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For The People & The Press

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Even as Optimism About Iraq Surges
DECLINING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT

*A Survey Conducted In Association With:
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS*

Also inside...

- Drill but conserve too
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Even As Optimism About Iraq Surges DECLINING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT

The public is feeling much better about how the war in Iraq is going these days, but at the same time has a sharply diminished appetite for U.S. efforts to deal with an array of global problems. Fewer people than at any point in this decade assign high priority to such foreign policy goals as preventing genocide, strengthening the United Nations, promoting and defending human rights, and reducing the global spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases.

There also is decreased support for an assertive national security policy. Fully 45% say that reducing U.S. overseas military commitments should be a top policy priority, up 10 points since 2004. Notably, even the goal of halting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction – a widely shared objective for nearly two decades – is now viewed as less important.

A new nationwide survey on foreign policy attitudes by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted in collaboration with the Council on Foreign Relations, finds a striking rise in public optimism about the situation in Iraq. Nearly six-in-ten Americans (58%) say the U.S. military effort there is going well, the highest percentage in more than four years. Yet improving perceptions about the situation in Iraq have done little to increase support for maintaining U.S. troops there.

Half of the public views the war as the wrong decision, while the same percentage favors withdrawing U.S. forces from Iraq as soon as possible; these figures have declined only modestly in recent months. By contrast, there is strong public support for maintaining U.S. forces in Afghanistan – a notable exception to the broader trend against global engagement.

Shifting Foreign Policy Priorities

<i>Percent rating each a top foreign policy goal for the U.S.</i>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>Change</u>
	%	%	
Reducing spread of AIDS/disease	72	53	-19
Strengthening the UN	48	32	-16
Stopping genocide	47	36	-11
Preventing spread of WMD	71	62	-9
Promoting human rights	33	25	-8
Protecting against terror attacks	88	82	-6
Solving Mideast conflict	28	25	-3
Protecting US jobs	84	82	-2
Improving relations with allies	54	54	0
Dealing with global climate change*	36	43	+7
Reducing US military commitments	35	45	+10
Reducing energy dependence**	63	76	+13

* In 2004, item was "dealing with global warming."

** In 2004, item was "reducing our dependence on imported oil sources."

Public Sees Progress in Iraq But Policy Views Are More Stable

	<u>Apr</u>	<u>Jun</u>	<u>Sep</u>	<u>Jun-Sep</u> <u>change</u>
	%	%	%	
<i>Iraq war is going</i>				
Very/fairly well	44	44	58	+14
Not too/at all well	52	52	37	
<i>Think US will...</i>				
Succeed	47	50	58	+8
Fail	46	42	34	
<i>Iraq war was...</i>				
Right decision	37	39	43	+4
Wrong decision	57	55	50	
<i>What to do now:</i>				
Keep troops in Iraq	41	43	45	+2
Bring troops home	56	52	50	

The public's top long-term foreign policy goals are decidedly America-centric. Defending the country against terrorism, protecting U.S. jobs, and weaning the country from imported energy all draw extensive bipartisan support. As in the past, however, there are substantial political disagreements over most other international priorities: about twice as many Democrats as Republicans rate reducing U.S. military commitments as a top priority, and nearly three times as many attach great importance to dealing with global climate change.

Partisan Agreement about Some Priorities			
<i>Percent rating each as a "top priority"</i>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<i>R-D diff.</i>
	%	%	%
Protecting against terrorist attacks	90	77	+13
Reducing energy dependence	80	78	+2
Protecting American jobs	77	86	-9
Huge Divides over Others			
Strengthening the UN	28	43	-15
Improving relationships w/allies	45	65	-20
Reducing spread of AIDS/disease	42	65	-23
Reducing U.S. military commitments	29	57	-28
Dealing w/ global climate change	22	64	-42

John McCain's consistent advantage over Barack Obama on foreign policy and national security may be limited to some extent by the public's focus on domestic issues.¹ Notably, while swing voters say McCain could best deal with foreign policy by a 52% to 25% margin, they along with most Americans believe that the next president should focus on domestic issues rather than foreign policy. At the beginning of President Bush's second term, the public by 53% to 27% said it was more important for him to concentrate on domestic policy than foreign policy. That sentiment has swollen to a 60% to 21% margin when citizens are asked about what they want from their next president.

¹ McCain leads Obama by 25 points as the candidate best able to defend the country against terrorism (56% to 31%) and by 11 points for making wise decisions about foreign policy (51% to 40%). (See "McCain Gains on Issues, But Stalls as Candidate of Change," Sept. 18.)

'Conserve, Baby, Conserve,' Too

The survey, conducted among 2,982 adults interviewed Sept. 9-14 on landline and cell phones, finds that 76% rate reducing U.S. dependence on foreign energy sources as a top foreign policy priority, up 13 points from July 2004. The public's willingness to consider policies to achieve that objective appears to be practically open-ended.

Two-thirds of Americans (67%) favor allowing more offshore oil and gas drilling in U.S. waters, yet about the same percentage (69%) supports establishing tax incentives to encourage energy conservation. And even greater percentages continue to support requiring improved vehicle fuel efficiency (88%) and increased funding for research on wind and other alternative technologies (82%).

	Sep <u>2005</u>	Feb <u>2006</u>	Feb <u>2008</u>	Sep <u>2008</u>
<i>Percent who favor...</i>	%	%	%	%
Requiring higher efficiency standards for automobiles	86	86	90	88
Increased research funding on wind/solar/hydrogen	--	82	81	82
Tax incentives to encourage conservation	--	--	--	69
Allowing more offshore oil & gas drilling	--	--	--	67
Increased research funding on ethanol	--	67	57	57
Allowing oil & gas drilling in ANWR*	50	44	42	55
Promoting increased use of nuclear power	39	44	44	50

* From Jan. 2006.

Support for energy conservation notwithstanding, a growing number of Americans also favor allowing oil and gas drilling in Alaska's National Wildlife Refuge: 55% currently support drilling in ANWR, up five points since June and 13 points since February. There also is increased public support for promoting the use of nuclear power; 50% now favor wider use of nuclear power, compared with 44% in February.

There are wide partisan differences over many energy options, particularly ANWR drilling, offshore drilling, and increased use of nuclear power. Yet overwhelming percentages of Republicans, Democrats and independents alike support more funding for alternative energy, higher fuel standards, and extending tax incentives to encourage conservation.

The public has low expectations that these policies will provide a quick fix to America's energy problem. Most of those who believe that offshore drilling and increased funding for alternative energy technologies will reduce U.S. energy dependence say these actions will not affect the nation's energy supply in the next few years, but instead over the longer term.

Global Threats: Russia on the Rise

More Americans say that Iran represents the greatest danger to the United States than mention any other country. About one-in-five (21%) volunteers Iran as the greatest danger, in an open-ended format; 16% mention China, while 14% cite Russia. The proportion naming Russia has jumped substantially since February 2007 (from 2% to 14%).

Iran Still Rated Top Danger; Russia Up, China Steady

<i>Country representing "greatest danger" to US</i>	Oct <u>2005</u> %	Feb <u>2006</u> %	Feb <u>2007</u> %	Sept <u>2008</u> %
Iran	9	27	25	21
China	16	20	14	16
Russia	2	3	2	14
Iraq	18	17	19	13
North Korea	13	11	17	6
The U.S. itself	7	5	5	4

Open-ended question, multiple responses accepted; top responses shown.

While an increasing percentage views Russia as the greatest national danger to the United States, fewer than half (44%) believe that growing tensions between Russia and its neighbors represents a major threat to U.S. well-being. By contrast, 72% say that Islamic groups like al Qaeda are a major threat for the United States.

