/Wash Post	51	47
Sep. 4-7, 2003	ABC News	63	34
Sep. 10-13, 2003	ABC News	61	37
Oct. 26-29, 2003	ABC News/Wash Post	62	35
Jan. 15-18, 2004	ABC News/Wash Post	58	39

- Right now, which do you think is more important for President Bush to focus on...the economy or the war on terrorism?

		Economy	Terrorism
Aug. 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	39	34
Oct. 2-6, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	36	45
Jan. 8-12, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	38	43
Apr. 10-16, 2003*	PSRA/Pew Research Center	36	42
Jul. 14-Aug. 5, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	57	27
Sep. 17-22, 2003	PSRA/Pew Research Center	50	32

NOTE: \*Question wording was "...the situation in Iraq?"

- On the national level, are you more concerned about the economy or about national security?

		National Security	Nation's Economy	Both (Vol.)
Jun. 18-19, 2002*	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	52	19	28
Aug. 6-7, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	33	39	27
Sep. 8-9, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	31	32	35
Feb. 11-12, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	33	40	24
Feb. 18-19, 2004	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	31	44	23

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "Which do you think is more important—national security or the nation's economy?"

- Right now, which do you think is more important for President Bush to focus on...domestic policy or the war on terrorism?

		Domestic Policy	Terrorism
Jan. 9-13, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	33	52
Aug. 14-25, 2002	PSRA/Pew Research Center	29	43

- Do you think the country is currently heading out of a recession or are we headed deeper into a recession?

		On Way Out	Deeper Into
Dec. 12-13, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	43	41
Jan. 9-10, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	55	31
Jan. 30-31, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	45	37
Feb. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	55	29

●Consumer Confidence

Index of Consumer Sentiment			Consumer Confidence Index		
Sep. 2001	Univ. of Michigan	81.8	Sept, 2001	The Conference Board	97.0
Oct. 2001	Univ. of Michigan	82.7	Oct. 2001	The Conference Board	85.3
Nov. 2001	Univ. of Michigan	83.9	Nov. 2001	The Conference Board	84.9
Dec. 2001	Univ. of Michigan	88.8	Dec. 2001	The Conference Board	94.6
Jan. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	93.0	Jan. 2002	The Conference Board	97.8
Feb. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	90.7	Feb. 2002	The Conference Board	95.0
Mar. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	95.7	Mar. 2002	The Conference Board	110.7
Apr. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	93.0	Apr. 2002	The Conference Board	108.5
May 2002	Univ. of Michigan	96.9	May 2002	The Conference Board	110.3
Jun. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	92.4	Jun. 2002	The Conference Board	106.3
Jul. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	88.1	Jul. 2002	The Conference Board	97.4
Aug. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	87.6	Aug. 2002	The Conference Board	94.5
Sep. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	86.1	Sep. 2002	The Conference Board	93.7
Oct. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	80.6	Oct. 2002	The Conference Board	79.6
Nov. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	84.2	Nov. 2002	The Conference Board	84.9
Dec. 2002	Univ. of Michigan	86.7	Dec. 2002	The Conference Board	80.7
Jan. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	82.4	Jan. 2003	The Conference Board	78.8
Feb. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	79.9	Feb. 2003	The Conference Board	64.8
Mar. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	77.6	Mar. 2003	The Conference Board	61.4
Apr. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	86.0	Apr. 2003	The Conference Board	81.0
May 2003	Univ. of Michigan	92.1	May 2003	The Conference Board	83.6
Jun. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	89.7	Jun. 2003	The Conference Board	83.5
Jul. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	90.9	Jul. 2003	The Conference Board	77.0
Aug. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	89.3	Aug. 2003	The Conference Board	81.7
Sep. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	87.7	Sep. 2003	The Conference Board	77.0
Oct. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	89.6	Oct. 2003	The Conference Board	81.7
Nov. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	93.7	Nov. 2003	The Conference Board	92.5
Dec. 2003	Univ. of Michigan	92.6	Dec. 2003	The Conference Board	94.8
Jan. 2004	Univ. of Michigan	103.8	Jan. 2004	The Conference Board	97.7
Feb. 2004	Univ. of Michigan	94.4	Feb. 2004	The Conference Board	88.5
Mar. 2004	Univ. of Michigan	95.8	Mar. 2004	The Conference Board	88.5
Apr. 2004	Univ. of Michigan	94.2	Apr. 2004	The Conference Board	93.0
June 2004	Univ. of Michigan	95.6	May 2004	The Conference Board	93.1
July 2004	Univ. of Michigan	96.7	June 2004	The Conference Board	102.8
August 2004	Univ. of Michigan	95.9	July 2004	The Conference Board	105.7
Sept. 2004	Univ. of Michigan	94.2	Aug. 2004	The Conference Board	98.7
Oct. 2004	Univ. of Michigan	91.7	Sept. 2004	The Conference Board	96.7
Nov. 2004	Univ. of Michigan	92.8	Oct. 2004	The Conference Board	92.9
Dec. 2004	Univ. of Michigan	97.1	Nov. 2004	The Conference Board	92.6
Jan. 2005	Univ. of Michigan	95.8	Dec. 2004	The Conference Board	102.3