In addition, relatively few Americans (18%) view Russia as an adversary; far more (48%) say Russia is a serious problem but not an adversary. The public expresses similar views about whether China is an adversary. Roughly half (49%) say that China is a serious problem but not an adversary, while just 19% say it is an adversary.

SECTION I: POLICY PRIORITIES AND AMERICA'S GLOBAL IMAGE

With widespread economic uncertainty at home, the public clearly wants the next president to devote most of his attention to domestic, rather than overseas, matters. Six-in-ten Americans say it is more important for the next president to focus on domestic policy rather than foreign policy, compared with just 21% who say foreign policy should be the primary focus. This opinion is virtually unchanged from May, when 61% said it was more important for the next president to focus domestically.

Public Wants Next President to Focus on Domestic Policy				
	<i>Next president should focus on...</i>			
	Domestic Policy	Foreign policy	(Vol.) Both	DK
	%	%	%	%
Total	60	21	15	4=100
<i>Voting intentions:</i>				
Certain McCain	50	26	22	2=100
Certain Obama	67	17	14	2=100
Swing voter	62	20	14	4=100

In January, 56% said it was more important for President Bush to focus on domestic policy rather than foreign policy. Opinion about this issue was more evenly divided in January 2007, shortly after Bush announced plans for the military surge in Iraq; at that time, 40% said the president should focus on foreign policy while 39% said he should focus on domestic policy.

In the current survey, two-thirds of registered voters who say they are certain to support Obama in November (67%) say that domestic policy should be the more important focus for the next president, compared with half of committed McCain voters. A sizable majority of swing voters (62%) say the next president should focus on domestic affairs rather than international issues.

Long-Term Policy Priorities

Taking measures to protect the United States from terrorist attacks and protecting U.S. jobs continue to be broadly supported foreign policy objectives. More than eight-in-ten Americans say each should be a top long-range foreign policy goal of the United States (82% each). These percentages have changed only modestly over the past seven years.

The survey finds that reducing the nation's dependence on imported energy sources also has become a leading foreign policy goal. Today, more than three-quarters (76%) say that "reducing our dependence on imported energy sources" should be a top priority, compared with 67% three years ago, and 63% in July 2004.

A number of other long-term policy goals are viewed as less important than they were a few years ago. The largest declines concern the importance of reducing the spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases, reducing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and promoting human rights.

Only about half of Americans (53%) now view reducing the spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases as a top long-term policy goal, down from 72% in 2005 and 2004.

The proportion who say that preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction is a top long-term goal has fallen 13 points (from 75% to 62%) since October 2005; fewer people now rate stopping weapons proliferation as a major objective than at any point in 15 years.

Promoting human rights (down 12 points), protecting countries or groups threatened with genocide (down 10 points) are regarded as less important foreign policy objectives than they were in 2005. The percentage that rates strengthening the United Nations as a major long-term goal has fallen by eight points since 2005 (to 32%) and nearly equals the all-time low reached in 1997 (30%).

Opinions about other foreign policy objectives, while stable in recent years, have changed since the 1990s. In 1999, for instance, 35% rated finding a solution to the Israel-Palestinian conflict a top priority; that percentage fell to 28% in 2005 and 25% in the current survey.

Top International Concerns: Preventing Terrorism, Protecting Jobs					
<i>Percent considering each a "top priority"</i>	Sept 1997	Oct 2001	July 2004	Oct 2005	Sept 2008
	%	%	%	%	%
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks	--	93	88	86	82
Protecting American jobs	77	74	84	84	82
Reducing dependence on imported energy	--	--	63	67	76
Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction	70	81	71	75	62
Improving relations w/ allies	--	--	54	--	54
Reducing spread of AIDS/ other infectious diseases	--	59	72	72	53
Reducing U.S. military commitments overseas	--	--	35	--	45
Dealing w/ climate change	50*	31	36	43	43
Protecting groups/nations threatened with genocide	--	48	47	46	36
Strengthening the UN	30	46	48	40	32
Promoting human rights	27	27	33	37	25
Finding solution to Israel-Palestinian conflict	35**	--	28	--	25

* In 1997, item was worded "improving the global environment."
** From March 1999.

Partisan Gaps over Priorities

The percentage of Americans who rate dealing with global climate change as a top priority has not changed since 2005 (43%). However, differences between Republicans and Democrats over the importance of this issue have widened considerably.

Currently, 64% of Democrats view dealing with global climate change as a top priority, up from 52% three years ago. The percentage of Republicans who see climate change as a major issue has declined over this period – from 28% in 2005 to 22% currently. Notably, more than a quarter of all Republicans (27%), including 32% of conservative Republicans, say dealing with global climate change should have “no priority at all.”

Partisan differences also have increased in views regarding the importance of reducing U.S. military commitments overseas and improving relations with U.S. allies. In 2004, 40% of Democrats listed reducing military commitments overseas as a top priority; that has risen to 57% in the current survey. By contrast, 29% of Republicans see this as a top priority, which is largely unchanged since 2004 (26%). Democrats also view improving relations with allies as increasingly important, while Republicans’ opinions have been more stable.

Since 2005, there has been a decline in the percentage of Democrats who rate protecting the nation from terrorism as a top policy priority (from 85% to 77%). Nine-in-ten Republicans view this as a top priority, which is virtually unchanged since 2005 (92%); consequently, the partisan gap has increased from seven points to 13 points.

Partisan differences in views about the importance of preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction have declined, as fewer members of both parties view this goal as a top priority. Currently, 64% of Republicans and 61% of Democrats say preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction should be a top priority; that compares with 82% and 63%, respectively, in 2005.

Widening Partisan Divides			
<i>Percent considering each a “top priority”</i>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>R-D</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>diff</u>
Dealing w/ climate change			
2008	22	64	-42
2005	28	52	-24
Reducing U.S. military commitments overseas			
2008	29	57	-28
2004	26	40	-14
Improving relations w/ allies			
2008	45	65	-20
2004	47	58	-11
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks			
2008	90	77	+13
2005	92	85	+7
Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction			
2008	64	61	+3
2004	82	63	+19

U.S. Global Image

Voters continue to say that the United States is less respected than it was in the past, though a smaller percentage sees that as a major problem. In May, for the first time since Pew began asking the question in 2004, a majority (58%) said they saw the loss of respect as “a major problem.” In the current survey, slightly less than half of voters (48%) see it that way.

	Jul 2004	Oct 2005	Aug 2006	May 2008	Sept 2008
<i>Compared to past the U.S. is...</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Less respected	68	66	66	72	70
<i>Major problem</i>	45	44	49	58	48
<i>Minor/No problem</i>	22	21	17	13	21
<i>Don't know</i>	1	1	*	1	1
As respected as in past	21	22	23	18	22
More respected	8	9	7	7	5
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Based on registered voters.

The shift since May has come almost entirely among Republican voters. Only about three-in-ten Republicans (31%) now say the U.S. is less respected than in the past and that this is a major problem; in May, 43% of Republicans viewed the loss of global respect as a major problem.

These differences are reflected in how voters who support McCain and Obama view the issue of America’s global standing. About half (52%) of committed McCain voters say they think the U.S. is less respected; just 26% see this as a major problem. By contrast, 83% of voters who say they are certain to support Obama believe the U.S. is less respected; two-thirds (66%) say that is a major problem.

	Certain McCain	Certain Obama	Swing Voters
<i>Compared to past the U.S. is...</i>	%	%	%
Less Respected	52	83	74
<i>Major problem</i>	26	66	52
<i>Minor/No problem</i>	25	16	21
<i>Don't know</i>	1	1	1
As respected as in the past	36	13	18
More respected	9	2	4
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100

Based on registered voters.

In this regard, swing voters are much closer to Obama supporters than to McCain supporters. A majority of swing voters (52%) believe that less international respect for the United States is a major problem, twice the percentage of certain McCain voters.