ABC News/Money Magazine Consumer Comfort Index

Feb. 9, 1992	-50 (record low)
Jan. 16, 2000	+38 (record high)
Sep. 9, 2001	-04
May. 4, 2004	-11
May 13, 2004	-13
May 27, 2004	-16
June 3, 2004	-18
June 17, 2004	-20
June 24, 2004	-15
June 30, 2004	-11
July 11, 2004	-7

July 18, 2004	-7
July 25, 2004	-7
August 4, 2004	-9

NOTE: The Consumer Comfort Index began in December 1985 and uses a scale from +100 to -100.

***THE STOCK MARKET: Public optimism about the stock market remained pretty stable in the months immediately after 9/11.***

- Over the next six months, do you think that each of the following will go up a lot, go up a little, remain the same, go down a little, or go down a lot? How about the stock market?

		Go Up A Lot	Go Up A Little	Remain The Same	Go Down A little	Go Down A lot
Oct. 11-14, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	36	19	22	8
Nov. 8-11, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	34	23	22	8
Dec. 6-9, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	42	21	17	6
Jan. 7-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	44	22	15	4
Feb. 4-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	7	36	23	20	8
Mar. 4-7, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	47	20	13	6
Apr. 8-11, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	37	23	20	6
May 6-9, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	7	39	25	14	6
Jun. 3-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	37	22	19	7
Jul. 9-11, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	4	25	21	29	14
Aug. 5-8, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	34	16	23	11
Nov. 11-14 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	7	31	23	22	9
Jan. 13-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	7	33	24	21	9
Apr. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	37	21	17	9
May 5-7, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	43	23	13	6
Jun. 12-15, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	41	24	16	5
Jul. 7-9, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	7	43	21	18	6
Aug. 4-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	41	21	19	6
Sep. 8-10, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	40	26	14	6
Oct. 6-8, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	42	21	16	5
Nov. 3-5, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	7	47	23	14	4
Dec. 11-14, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	11	48	21	12	3
Jan. 12-15, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	44	19	14	5
Feb. 9-12, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	48	22	12	5
Mar. 8-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	40	24	14	6
Apr. 5-8, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	10	40	25	13	4
May 2-4, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	8	35	25	18	7
Jun. 3-6, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	6	40	26	15	5
July 8-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	37	26	15	5

- A year from now, do you think the stock market will be higher, lower, or about the same as it is now?

		Higher	The Same	Lower
Sep. 19-20, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	55	26	10
Oct. 30-				
Nov. 1, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	55	25	8
Jul 23-24, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	54	26	10
Mar. 25-26, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	47	30	9
Oct. 28-29, 2003	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	46	35	7

- Generally speaking, over the next twelve months, do you have a great deal of confidence that the stock market will do well, or some confidence, or very little, or no confidence at all that the stock market will do well?

		Great Deal Confidence	Some Confidence	Very Little Confidence	No Confidence
Nov. 10-13, 2001	L.A. Times	17	58	14	3
Aug. 22-25, 2002	L.A. Times	12	54	20	7



- In the last month have you put money in the stock market or taken money out of the stock market?

		Put Money In	Take Money Out	Neither	Have No Money In Market
Oct. 3-4, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	18	4	49	27
Jun. 26-27, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	19	6	46	26
Jul. 23-24, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics	22	9	45	22

- In light of the changes in the value of many shares this past week, would you advise friends or family members that now is a good time to buy shares on the stock market or would you say it is a bad time to buy shares on the stock market?

		Good Time	Bad Time
Sep. 21-23, 2001	Ipsos-Reid	64	30

- Has the way the stock market reacted after the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> had a positive effect, or a negative effect, on your feelings about the economic stability of the United States, or hasn't it affected your feelings about the nation's economic stability one way or the other?

		Positive	No Effect	Negative
Nov. 10-13, 2001	L.A. Times	14	50	30

- Has the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks had an effect on the way you and your family invest your money - are you now more likely to invest in the stock market, less likely, or haven't the attacks affected the way you invest one way or the other?

		More Likely	No Effect	Less Likely
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	13	64	22

- Have you or anyone in your household bought or sold stocks since the market re-opened after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks? (Asked of those who have money invested in the stock market)?

		Yes, Bought	Yes, Sold	Yes, Both	No
Sep. 20-23, 2001	CBS News/NYT	8	1	2	88

- Please tell me whether each of these is something you have or have not done as a result of the terrorist attacks...reduced your investments in the stock market?