But swing voters are divided over which candidate would do the best job of gaining respect for the U.S. from other countries: 35% say Obama would do best and 34% say McCain. Voters who say they are certain to vote for McCain and Obama overwhelmingly say their candidate could do the best job of gaining respect for the United States.

	Certain McCain	Certain Obama	Swing voter
	%	%	%
McCain	87	4	34
Obama	8	92	35
Both (Vol)	1	1	5
Neither (Vol)	1	*	6
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>20</u>
	100	100	100

Based on registered voters.

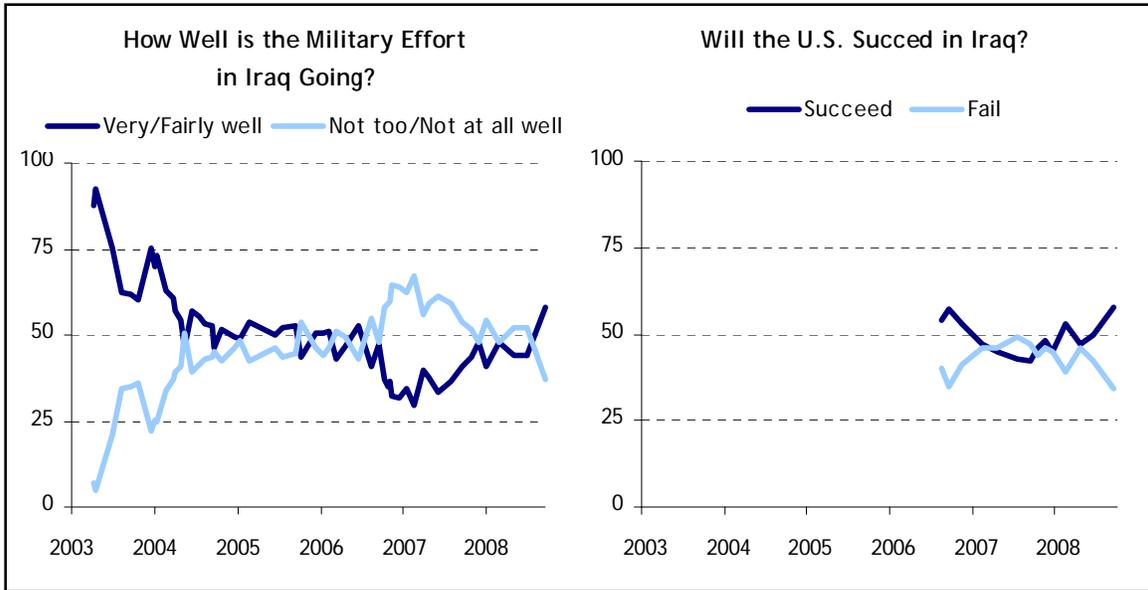
SECTION II: VIEWS OF IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN

Over the past three months, public perceptions of the war in Iraq have improved dramatically. In the current survey, nearly six-in-ten (58%) say the war is going very (19%) or fairly (39%) well, while fewer than four-in-ten (37%) say things in Iraq are not going well. In June, just 44% said they thought the war was going well (10% very well, 34% fairly well); a 52% majority said it was not going well.

Despite the public's increasingly positive views of the situation, half of Americans say the United States should bring its troops home as soon as possible, while 45% say it should keep troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized. Opinion on this question is not significantly different from June, when the public favored withdrawing troops by a 52%-43% margin.

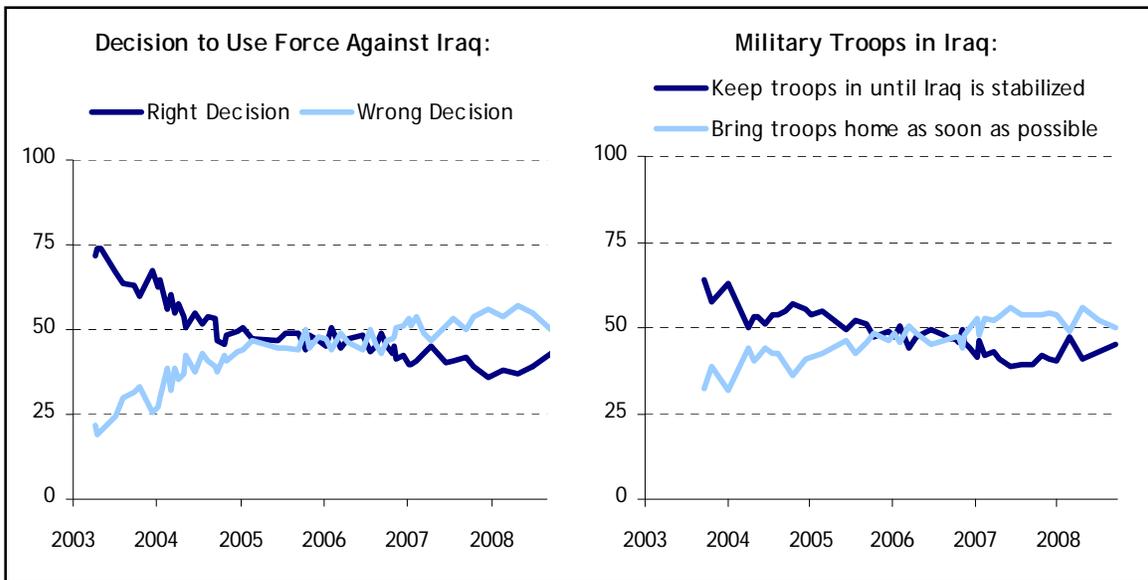
<i>% saying war going fairly/very well</i>	<u>June</u> %	<u>Sept</u> %	<u>Change</u>
Total	44	58	+14
Men	50	61	+11
Women	40	55	+15
White	49	63	+14
Black	31	37	+6
Conserv Rep	80	87	+7
Mod/Lib Rep	66	75	+9
Independent	40	57	+17
Cons/Mod Dem	33	51	+18
Liberal Dem	20	28	+8
18-29	38	52	+14
30-49	44	57	+13
50-64	49	59	+10
65+	50	65	+15
College grad	46	60	+14
Some college	45	60	+15
HS or less	44	56	+12

Most demographic and political groups now view the military situation in Iraq more positively than in June. Notably, more than half of independents (57%) and conservative and moderate Democrats (51%) now say the military effort there is going well; in June, just 40% of independents and 33% of conservative and moderate Democrats said things were going well.



Opinion about how well the war in Iraq is going is now more positive than it has been since the summer of 2004. And this is the first time since June 2006 that a majority has said the war is going well. Positive views of the war hit a low point in February 2007, when just 30% of the public said the U.S. military effort in Iraq was going very or fairly well.

Consistent with improving views of the war effort, an increasing percentage says that the U.S. will succeed in achieving its goals in Iraq. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) say that the U.S. will definitely (18%) or probably (40%) succeed in reaching its goals in Iraq. A year ago, just 42% said the U.S. will succeed in achieving its goals while 47% said it would probably or definitely fail.



At the same time, there has been only modest improvement in how the public views the original decision to go to war. In the current survey, 43% say using military force against Iraq was the right decision, while half (50%) call it the wrong decision. The proportion calling the war was the right decision has increased slightly from 39% in June. Not since February 2006, when 51% said the war was the right decision, has a majority expressed a positive view of the original decision to go to war.

And the public remains divided over whether to withdraw U.S. forces in Iraq as soon as possible or to keep them there until the situation has stabilized. The last time that a majority of Americans supported keeping U.S. forces in Iraq was in September 2005 when 51% favored that policy.