		Yes	No
Sep. 27, 2001	Harris Interactive	10	89

- Overall, has the value of your stocks, including stock mutual funds, increased this year, or decreased, or has the value of your stocks remained about the same? (Asked of those who have stock)

		Increased	Same	Decreased
Nov. 10-13, 2001	L.A. Times	10	22	64

● Generally speaking, does the fact that your stocks or stock mutual funds are doing worse make you feel more financially insecure, or does it not change the way you feel about your financial security? (Asked of stock owners who said value decreased)

Nov. 10-13, 2001	L.A. Times	Insecure 33	No Difference 65
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**INTERNATIONAL OPINION:** Polls conducted abroad immediately after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 showed that most people preferred to have the American government extradite the terrorists to stand trial rather than to take military action. Majorities in India and Israel opted for military action. When told that NATO had endorsed a military response, however, many of our traditional allies said that their countries should support a military response.

We include in this collection some questions from surveys conducted abroad after 9/11, but many more are available. What follows is a description of some surveys readers may wish to review:

- In March 2003, the Pew Global Attitudes Project conducted a nine-nation survey on peoples' attitudes toward the U.S. and a potential war in Iraq. Between July and October 2002, the Pew Research Center conducted a survey of people in 44 countries and released its initial results in the report "What the World Thinks in 2002." In June 2003, Pew released "Views of a Changing World," a special 21-population survey conducted April 28-May 15, 2003 in the United States, Europe, the Middle East and elsewhere. Pew also released previously undistributed data from the Pew Global Attitudes survey of people in 44 nations. In March 2004, the Pew Global Attitudes Project followed-up with a nine-nation survey on peoples' attitudes toward the U.S. and the war in Iraq. The data can be found at [www.people-press.org](http://www.people-press.org).
- Gallup International conducted two separate surveys, both before and after the Iraq war, in forty-five countries [www.gallup-international.com](http://www.gallup-international.com)
- A six-country (Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, and the Netherlands) survey taken under the auspices of the German Marshall Fund and the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations was conducted in June 2003. This survey includes questions about the war on terrorism as well as many other subjects. The survey can be found at: <http://www.gmfus.org>
- In March 2003, Ipsos-Reid conducted its quarterly syndicated survey of global public opinion called "Global Powers in Changing Times." The survey was conducted in the G7 nations plus Russia and Spain. In February and March 2004, Ipsos-Reid and the Associated Press conducted an eight-nation poll on attitudes toward the U.S. and the Iraq war <http://www.ipsos-reid.com>
- In February and March 2004, Harris Interactive conducted a five-nation survey on peoples' attitudes toward the U.S. and the war in Iraq. The data can be found at [www.harrisinteractive.com](http://www.harrisinteractive.com)
- In January 2003, MORI released its report, "What Europeans Really Think About America - and the Future of the European Union." The survey can be found at the MORI website ([www.mori.com](http://www.mori.com)).
- In March 2003, Ipsos-Reid conducted a nine-nation survey on peoples' attitudes toward a potential war in Iraq. It can be found at <http://www.ipsos-reid.com/>. In March and April 2003, The Daily Telegraph and ITV News conducted a tracking poll of peoples' attitudes in Great Britain toward the war in Iraq. It can be found at <http://www.yougov.com/>.
- Between December 2001 and January 2002, Gallup conducted polls in nine predominantly Islamic countries. In early March, Gallup asked Americans many of the same questions. For more information about this poll, see the Gallup website ([www.gallup.com](http://www.gallup.com)).
- In March and April 2002, Zogby International conducted polls in eight predominantly Muslim countries. In March 2003 Zogby conducted a survey for the Arab American Institute in five predominantly Muslim countries. For more information about these polls, see the Zogby website ([www.zogby.com](http://www.zogby.com)).
- Between October 1998 and January 1999 RoperASW did fieldwork in Saudi Arabia. For

- *Several polls have been conducted inside Iraq since the end of the war. These include a national survey by Oxford Research International of Oxford, England for ABC News, ARD, the BBC, and NHK ([abcnews.go.com](http://abcnews.go.com)), a survey conducted in Baghdad by Gallup ([www.gallup.com](http://www.gallup.com)) and a survey conducted in Baghdad for The Spectator and Channel Four News by YouGov ([www.yougov.com](http://www.yougov.com)). The American Enterprise and Zogby International conducted a poll of Iraqis living in Mousel, Al Basrah, Karkuk, and Al Ramadi ([www.taemag.com](http://www.taemag.com)).*

- In your opinion, once the identity of the terrorists is known, should the American government launch a military attack on the country or countries where the terrorists are based or should the American government seek to extradite the terrorists to stand trial?

Sep. 14-17, 2001	Gallup International*	U.S. Should Launch Attack	Extradite Terrorists To Stand Trial
		10	82
		22	64
		20	74
		14	82
		29	67
		17	77
		6	88
		72	28
		77	19
		21	71
		18	78
		28	68
		12	83
		9	69
		18	75
		12	86
		8	87
		18	75

NOTE: Not all countries shown. \*Gallup International does not have any association with the Gallup Organization in the U.S.

- Some countries and all NATO member states have agreed to participate in any military action against the terrorists responsible for the attacks or against those countries harboring terrorists. Do you agree or disagree that [your country] should take part?