Divided Over Iraq

There continue to be substantial gender, race and age differences over whether to maintain U.S. forces in Iraq. The political divisions over Iraq remain particularly stark: just 17% of conservative Republicans say U.S. troops should be brought home as soon as possible, while 81% favor keeping them there until the situation has stabilized. Liberal Democrats, by nearly as wide a margin (77% to 18%) favor withdrawing the troops as soon as possible.

Most independents (53%) favor bringing U.S. troops home from Iraq as soon as possible. Similarly, 52% of swing voters want U.S. forces withdrawn as soon as possible, while 43% favor keeping them in Iraq until the situation has stabilized.

Deep Divisions over Iraq Policy

	<i>U.S. troops in Iraq...</i>		
	<u>Keep in</u> %	<u>Bring home</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Total	45	50	5=100
Men	51	44	5=100
Women	40	56	4=100
White	51	45	4=100
Black	18	79	3=100
18-29	36	59	5=100
30-49	45	51	4=100
50-64	53	45	2=100
65+	47	46	7=100
Conserv Rep	81	17	2=100
Mod/Lib Rep	71	27	2=100
Independent	43	53	4=100
Cons/Mod Dem	28	69	3=100
Liberal Dem	18	77	5=100
<i>Voting intentions:</i>			
Certain McCain	80	18	2=100
Certain Obama	23	75	2=100
Swing Voter	43	52	5=100

Swing Voters' Views of Candidates

While most swing voters favor an immediate troop withdrawal from Iraq, they generally say McCain can do the best job in making wise decisions about Iraq. Swing voters also favor McCain on several other foreign policy issues as well.

By 46% to 26%, more swing voters say McCain rather than Obama can do the best job of making wise decisions on Iraq. McCain's advantage among swing voters is even larger on views of which candidate can best defend the country against terrorism (56% to 14%) and is best able to make wise decisions about foreign policy (52% to 25%).

Swing Voters Favor McCain on Iraq And Other Foreign Policy Issues

<i>Who can do best job of...</i>	<u>McCain</u> %	<u>Obama</u> %	<u>Neither/DK</u>	<u>N</u>
Defending US from future terrorism	56	14	30=100	161
Making wise decisions about foreign policy	52	25	23=100	344
Making wise decisions about Iraq	46	26	28=100	344
Dealing w/ immigration	35	21	44=100	161
Dealing w/ energy problems	35	33	32=100	344

Based on registered voters who are undecided or support McCain or Obama but say they still might change their mind.

More Support Afghanistan Mission

The public expresses somewhat more support for keeping U.S. and NATO troops in Afghanistan than it does for keeping U.S. troops in Iraq. In the current survey, a 61% majority favors keeping military troops in Afghanistan until the situation has stabilized, compared with 33% who favor removing troops as soon as possible. Most demographic groups favor leaving troops in the country, though the balance of support for maintaining a military presence is greater among some subgroups than others.

More than three-quarters (77%) of Republicans favor keeping troops in Afghanistan compared with a narrow 53% majority of Democrats. Six-in-ten independents support U.S. and NATO troops remaining in Afghanistan, as do 57% of swing voters.

A narrow majority of Americans under age 30 (53%) favor removing U.S. and NATO troops from Afghanistan as soon as possible. By contrast, solid majorities in older age groups – including 70% of those age 50 to 64 – favor keeping troops in Afghanistan.

	Keep Troops in Afghanistan %	Remove troops %	DK/ Refused %
Total	61	33	6=100
Men	66	30	4=100
Women	56	37	7=100
18-29	42	53	5=100
30-49	66	30	4=100
50-64	70	25	5=100
65+	61	28	11=100
Republican	77	19	4=100
Democrat	53	41	6=100
Independent	60	35	5=100
<i>Voting intention</i>			
Certain McCain	84	13	3=100
Certain Obama	56	39	5=100
Swing voter	57	34	9=100

SECTION III: OPINIONS ABOUT ENERGY POLICY

A large majority of Americans (76%) say reducing dependence on imported energy should be a long-term foreign policy goal. The public expresses broad support for a number of approaches aimed at addressing the nation's energy supply.

Policy proposals that address both energy and the environment are non-controversial: 88% support raising fuel efficiency standards and 82% favor increased funding for alternative energy. Significant majorities of Republicans (86%), Democrats (89%), and independents (90%), favor requiring

better fuel efficiency for cars, trucks, and SUVs, and a similar percentage of each group expresses support for increased funding for research on alternative energy sources, such as wind, solar and hydrogen technology.

Two-thirds favor allowing more offshore drilling in U.S. waters, a view that garners the same level of support in coastal states as it does elsewhere. Nearly nine-in-ten Republicans (87%) favor allowing more oil and gas drilling in U.S. waters, a view shared by two-thirds of independents (67%). A smaller majority of Democrats favors more drilling in U.S. waters (55%), while a sizable minority (40%) opposes this proposal.

Just half of the public supports promoting the increased use of nuclear power, but that idea is more popular now than it was in February, when the public was split 44% in favor and 48% against (43% now say they oppose the increased use of nuclear power).

Support for more nuclear power is growing among Republicans; more than two-thirds (68%) favor this approach now, compared with 59% in February. A slight majority of independents (52%) also favor promoting the increased use of nuclear energy, up slightly from February

(46%). By contrast, a majority of Democrats (55%) continue to oppose the idea, while just 38% support it.

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Government energy policies...</i>			
Require better auto fuel efficiency	88	10	2=100
More funding for alternative energy	82	14	4=100
Tax incentives for conservation	69	23	8=100
Allow drilling in U.S. waters	67	28	5=100
More funding for ethanol research	57	36	7=100
Promote more nuclear power	50	43	7=100

	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>R-D</u>
	%	%	%	<u>gap</u>
<i>Percent who favor...</i>				
Allowing drilling in U.S. waters	87	55	67	+32
Promoting more nuclear power	68	38	52	+30
More funding for alternative energy	85	87	82	-2
Requiring better auto fuel efficiency	86	89	90	-3
Tax incentives for conservation	69	74	68	-5
More funding for ethanol research	52	64	58	-12

Opinions about funding for ethanol research – which received about equal support from Republicans and Democrats in February (59% and 56%, respectively) – also are becoming more politically polarized. Nearly two-thirds of Democrats (64%) favor more funding for ethanol research, compared with just half of Republicans (52%). Support for increased funding of ethanol research among independents is virtually unchanged (58% now vs. 60% in February).

The public is closely divided over the nations’ overall energy priorities: 45% say that expanding exploration, mining, and drilling, and the construction of new power plants should be the more important priority, while 47% say the priority should be on more energy conservation and regulation on energy use and prices. This reflects little change since June, but in February just 35% favored expanded exploration, mining and drilling and new power plants, while 55% supported greater conservation and regulation.

ANWR vs. Offshore Drilling

More Americans express support for offshore oil and gas drilling in U.S. waters than say they would favor drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) in Alaska. About two-thirds (67%) favor offshore drilling, including majorities of men and women, younger and older respondents. Views of drilling in ANWR are more mixed (55% favor and 39% oppose).

Men are more likely than women to support drilling in ANWR and offshore drilling in U.S. waters, though the gap is wider on ANWR. About six-in-ten men (61%) favor drilling for oil and gas in the Alaska wildlife refuge, compared with just about half of women (49%). When it comes to offshore drilling, a majority of both men and women express support, but more men (70%) than women (63%) favor it.

	<i>ANWR</i>		<i>Offshore</i>		<i>N</i>
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
Total	55	39	67	28	1480
Men	61	35	70	27	738
Women	49	42	63	30	742
18-29	47	49	60	35	207
30-49	51	43	64	33	475
50-64	63	31	74	22	464
65+	66	27	71	19	313
Conserv Rep	90	8	91	7	299
Mod/Lib Rep	66	26	81	17	130
Independent	52	42	67	29	486
Cons/Mod Dem	44	48	60	35	294
Liberal Dem	31	66	44	53	172
<i>Voting intentions</i>					
Certain McCain	85	11	90	9	469
Certain Obama	36	57	50	43	435
Swing voter	53	40	67	26	322

Solid majorities of Republicans express support for drilling in ANWR (81%) and in U.S. waters (87%). About nine-in-ten conservative Republicans support drilling in both ANWR (90%) and offshore (91%), while moderate and liberal Republicans are more supportive of drilling off the U.S. coast (81%) than in ANWR (66%). Among Democrats, six-in-ten moderates and conservatives support offshore drilling, but just 39% favor drilling in the Alaska wildlife

refuge. Fewer than half of liberal Democrats favor offshore drilling (44%) while just 31% support drilling in ANWR. The number of independents that support drilling in U.S. waters is also considerably higher than the number that supports drilling in ANWR (67% vs. 52%).

Still, the option of drilling for oil and gas in the Alaska wildlife refuge is more popular than it was three months ago. Some 55% of Americans now say they would favor drilling in ANWR, up from 50% in June. Fewer than four-in-ten oppose the idea (39%), compared with 43% who opposed it in June.

Support for ANWR drilling has increased across demographic groups, with the most notable change among 18-29 year-olds. Nearly half in this age group now say they would favor drilling in ANWR (47%), up ten points since June and 20 points since February. There has been less change since February among older age groups, where there was already greater support for drilling in the Alaska refuge.

Will Drilling and Alternative Energy Help?

The public is not confident that increased domestic drilling and more funding for alternative energy will do a great deal to reduce the nation's dependence on foreign oil. Only about four-in-ten (41%) say that increased domestic drilling would do a lot to reduce the nation's dependence on foreign oil; just 43% say greater funding for wind, solar and hydrogen technology would do a lot to achieve that goal.

	Feb 2008	June 2008	Sept 2008	Feb-Sept Change
<i>% favor:</i>	%	%	%	
Total	42	50	55	+13
Men	51	56	61	+10
Women	35	45	49	+14
College grad+	39	48	53	+14
Some college	40	50	53	+13
HS or less	46	52	58	+12
Republican	63	75	81	+18
Democrat	31	36	39	+8
Independent	41	48	52	+11
Conservative	60	67	74	+14
Moderate	38	47	53	+15
Liberal	24	31	32	+8
18-29	27	37	47	+20
30-49	40	50	51	+11
50-64	51	56	63	+12
65+	52	62	66	+14

<i>Would reduce our dependence on foreign oil</i>	Increased domestic drilling	Increased funding for alternative technology
	%	%
A lot	41	43
A little	35	42
Not much at all	20	12
Don't know	4	3
	100	100
<i>How soon would it make a difference?*</i>		
Next few years	33	28
Longer term	41	54
Don't know	2	2
(Not much/DK)	(24)	(16)
	100	100
* Asked of those who say "a lot" or "a little."		

Just a third believe that allowing more domestic drilling will reduce the country's energy dependence in the next few years, while about four-in-ten (41%) say it will take longer. Nearly twice as many see increased funding for alternative energy technology as a longer term solution (54%) than say it will help in the next few years (28%).

Republicans express the most confidence that more drilling in the U.S. would lead to energy independence; 57% of Republicans say more drilling would reduce America's dependence on foreign oil a lot, compared with just 39% of independents and 35% of Democrats. Independents (47%) and Democrats (46%) are somewhat more confident than Republicans (37%) that funding for alternative energy would do a lot to wean the nation from foreign oil.

Will Drilling and Alternative Energy Reduce U.S. Oil Dependence?			
	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<i>Increased domestic drilling</i>			
A lot	57	35	39
A little	32	34	37
Not much at all	9	27	22
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Funding alternative technology</i>			
A lot	37	46	47
A little	42	44	41
Not much at all	19	8	9
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100

SECTION IV: GLOBAL THREATS AND SECURITY CONCERNS

Seven years after the 9/11 attacks, terrorism is the public's top international concern. Nearly three-quarters of Americans (72%) say that Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda represent a major threat to the well-being of the United States. Fewer regard the nuclear programs in Iran and North Korea, tensions between Russia and its neighbors, or Pakistan's political instability as major threats to the United States.

Top International Concerns for the U.S.

	Major threat %	Minor threat %	Not a threat %	DK %
Islamic extremist groups	72	21	3	4=100
Iran's nuclear program	60	29	6	5=100
N. Korea's nuclear program	55	33	7	5=100
China's emerging power	48	35	11	6=100
Russia's tensions with neighbors	44	41	10	5=100
Pakistan's political instability	43	40	8	9=100

Views of most of these potential international threats have changed little over the past few

years. Yet there are indications of greater concern over Russia. Currently, 44% say that growing tensions between Russia and its neighbors are a major threat to the United States; in May, far fewer Americans considered growing authoritarianism in Russia to be a major threat to the U.S. (24%).

Republicans are more likely than Democrats to see many of these international concerns as major threats. An overwhelming majority of Republicans (86%) say that al Qaeda and other Islamic extremist groups represent a major threat to the country's well-being, compared with 70% of independents and 68% of Democrats.

Similarly, nearly three-quarters of Republicans (74%) say that Iran's nuclear program is a major threat to the United States, compared with just over half of Democrats and independents (56% each). There are smaller differences in views of whether other concerns represent major threats.

Partisan Differences over International Threats

	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %	Rep-Dem diff
<i>See each as "major threat:"</i>				
Islamic extremist groups	86	68	70	+18
Iran's nuclear program	74	56	56	+18
Russian tensions w/neighbors	51	40	44	+11
Pakistan's political instability	46	38	44	+8
N. Korea's nuclear program	62	55	50	+7
China's emerging power	52	48	48	+4

The partisan gap in evaluations of major threats is reflected in how supporters of McCain and Obama view these concerns. Voters who say they are certain they will vote for McCain are substantially more likely than committed Obama supporters to view most of these concerns as major threats. The differences over the threat presented by Iran's nuclear program are particularly striking: About three-quarters of committed McCain supporters (76%) say that Iran's nuclear program represents a major threat to the well-being of the United States, compared with

60% of swing voters and just half of those who say they are certain to support Obama in November.

Iran: Top National Threat

When asked to volunteer the *country* that represents the greatest danger to the U.S., more people (21%) name Iran than any other country. Roughly equal percentages name China (16%), Russia (14%) and Iraq (13%) as the country that presents the greatest danger to the U.S.

<i>Country representing "greatest danger" to U.S.</i>	Mar 1990	Feb 1992	Sept 1993	Sept 2001	Oct 2005	Feb 2006	Feb 2007	Sept 2008
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Iran	6	4	7	5	9	27	25	21
China	8	8	11	32	16	20	14	16
U.S.S.R./Russia	32	13	8	9	2	3	2	14
Iraq	*	12	18	16	18	17	19	13
North Korea	*	*	1	1	13	11	17	6
The U.S. itself	4	3	*	2	7	5	5	4
Japan	8	31	11	3	1	1	1	1

Open-ended question, multiple responses accepted.

While Iran is viewed as the top danger to the United States, as was the case in 2007 and 2006, there have been substantial changes in views of the threat posed by other nations. Notably, about as many people now view Russia as the country posing the greatest danger to the United States as did so in February 1992, shortly after the Cold War ended (14% now vs. 13% then). In February 2007, just 2% volunteered Russia as the country posing the greatest threat to the United States.

Over the same period, public concerns over North Korea have eased considerably. Just 6% cite North Korea as the country representing the greatest danger to the United States, down from 17% in February 2007.

Russia, China: Not Adversaries

While a small but growing percentage views Russia as the top national danger to the United States, the public generally views Russia as a serious problem, but not an adversary. In this regard, opinions about Russia are nearly identical to views of China.