Sep. 14-17, 2001	Gallup International	Agree	Disagree
Austria		14	82
Czech Republic		55	34
Denmark		80	13
Finland		8	83
France		73	23
Germany		53	43
Greece		29	60
India		86	8
Israel		66	29
Italy		66	26
Luxembourg		74	18
Netherlands		66	20
Norway		58	32
Pakistan		32	62
Portugal		70	23
Spain		58	37
Switzerland		28	65
U.K.		79	12

NOTE: Not all countries shown.

- As you know, the United States has launched military strikes on targets in Afghanistan - including military sites of the Taliban government, and training camps of the Al-Qaeda group led by Osama bin Laden. All things considered, do you support or oppose these U.S.-led air strikes on Afghanistan?

Nov.-12-Dec. 16, 2001	Ipsos-Reid	Support	Oppose
Argentina		13	77
Canada		66	23
China		28	52
France		60	25
Germany		60	32
Italy		58	30
Japan		49	44
South Korea		43	50
Spain		31	52
Turkey		18	70
U.K.		65	19
U.S.		88	7

NOTE: In China, the survey was conducted in the country's five largest cities.

- Following the U.S. terrorist attacks of September 11 and considering the current crisis, should [your country] act exclusively on a national level to protect our interests, exclusively promote a common action at the European level for all countries of the European Union, or react both on a national and European level?

Nov. 13-23, 2001	Eurobarometer			
		National Level	European Level	Both
Austria		27	23	37
Belgium		12	22	61
Denmark		6	15	74
Germany		10	24	62
Greece		24	19	47
France		8	17	73
Finland		14	19	61
Ireland		18	19	60
Italy		13	28	58
Luxembourg		9	28	58
Netherlands		6	34	56
Portugal		18	13	55
Spain		13	27	51
Sweden		9	21	61
U.K.		16	11	68

- Amongst the following measures, which ones seem appropriate to you...to put our military bases at the disposal of the anti-terrorist coalition led by the U.S.?

Nov. 13-23, 2001	Eurobarometer		
		Yes	No
Austria		26	67
Belgium		61	32
Denmark		62	25
Finland		11	83
Germany		65	30
Greece		22	68
France		65	29
Ireland		38	57
Italy		67	31
Luxembourg		68	24
Netherlands		65	29
Portugal		59	25
Spain		51	38
Sweden		29	62
U.K.		55	22

- Amongst the following measures, which ones seem appropriate to you...to put our national intelligence services at the disposal of the anti-terrorist coalition led by the U.S.?

Nov. 13-23, 2001	Eurobarometer	
	Yes	No
Austria	48	40
Belgium	76	18
Denmark	75	13
Germany	71	21
Greece	30	60
Finland	34	54
France	86	12
Ireland	64	31
Italy	79	19
Luxembourg	81	10
Netherlands	69	27
Portugal	63	19
Spain	67	25
Sweden	66	25
U.K.	62	11

- Amongst the following measures, which ones seem appropriate to you...to supply weapons and equipment to those in their own country want to overthrow governments protecting terrorists?

Nov. 13-23, 2001	Eurobarometer	
	Yes	No
Austria	22	67
Belgium	31	62
Denmark	21	63
Finland	24	66
Germany	35	57
Greece	18	75
France	38	56
Ireland	18	76
Italy	40	56
Luxembourg	33	61
Netherlands	38	58
Portugal	31	53
Spain	39	53
Sweden	14	81
U.K.	26	48

- Amongst the following measures, which ones seem appropriate to you...to send [nationality] troops to fight with the U.S. forces?

Nov. 13-23, 2001		Eurobarometer	
	Yes	No	
Austria	8	86	
Belgium	43	51	
Denmark	43	45	
Finland	5	91	
Germany	55	38	
Greece	5	90	
France	54	41	
Ireland	26	67	
Italy	51	45	
Luxembourg	43	49	
Netherlands	61	33	
Portugal	27	58	
Spain	32	58	
Sweden	20	74	
U.K.	66	17	

- Would you say that so far the [your national] government has reacted to the present terrorist crisis very well, rather well, rather badly, or very badly?

Nov. 13-23, 2001		Eurobarometer			
	Very Well	Rather Well	Rather Badly	Very Badly	
Austria	6	36	14	3	
Belgium	11	61	10	3	
Denmark	25	50	6	2	
Finland	12	63	10	2	
Germany	14	56	18	5	
Greece	13	44	9	5	
France	10	69	13	3	
Ireland	16	47	10	3	
Italy	12	56	17	5	
Luxembourg	15	48	5	1	
Netherlands	7	64	10	4	
Portugal	1	34	8	3	
Spain	6	49	14	6	
Sweden	14	61	10	3	
U.K.	44	43	8	4	

- How strongly do you approve or disapprove of the United States's decision to begin the military operations in response to the terrorists' attacks? Would you say you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove?

Nov. 2001		Harris Interactive/Asahi Shimbun			
	Strongly Approve	Somewhat Approve	Somewhat Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove	
Beijing	16	20	35	29	
Japan	15	44	28	8	
South Korea	11	45	35	8	
U.S.	78	16	3	3	



- Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the American response to the terrorist attacks on September 11<sup>th</sup>?