<i>View each as...</i>	Russia %	China %
An adversary	18	19
Serious problem*	48	49
Not much of a problem	28	26
Don't know	6	6
	100	100

* "A serious problem, but not an adversary."

Only about one-in-five (18%) sees Russia as an adversary, while about half (48%) say Russia is a serious problem, but not an adversary. Slightly more than a quarter (28%) say that Russia is not much of a problem. The public views

China in almost the same way, with a plurality (49%) saying China is a serious problem, but not an adversary. Opinions about whether China is viewed as a serious problem or an adversary have changed little since 1997.

There are only modest partisan and ideological differences in views of both Russia and China. Slightly more Democrats and independents than Republicans say that each country is not much of a problem, but the prevailing bipartisan view is that Russia and China are serious problems, but not adversaries.

Views of Terrorist Threat

Most Americans continue to say that the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the United States is the same or greater than it was at the time of the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks.

<i>Compared w/ 9/11, terrorists' ability to strike U.S. is...</i>	Aug 2002	July 2004	July 2005	Jan 2006	Dec 2006	Feb 2008	Sept 2008
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Greater	22	24	28	17	23	16	18
Same	39	39	40	39	41	41	43
Less	34	34	29	39	31	39	36
Don't know	5	3	3	5	5	4	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

More than four-in-ten (43%) say that the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is the same as it was at the time of 9/11; 18% say that terrorists' capabilities are greater now than they were then. Fewer than four-in-ten (36%) believe that the ability of terrorists to strike the U.S. is less now than on 9/11. These opinions have changed only modestly over the past six years.

Nearly half of Republicans (48%) say that the ability of terrorists to launch a major strike is less now than at the time of 9/11. Four-in-ten independents and just a quarter of Democrats agree. Solid majorities of Democrats (71%) and independents (58%) say terrorists' capabilities are the same or greater than they were then, compared with half of Republicans.

On balance, the public believes that reducing the U.S. military presence overseas – rather than increasing it – will have the greater effect in reducing the threat of terrorist attacks in the United States. Nearly half (48%) say that decreasing the U.S. military presence overseas will have a great impact in reducing terrorism, compared with just a third who favor increasing the nation's military presence. These views have changed little from 2006; but the balance of opinion on this issue has in effect reversed since August 2002, less than a year after 9/11.

<i>To reduce terrorism should U.S. military presence overseas...</i>	Late Aug 2002	Aug 2006	Sept 2008
	%	%	%
Increase	48	32	33
Decrease	29	45	48
Neither	8	10	8
Don't know	15	13	11
	100	100	100

Republicans and Democrats take sharply different views on how to reduce the threat of terrorism. By greater than three-to-one (66% to 21%), Democrats say decreasing rather than increasing America’s international military presence would reduce the threat of terrorism. By nearly two-to-one (49% to 27%), Republicans favor the opposite – increasing the U.S. presence overseas rather than drawing it down.

<i>To reduce terrorism should military presence overseas...</i>			
	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%
Increase	49	21	32
Decrease	27	66	50
Neither	12	5	8
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100

Half of independents believe that decreasing the U.S. military presence will have a greater impact in limiting terrorism, while 32% say that increasing U.S. military presence will achieve that goal.

Guantanamo Detainees

Nearly half of Americans (48%) say that the government’s policies toward the prisoners at Guantanamo are fair, while just over a third (35%) say they are unfair. Opinions on this issue have remained relatively unchanged since the question was first asked in February of this year.

<i>Policies toward detainees at Guantanamo are...</i>				
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
Fair	48	68	32	50
Unfair	35	17	50	34
Don't know	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>
	100	100	100	100

About two-thirds of Republicans (68%) believe that U.S. policies toward these prisoners are fair, and only 17% say the policies are unfair. Similarly, more independents say the policies are fair than say they are unfair (50% vs. 34%). By contrast, half of Democrats say the policies are unfair, while only about a third (32%) say these policies are fair.

ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates and Abt SRBI, Inc., among a nationwide sample of 2,982 adults, 18 years of age or older, from September 9-14, 2008 (2,250 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 732 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 254 who had no landline telephone). Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race/ethnicity, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2007 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample is also weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2007 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the sample.

The following table shows the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Group	Sample Size	Plus or minus...
Total sample	2,982	2.0 percentage points
Registered voter sample	2,509	2.5 percentage points
Form 1 sample	1,480	3.0 percentage points
Form 2 sample	1,502	3.0 percentage points
Republican sample	898	4.0 percentage points
Democratic sample	1,008	3.5 percentage points
Independent sample	931	4.0 percentage points

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

ABOUT THE CENTER

The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press is an independent opinion research group that studies attitudes toward the press, politics and public policy issues. We are sponsored by The Pew Charitable Trusts and are one of seven projects that make up the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

The Center's purpose is to serve as a forum for ideas on the media and public policy through public opinion research. In this role it serves as an important information resource for political leaders, journalists, scholars, and public interest organizations. All of our current survey results are made available free of charge.

All of the Center's research and reports are collaborative products based on the input and analysis of the entire Center staff consisting of:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research
Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors
Kim Parker and Erin Carriere-Kretschmer, Senior Researchers
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PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
SEPTEMBER POLITICAL/FOREIGN POLICY SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
September 9-14, 2008
N=2982

QUESTIONS 1 THRU 3 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL:

REGIST These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you **NOW** registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN REGIST ASK:

REGICERT Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

81	Yes, Registered
	78 Absolutely certain
	3 Chance registration has lapsed
	* Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
18	No, not registered
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.5 If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote [**READ AND ROTATE**] [for the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin [**pronounced: PAY-lin**]] OR [for the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden [**pronounced: BUY-din**]]?

IF OTHER OR DK (Q.5 =3,9), ASK:

Q.5a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [**READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.5**]?

IF CHOSE MCCAIN OR OBAMA IN Q.5 (Q.5=1,2), ASK:

Q.5b Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.5—LAST NAME ONLY) strongly or only moderately?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:

	Mc-		<i>Only</i>		Oba-		<i>Only</i>		Third	Fourth	Other/
	Cain	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Mod²</i>	<i>DK</i>	ma	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	party	party	Don't
September, 2008	44	25	19	*	46	30	15	1	n/a	n/a	10=100

SEE SEPTEMBER 18, 2008 RELEASE FOR FULL TREND

QUESTION 6a AND 6b PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

²

Includes those who say they lean to the Republican or Democratic candidate.

**IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE MCCAIN IN Q.5/5a (Q.5=2 OR Q.5a=2,3,9) ASK:
ROTATE Q.7 AND Q.8**

Q.7 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for John McCain in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:

	Chance might <u>vote for</u>	Decided not <u>to vote for</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
September, 2008	9	40	7=56%

SEE SEPTEMBER 18, 2008 RELEASE FOR FULL TREND

**IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE OBAMA IN Q.5/5a (Q.5=1 OR Q.5a=1,3,9) ASK:
ROTATE Q.7 AND Q.8**

Q.8 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Barack Obama in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:

	Chance might <u>vote for</u>	Decided not <u>to vote for</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
September, 2008	11	38	5=54%

SEE SEPTEMBER 18, 2008 RELEASE FOR FULL TREND

QUESTIONS 9 THRU 26 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1)

Q.27 Regardless of who you support, which one of the presidential candidates — **[ROTATE ORDER OF CANDIDATES]** John McCain or Barack Obama — do you think would do the best job of **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE QUARTER FORM SPLITS]**? And who do you think would do the best job of **[INSERT NEXT ITEM]**? **IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN MCCAIN OR OBAMA PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose between McCain and Obama. . . "?]**

BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1283]:

John <u>McCain</u>	Barack <u>Obama</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u>
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QUESTION 27a PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

b.F2	Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq	48	41	4	7=100
c.F2	Making wise decisions about foreign policy	51	40	2	7=100
d.F2	Dealing with the nation's energy problems	40	46	4	10=100

QUESTIONS 27e THRU h PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

i.F2b	Defending the country from future terrorist attacks	56	31	4	9=100
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SEE SEPTEMBER 18, 2008 RELEASE FOR FULL TRENDS FOR QUESTION 27

QUESTIONS 27j THRU 30 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.31 **[READ BEFORE FIRST ITEM ONLY: Thinking about foreign policy and national security...]** Do you think **[INSERT NAME; ROTATE]** would be too tough, not tough enough, or about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues?

BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1226]:

		Too <u>tough</u>	Not tough <u>enough</u>	About <u>right</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.F1	John McCain				
	September, 2008	25	15	51	9=100
	Late May, 2008	22	16	51	11=100
	Late February, 2008	25	16	47	12=100
b.F1	Barack Obama				
	September, 2008	3	45	44	8=100
	Late May, 2008	3	43	43	11=100
	Late February, 2008	3	43	39	15=100

QUESTIONS 32 THRU 33 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.34 Now I'm going to read some statements that have been made about Barack Obama or John McCain. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it. (The first one is...) **(READ AND RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS)**

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	(VOL.) Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
ASK ITEMS a THRU d OF FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1283]:				
a.F2	I worry that John McCain will take America into another war.	42	53	5=100
	TREND FOR COMPARISON			
	I worry that George W. Bush will take America into another war. (Sept, 2004)	51	45	4=100
b.F2	The chance of another terrorist attack would increase if Barack Obama were elected	30	61	9=100
	TREND FOR COMPARISON			
	The chance of another terrorist attack would increase if John Kerry were elected. (Sept, 2004)	36	56	8=100

QUESTIONS 34c THRU 36 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

NO QUESTIONS 37 THRU 38

On a different subject . . .

ASK ALL:

Q.39 Which is more important for the next president to focus on... domestic policy or foreign policy?

	Domestic <u>policy</u>	Foreign <u>policy</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>Both</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Refused</u>
September, 2008	60	21	*	15	4=100
May, 2008	61	22	*	13	4=100

TREND FOR COMPARISON

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

	Domestic <u>policy</u>	Foreign <u>policy</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>Both</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Refused</u>
Bush January, 2008	56	31	1	8	4=100
January, 2007	39	40	1	15	5=100
August, 2006	50	32	1	12	5=100
January, 2006	57	25	1	13	4=100
October, 2005	64	20	1	12	3=100
Early-January, 2005	53	27	1	16	3=100
January, 2002	52	34	*	11	3=100
Clinton Early-September, 1998	56	30	0	11	3=100
January, 1997	86	7	*	5	2=100
December, 1994	85	7	2	4	2=100
October, 1993	76	13	*	7	4=100

NO QUESTION 40

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Thinking about what's going on in the world more generally...

Q.41F1 What country in the world, if any, represents the greatest danger to the United States? [OPEN END; DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. USE PRECODES AS APPROPRIATE. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.]

BASED ON FORM 1 [N=1480]:

	Feb <u>2007</u>	Feb <u>2006</u>	Oct <u>2005</u>	Sept <u>2001</u>	Sept <u>1993</u>	April <u>1993</u>	Jan <u>1993</u>	Feb <u>1992</u>	March <u>1990</u>
21 Iran	25	27	9	5	7	6	6	4	6
16 China	14	20	16	32	11	6	9	8	8
14 Russia/Former Soviet Union	2	3	2	9	8	16	13	13	32
13 Iraq	19	17	18	16	18	14	17	12	*
8 Other Middle East	7	5	8	9	1	6	5	8	7
6 North Korea	17	11	13	1	1	--	*	*	*
4 United States	5	5	7	2	*	6	6	3	4
3 Al Qaeda/Terrorist groups mentions	1	4	2	*	--	--	--	--	--
1 Japan	1	1	1	3	11	9	8	31	8
2 Other	3	2	3	7	13	7	5	2	13
5 None/Not just one country	3	2	8	2	6	12	9	5	6
14 Don't know/Refused	13	10	17	20	24	17	21	13	13

ASK FORM 1 ONLY

Q.42 I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns for the U.S. Do you think that **(INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE)** is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to the well being of the United States? What about **(INSERT ITEM)**

BASED ON FORM 1 [N=1480]:

		Major <u>Threat</u>	Minor <u>Threat</u>	Not a <u>Threat</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.F1	China's emergence as a world power				
	September, 2008	48	35	11	6=100
	Late May, 2008	50	31	10	9=100
	February, 2006	47	34	12	7=100
	Late October, 2005	52	31	10	7=100
	May, 2001	51	30	10	9=100
	July, 1999	53	33	10	4=100
b.F1	Growing tension between Russia and its neighbors				
	September, 2008	44	41	10	5=100
TREND FOR COMPARISON					
Growing authoritarianism in Russia					
	Late May, 2008	24	46	12	18=100
	February, 2006	22	45	16	17=100
	Late October, 2005	23	44	13	20=100
	May, 2001 ³	27	46	12	15=100
	July, 1999	40	42	14	4=100
c.F1	North Korea's nuclear program				
	September, 2008	55	33	7	5=100
	Late May, 2008	55	32	7	6=100
	February, 2006	60	27	6	7=100
	Late October, 2005	66	24	4	6=100
d.F1	Iran's nuclear program				
	September, 2008	60	29	6	5=100
	Late May, 2008	62	25	8	5=100
	February, 2006	65	24	5	6=100
	Late October, 2005	61	27	5	7=100
e.F1	Political instability in Pakistan				
	September, 2008	43	40	8	9=100
	Late May, 2008	41	40	9	10=100
f.F1	Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda				
	September, 2008	72	21	3	4=100
	Late May, 2008	72	18	4	6=100

³

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Thinking about what's going on in the world more generally...

Q.43 As I read a list of possible LONG-RANGE foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me how much priority you think each should be given. First, [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE QUARTER SAMPLE FORM SPLITS; FORM 2a: ITEMS b THRU h; FORM 2b: ITEMS i THRU n], do you think this should have top priority, some priority, or no priority at all. [READ THE ANSWER CHOICES AS NECESSARY AFTER THE FIRST TIME]

BASED ON FORM 2 [N=1502]

		Top Priority	Some Priority	No Priority	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.F2	Reducing our dependence on imported energy sources	76	20	2	2=100
	October, 2005	67	28	2	3=100
	July, 2004 <i>Imported oil sources</i>	63	30	4	3=100

BASED ON FORM 2a [N=758]

b.F2a	Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction	62	32	4	2=100
	October, 2005	75	19	4	2=100
	July, 2004	71	23	4	2=100
	Mid-October, 2001	81	14	2	3=100
	Early September, 2001	78	16	5	1=100
	September, 1997	70	23	6	1=100
	June, 1995	68	21	9	2=100
	September, 1993	69	24	5	1=100
d.F2a	Finding a solution to the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians	25	50	22	3=100
	July, 2004	28	46	22	4=100
	January, 2003 ⁴	38	40	19	3=100
	March, 1999	35	42	19	4=100
	September, 1993	34	45	19	2=100
f.F2a	Improving relationships with our allies	54	42	2	2=100
	July, 2004	54	40	4	2=100
g.F2a	Protecting groups or nations that are threatened with genocide	36	54	6	4=100
	October, 2005	46	39	5	10=100
	July, 2004	47	40	5	8=100
	Mid-October, 2001	48	43	3	6=100
	Early September, 2001	49	41	5	5=100
h.F2a	Reducing U.S. military commitments overseas	45	45	7	3=100
	July, 2004	35	51	10	4=100
	Early September, 2001	26	58	14	2=100

⁴

In January 2003 and earlier the question was worded "Bringing about a permanent settlement between Israel and the Arabs."