		Approve	Disapprove
Sep. 14, 2001*	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	72	10
Sep. 21, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	68	13
Oct. 9, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	70	19
Oct. 18-22, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	64	27
Nov. 22-27, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	66	24
Mar. 15-17, 2002	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	50	37
Sep. 5-8, 2002	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	35	47

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...this week's terrorist attacks?"

- And if the United States were to take military action against those responsible, would you support or oppose British troops being involved in this action?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 14, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	74	20
Sep. 21, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	73	20

- Now that the United States has taken military action, do you support or oppose British troops being involved in this action?

		Support	Oppose
Oct. 9, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	72	22
Oct. 18-22, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	66	28
Nov. 1-2, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	66	27
Nov. 22-27, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	69	24

- Would you support or oppose U.S. and British military action against countries that assist or shelter terrorists?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 14, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	69	21
Sep. 21, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	60	27

- The United States and Britain launched military strikes against Afghanistan in response to the terrorist attacks on September 11<sup>th</sup>. Do you support or oppose taking action against Afghanistan?

		Support	Oppose
Oct. 9, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	69	23
Oct. 18-22, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	67	23
Nov. 1-2, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	65	23
Nov. 22-27, 2001	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	70	22

- On balance, do you think the American government would be right or wrong to step up military action in Iraq, the country run by Saddam Hussein?

		Right	Wrong
Mar. 15-17, 2002	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	35	52

- On balance, do you think the British government would be right or wrong to join the Americans in stepping up military action in Iraq, the country run by Saddam Hussein?

		Right	Wrong
Mar. 15-17, 2002	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	34	56

- And do you think that the British government is too supportive of the American government on these international issues, not supportive enough, or do you think they've got it about right?

		Too Supportive	About Right	Not Supportive Enough
Mar. 15-17, 2002	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	40	52	3

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the current situation with Iraq (the country ruled by Saddam Hussein)?

		Approve	Disapprove
Sep. 24-25, 2002	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	30	59
Jan. 17-20, 2003	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	19	68
Feb. 28-			
Mar. 2, 2003	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	23	65
Mar. 14-16, 2003	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	21	65
Jul. 25-27, 2003*	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	26	60

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...handling the current situation in Iraq?"

- Would you support or oppose Britain joining any American-led military action against Iraq, with UN approval?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 24-25, 2002	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	71	23
Jan. 17-20, 2003	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	61	29

- Would you support or oppose Britain joining any American-led military action against Iraq, without UN approval?

		Support	Oppose
Sep. 24-25, 2002	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	22	70
Jan. 17-20, 2003	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	15	77

- Do you support or oppose Britain taking military action against Iraq?

		Support	Oppose
Mar. 28-31, 2003	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	56	38

- Do you believe now it was right or wrong for British troops to invade Iraq and take part in deposing the Saddam Hussein Government?

		Right	Wrong
Jul. 25-27, 2003	Market & Opinion Research Int. (U.K.)	50	41

- Do you approve or disapprove of the military action by the United States and Britain against Afghanistan?

		Approve	Disapprove
Oct. 10-11, 2001	ICM Research (U.K.)	74	16
Oct. 26-28, 2001	ICM Research (U.K.)	62	20

- Would you approve or disapprove of Britain backing American military action against Iraq?

Mar. 15-17, 2002	ICM Research (U.K.)	Approve 35	Disapprove 51
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- Do you think the United States should or should not take military action against Iraq?

Mar. 20-Apr. 8, 2002	British Gallup (U.K.)	Should 43	Should Not 47
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- Do you think that Britain should or should not offer military support against Iraq?

Mar. 20-Apr. 8, 2002	British Gallup (U.K.)	43	51
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- Do you think that the attacks which occurred in the United States threaten world peace?

Sep. 12, 2001	Group CSA for <i>Le Parisian</i> and <i>Aujourd'hui</i> (France)	Yes 88	No 12
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- Do you feel solidarity with the American people?

Sep. 12, 2001	Group CSA for <i>Le Parisian</i> and <i>Aujourd'hui</i> (France)	96	4
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- NATO has now decided that the attack on the USA will be viewed as an attack on all NATO members - thus also an attack on Germany. Would you say that is the correct decision or not?

Sep. 13, 2001	Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach (Germany)	Correct decision 57	Mistake 25
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- The SPD party leader Peter Struck said "Now we are all Americans." Do you find that well said, or not?

Sep. 13, 2001	Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach (Germany)	Yes 47	No 42
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- And would you say that you trust the way the American President Bush is dealing with the situation, or not?

Sep. 13, 2001	Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach (Germany)	Trust 35	Do Not Trust 47
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- Do you support sending Polish troops to Afghanistan?

Dec. 2001	Public Opinion Research Cntr. (Poland)	Support 45	Don't Mind 5	Against 44
Jan. 2002	Public Opinion Research Cntr.			

Feb. 2002	(Poland) Public Opinion Research Cntr.	43	8	43
Apr. 2002	(Poland) Public Opinion Research Cntr.	47	7	42
	(Poland)	57	7	32

● Right now, most other countries around the world support the U.S.-led military action in Afghanistan in the war against terrorism. Would you favor or oppose the U.S. continuing military action on its own even if other countries withdraw their support?

Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 2001	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics (U.S.)	Favor 77	Oppose 14
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● If other countries in the international alliance fighting against terrorism oppose actions beyond Afghanistan, do you think the U.S. should give up the hunt for terrorists or is fighting terrorism so important that the U.S. should go it alone?

Jan. 9-10, 2002	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics (U.S.)	Go It Alone 65	Give Up Hunt 15
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● As you may know, there are many possible problems the U.S. government might face in how it conducts the war on terrorism in the future. Please tell me whether you are concerned, not very concerned, or not at all concerned that each of the following will happen...The U.S. might lose the support of key allies that currently support U.S. action in Afghanistan?

Mar. 13-14, 2002	Harris Interactive (U.S.)	Very Concerned 29	Somewhat Concerned 33	Not Very Concerned 21	Not At All Concerned 14
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**Key Dates:**

- September 11, 2001: Terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon leave over 3,000 dead.
- September 14, 2001: Congress authorizes President Bush to use “all necessary and appropriate force” against Afghanistan.
- September 20, 2001: President Bush addresses a joint session of Congress.
- October 5, 2001: First anthrax fatality in Boca Raton, Florida.
- October 7, 2001: The U.S. launches Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.
- October 15, 2001: The office of Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle receives a letter that tests positive for anthrax.
- October 19, 2001: U.S. Special Operations troops stage the first ground attack in Afghanistan.
- October 26, 2001: President Bush signs USA Patriot Act, giving law enforcement and intelligence agencies new powers.
- November 12, 2001: Northern Alliance troops enter the Afghan capital, Kabul.
- November 28, 2001: Defense Department acknowledges first U.S. combat death in Afghanistan.
- December 7, 2001: Taliban abandon their last stronghold, Kandahar.
- December 13, 2001: Bush administration releases video showing Osama bin Laden and associates gloating over terrorist attacks.
- December 22, 2001: Hamid Karzai sworn in as new president of Afghanistan.
- January 29, 2002: In State of the Union address, President Bush calls Iran, Iraq, and North Korea an “axis of evil.”
- June 1, 2002: In West Point speech, President Bush says that pre-emptive action might be needed to counter terrorist threats.
- June 4, 2002: Senate and House Intelligence committees begin hearings on security lapses prior to terrorist attacks.
- June 6, 2002: President Bush, in televised address, calls for creation of new Cabinet-level Homeland Security Department.
- July 31, 2002: Senate Foreign Relations Committee begins hearings on U.S. policy toward Iraq.
- September 11, 2002: Americans commemorate one-year anniversary of terrorist attacks.
- September 12, 2002: In speech to U.N. General Assembly, President Bush calls for tough action against Iraq.
- October 10, 2002: U.S. House votes 296-133 to give President Bush authorization to attack Iraq.
- October 11, 2002: U.S. Senate joins House and votes 77-23 to give to give President Bush authorization to attack Iraq.
- October 16, 2002: U.S. officials say they have discovered evidence of a nuclear weapons program in North Korea.
- November 8, 2002: U.N. Security Council unanimously approves resolution demanding return of arms inspectors to Iraq.
- November 25, 2002: President Bush signs bill to create new Homeland Security Department.
- November 27, 2002: U.N. weapons inspections resume in Iraq.
- December 12, 2002: North Korea reactivates nuclear facilities at Yongbon that were frozen under 1994 deal with U.S.
- January 10, 2003: North Korea withdraws from Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

January 27, 2003: Chief U.N. inspector Hans Blix issues broadly negative report on Iraq's cooperation with inspectors.

February 5, 2003: Secretary of State Powell offers U.N. Security Council "irrefutable" proof of Iraqi arms violations.

February 12, 2003: IAEA board of governors declares North Korea in breach of atomic safeguards

February 27, 2003: New York officials select Daniel Libeskind's plan for new World Trade Center site.

March 1, 2003: Pakistani authorities capture Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, suspected organizer of 9/11 attacks.

March 7, 2003: In new report, Hans Blix says Iraq has been more cooperative with U.N. weapons inspectors.

March 10, 2003: France and Russia say they will veto U.S.-sponsored resolution authorizing war.

March 17, 2003: In televised address, President Bush gives Saddam Hussein an ultimatum to leave Iraq within 48 hours.

March 20, 2003: In early morning, U.S. military begins Operation Iraqi Freedom with air strikes on selected targets in Baghdad.

March 22, 2003: Allies begin "Shock and Awe" phase of military campaign with heavy bombardment of Baghdad.

March 26, 2003: One thousand U.S. paratroopers land in Northern Iraq, opening second front.

April 4, 2003: U.S. forces capture Baghdad airport; face little resistance from Republican Guard units.

April 9, 2003: U.S. forces capture Baghdad; large statue of Hussein toppled; Iraqi Ambassador to U.N. says "game is over."

May 6, 2003: President Bush names Paul Bremer as his special envoy to Iraq, replacing Jay Garner.

June 4, 2003: Senior Pentagon officials deny that they lied about Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction.

July 7, 2003: White House admits that intelligence pertaining to Iraqi attempted purchase of African uranium was false.

July 13, 2003: Iraqi Governing Council declares itself first interim government of Iraq.

July 14, 2003: President Bush says U.S. will join peacekeeping mission in Liberia only if dictator leaves country.

July 16, 2003: Gen. John P. Abizaid says U.S. troops in Iraq are under attack from "a classical guerrilla-type campaign."

August 14, 2003: Two hundred U.S. marines land in Liberia to help peacekeepers secure flow of aid.

August 19, 2003: At least 24 killed in suicide bombing at U.N. headquarters in Baghdad.

August 29, 2003: At least 95 killed in car bomb outside Najaf mosque, including Iraq's most prominent Shiite cleric.

September 7, 2003: President Bush says that he will ask Congress to appropriate \$87 billion for Iraq and Afghanistan.

October 16, 2003: U.N. Security Council unanimously passes U.S.-drafted resolution to provide aid and stabilize Iraq.

October 22, 2003: In leaked memo, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld questions whether U.S. is doing enough to win war on terror.

November 3, 2003: Congress votes for final approval of \$87 billion for U.S. military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

December 14, 2003: Ambassador Bremer announces that Saddam Hussein has been captured.

March 8, 2004: Iraqi Governing Council signs interim constitution.

March 24, 2004: Ex-White House official Richard Clarke testifies publicly before commission investigating Sep. 11 attacks.

April 8, 2004: National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice testifies publicly before commission investigating Sep. 11 attacks.

April 10, 2004: Sixty-four U.S. service members killed in deadliest week since end of major hostilities.

April 15, 2004: President Bush agrees to a UN plan replacing the Iraqi Governing Council with a caretaker government when the Iraqis regain sovereignty on June 30<sup>th</sup>.

April 30, 2004: Images of prisoner abuse in the Abu Ghraib prison are released to United States media.

May 6, 2004: On Arab television President Bush condemns the abuse at Abu Ghraib and apologizes to the Arab world.

May 8, 2004: Nicholas Berg, a civilian contractor in Iraq, is beheaded on videotape, ostensibly in retaliation for the prisoner abuse.

May 17, 2004: In an area of tight US control, a suicide bomber kills 7, including Izzedin Salim, head of the Iraqi governing council.

May 25, 2004: President Bush, at the US Army War College, outlined 5 steps to achieve American goals in Iraq: Transfer of power, stability, rebuilding of infrastructure, more international support, and a push towards elections.

May 27, 2004: US forces and Muktada al-Sadr's militia reach a truce in Najaf after 7 weeks of fighting.

June 1, 2004: Iraqi governing council disbands, as the Iraqi interim government, headed by Sunni president Ghazi al-Yawar, takes over the council's duties. Elsewhere in the country, a Kurdish political headquarters was bombed killing three.

June 28, 2004: The United States officially transfers sovereignty to an interim Iraqi government.

June 30, 2004: The interim government of Iraq takes legal custody of Saddam Hussein and 11 other high-profile former Baath Party officials.

July 7, 2004: Prime Minister Allawi signs a law permitting him to impose martial law.

July 9, 2004: The Senate Intelligence Committee releases a report criticizing the CIA and other intelligence agencies for the lack of pre-war intelligence.

July 14, 2004: The Butler report on pre-Iraq war British intelligence is released, and it echoes the American findings of the week before that pre-war intelligence exaggerated Saddam Hussein's threat.

July 22, 2004: A report on military prison abuse in Iraq identified 94 suspected or confirmed cases of abuse of prisoners, including the deaths of at least 20 prisoners.

July 28, 2004: In the deadliest attack since Iraq's interim government took power, at least 68 were killed in a car bombing in Baqouba.

August 24, 2004: A Pentagon sponsored document claims the Abu-Graib prison abuse was not just the work of select individuals, but a broader failure up the chain-of-command.

August 27, 2004: A bloody, three-week battle in Najaf between the U.S. forces and the militia of militant cleric al-Sadr ends in August when Shiite cleric Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani negotiates a settlement.

Sep. 7, 2004: The American death toll in Iraq reaches 1,000; about 7,000 soldiers have been wounded. In August, attacks on American forces reached their highest level since the beginning of the war, an average of 87 per day.

Sep. 14, 2004: Insurgents launched two deadly assaults at Iraqi police targets –killing 47 people in a car bombing at a police recruit line in Baghdad and 12 police officers in a drive by shooting in Baquba.

Sep. 15, 2004: The Bush administration requests \$3.4 billion of the \$18.4 billions set aside for reconstruction be used for security operations.

September 23, 2004: Prime Minister Allawi visits the White House, says Americans made the right decision in invading Iraq.

September 28, 2004: Two Italian women, Simona Torretta and Simona Pari return to their home country of Italy after being captured by Iraqi insurgents.

October 3, 2004: A joint U.S.–Iraqi offensive recaptured the city of Samarra. The U.S. military estimates that 125 insurgents were killed and 88 captured in the Samarra raid.

October 5, 2004: Former Coalition Authority head Paul Bremer says the US never had enough troops to properly secure Iraq. ”

October 7, 2004: The Iraqi Survey Group releases the “Duelfer Report”.

October 9, 2004: The Iraqi government signs a peace agreement with al-Sadr followers, which entails his militiamen handing over their weapons in exchange for cash payments and immunity from prosecution.

October 11, 2004: Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld met with Prime Minister Allawi and top US commanders in Baghdad today to review plans for pacifying insurgent-held areas of Iraq before January elections.

October 13, 2004: A conference of donor nations to Iraq opened in Tokyo.

October 21, 2004: The UK agrees to a US request to redeploy 850 troops to central Iraq.

October 25, 2004: *The New York Times* reports that 380 tons of powerful explosives missing from Iraqi military facility, reportedly under American control.

October 27, 2004: Pentagon officials ask the White House for an addition \$70B to help

November 1, 2004: Two senior Iraqi government officials are assassinated. At the same time, six people are kidnapped, including one American.

November 9, 2004: US and Iraqi forces begin the Battle for Falluja in an attempt to gain control of the city.

December 4, 2004: Two car bombs kill sixteen and wound 38 just outside of Iraq’s “Green Zone”.

December 10, 2004: US Marine who disappeared in Iraq and then turned up in Lebanon is charged with desertion.

December 19, 2004: Multiple car bombs in Karbala and Najaf kill an estimated 67 people.

December 22, 2004: A rocket attack kills more than 20 people and injures 57 at a US military base in Mosul.

January 4, 2005: Insurgents assassinate the governor of Baghdad, Ali Al-Haidri

January 13, 2005: Armed gunmen kill a top aid to Iraq’s senior Shiite cleric, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani

January 20, 2005: President Bush sworn in for his second term.

January 25, 2005: President Bush asks Congress for a further \$80B to support the ongoing war.

January 27, 2005: Plane crash and string of insurgent attacks lead to the deadliest day in Iraq for American troops, with a total of 37 fatalities. Condoleezza Rice sworn in as Secretary of State.

January 30, 2005: Landmark elections are held throughout Iraq, with less hostility and higher voter turnout than expected.

January 31, 2005: A UK C-130 Transport plane crashes in Iraq, killing ten British servicemen.

January 31, 2005: US Forces open fire during a prison riot in southern Iraq, leaving six wounded and four dead.

February 2, 2005: Two soldiers charged in the Abu Ghraib prison scandal plead guilty before a military judge in Fort Hood, Texas.

February 4, 2005: Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz announces the possible departure of 15,000 troops from Iraq.





### **Suggested Public Opinion Readings on the War on Terrorism/War with Iraq:**

John E. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1973)

Lynn M. Kuzm. "The Polls - Trends - Terrorism in the United States," *Public Opinion Quarterly* Vol. 64, Spring 2000, No. 1, pps. 90-105.

Gary Langer, "Touchpoint: Responsible Polling in the Wake of 9/11," *Public Perspective*, 13, no. 2 (March/April 2002)

Lawrence Kaplan, "Willpower: Why the Public Can Stomach Casualties in Iraq," *The New Republic*, 229, no. 10 & 11 (September 8 & 15, 2003), pps. 19-22

Clay, Ramsey and Kull, Steven, "The Myth of the Reactive Public: American Public Attitudes on Military Fatalities in the Post-Cold War Period," in *Public Opinion and the Use of Force*, ed. Everts, Philip and Isernia, Pierangelo, 206-228. New York: Routledge., 2001.

"The Uses of Military Power," a speech by Casper W. Weinberger, November 28, 1984 in which he outlines "six major tests to be applied when we are weighing the use of U.S. combat forces abroad." One of these involves public opinion. "The Ethics of Power," a speech by George P. Schultz, December 9, 1984 is thought by many to be a response to Weinberger. Both speeches are reprinted (with commentary) in *Ethics and American Power*, Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, D.C. May 1985.

Everts, Philip, "Onlookers or Participants?: Public Opinion on the Problems of Terrorism Since September 2001 in Countries Outside the U.S." Paper presented at the Joint Conference of the American Association of Public Opinion Research and World Association of Public Opinion Research, May 14-19, 2002.

Many pollsters in the United States regularly supply us with their data. This report could not have been done without their assistance, and we thank them for it. The data in this report come from the archive of public opinion polls at the American Enterprise Institute and from The Roper Center's archive at the University of Connecticut in Storrs, Connecticut. The Roper Center is the oldest and largest archive of public opinion data in the world. To learn more about the Roper Center, visit <http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/>.

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