Q.43 CONTINUED . . .

BASED ON FORM 2b [N=744]		Top	Some	No	(VOL.)
		Priority	Priority	Priority	DK/Ref
i.F2b	Protecting the jobs of American workers	82	16	1	1=100
	October, 2005	84	14	1	1=100
	July, 2004	84	13	2	1=100
	Mid-October, 2001	74	24	1	1=100
	Early September, 2001	77	19	3	1=100
	September, 1997	77	20	2	1=100
	June, 1995	80	17	2	1=100
	September, 1993	85	13	2	*=100
j.F2b	Strengthening the United Nations	32	46	19	3=100
	October, 2005	40	43	14	3=100
	July, 2004	48	38	11	3=100
	Mid-October, 2001	46	46	7	1=100
	Early September, 2001	42	43	13	2=100
	September, 1997	30	53	14	3=100
	June, 1995	36	45	17	2=100
	September, 1993	41	46	11	2=100
k.F2b	Reducing the spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases	53	42	5	*=100
	October, 2005	72	24	3	1=100
	July, 2004	72	25	2	1=100
	Mid-October, 2001	59	38	2	1=100
	Early September, 2001	73	23	3	1=100
l.F2b	Promoting and defending human rights in other countries	25	58	15	2=100
	October, 2005	37	50	11	2=100
	July, 2004	33	53	12	2=100
	Mid-October, 2001	27	61	10	2=100
	Early September, 2001	29	54	14	3=100
	September, 1997	27	56	15	2=100
	June, 1995	21	56	20	3=100
	September, 1993	22	54	22	2=100
m.F2b	Dealing with global climate change	43	41	14	2=100
	October, 2005	43	43	10	4=100
	July, 2004 ⁵	36	46	12	6=100
	Mid-October, 2001	31	51	13	5=100
	Early September, 2001	44	39	12	5=100
	September, 1997 ⁶	50	42	6	2=100
	June, 1995	56	36	6	2=100
	September, 1993	56	37	6	1=100
nF2b	Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks	82	16	1	1=100
	October, 2005	86	12	1	1=100
	July, 2004	88	10	1	1=100
	Mid-October, 2001	93	6	*	1=100
	Early September, 2001	80	16	3	1=100

⁵ In 2004 and 2001, the item was worded "Dealing with global warming."

⁶ In September 1993, June 1995 and September 1997 the item was worded "Improving the global environment."

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.44F2 Compared with the past, would you say the U.S. is MORE respected by other countries these days, LESS respected by other countries, or AS respected as it has been in the past?

ASK IF LESS RESPECTED (Q.44F2=2):

Q.45F2 Do you think less respect for America is a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem at all?

BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1283]

		May <u>2008</u>	Aug <u>2006</u>	Late Oct <u>2005</u>	July <u>2004</u>	May <u>1987</u> ⁷	GP <u>Newsweek</u> Jan 1984
5	More respected	7	7	9	8	18	27
70	Less respected	72	66	66	68	57	36
48	Major problem	58	49	44	45	--	--
19	Minor problem	11	15	18	19	--	--
2	Not a problem	2	2	3	3	--	--
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	*	1	1	--	--
22	As respected as in the past	18	23	22	21	23	29
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.46F2 Which candidate, [READ AND ROTATE] John McCain or Barack Obama do you think would do the best job of gaining respect for the U.S. from other countries?

BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1283]:

41	John McCain
47	Barack Obama
2	Both (VOL.)
2	Neither (VOL.)
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Now a few questions about Iraq...

Q.47F1 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]

	Right <u>decision</u>	Wrong <u>decision</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
September, 2008	43	50	7=100
June, 2008	39	55	6=100
April, 2008	37	57	6=100
Late February, 2008	38	54	8=100
Late December, 2007	36	56	8=100
October, 2007	39	54	7=100
September, 2007	42	50	8=100
July, 2007	41	53	6=100

⁷

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

Q.47F1 CONTINUED...

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
June, 2007	40	51	9=100
April, 2007	45	47	8=100
March, 2007	43	49	8=100
February, 2007	40	54	6=100
Mid-January, 2007	40	51	9=100
Early January, 2007	40	53	7=100
December, 2006	42	51	7=100
Mid-November, 2006	41	51	8=100
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	45	48	7=100
Late October, 2006	43	47	10=100
Early October, 2006	45	47	8=100
Early September, 2006	49	43	8=100
August, 2006	45	46	9=100
July, 2006	44	50	6=100
June, 2006	49	44	7=100
April, 2006	47	46	7=100
March, 2006	45	49	6=100
February, 2006	51	44	5=100
January, 2006	45	47	8=100
December, 2005	47	48	5=100
Late October, 2005	48	45	7=100
Early October, 2005	44	50	6=100
Mid-September, 2005	49	44	7=100
July, 2005	49	44	7=100
June, 2005	47	45	8=100
February, 2005	47	47	6=100
January, 2005	51	44	5=100
December, 2004	49	44	7=100
November, 2004 (RVs)	48	41	11=100
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12=100
Early October, 2004	50	39	11=100
September, 2004	53	39	8=100
August, 2004	53	41	6=100
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	55	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	7=100
Late April, 2004	54	37	9=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100
April 10-16, 2003	74	19	7=100
April 8-9, 2003	74	19	7=100
April 2-7, 2003	72	20	8=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	25	6=100
March 25-27, 2003	74	21	5=100

Q.47F1 CONTINUED...	Right <u>decision</u>	Wrong <u>decision</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	74	21	5=100
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	71	22	7=100
Late January, 1991	77	15	8=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.48F1 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]

	Very <u>well</u>	Fairly <u>well</u>	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at all <u>well</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Refused</u>
September, 2008	19	39	24	13	5=100
June, 2008	10	34	31	21	4=100
April, 2008	10	34	28	24	4=100
Late February, 2008	12	36	25	23	4=100
Late December, 2007	11	30	31	23	5=100
November, 2007	11	37	29	19	4=100
October, 2007	10	34	29	22	5=100
September, 2007	9	32	30	24	5=100
July, 2007	8	28	34	25	5=100
June, 2007	7	27	33	28	5=100
April, 2007	7	31	34	25	3=100
March, 2007	10	30	32	24	4=100
February, 2007	5	25	38	29	3=100
Mid-January, 2007	7	28	32	30	3=100
December, 2006	4	28	37	27	4=100
Mid-November, 2006	6	26	34	30	4=100
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	7	30	32	27	4=100
Late October, 2006	5	30	34	25	6=100
Early October, 2006	8	29	33	25	5=100
Early September, 2006	8	39	28	20	5=100
August, 2006	8	33	32	23	4=100
June, 2006	16	37	25	18	4=100
April, 2006	13	34	29	21	3=100
March, 2006	9	34	30	21	6=100
February, 2006	13	38	29	17	3=100
January, 2006	12	39	27	17	5=100
December, 2005	14	37	29	17	3=100
Early October, 2005	9	35	31	22	3=100
Mid-September, 2005	12	41	26	18	3=100
July, 2005	14	38	27	17	4=100
June, 2005	9	41	27	19	4=100
February, 2005	14	40	25	17	4=100
January, 2005	9	39	29	20	3=100
December, 2004	10	40	28	18	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	13	38	26	17	6=100
September, 2004	12	40	26	18	4=100
August, 2004	12	41	28	16	3=100
July, 2004	13	42	26	16	3=100
June, 2004	16	41	25	14	4=100
May, 2004	10	36	32	19	3=100
Late April, 2004	12	43	26	15	4=100
Early April, 2004	14	43	26	13	4=100
Mid-March, 2004	16	45	26	11	2=100

Q.48F1 CONTINUED...

	Very <u>well</u>	Fairly <u>well</u>	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at all <u>well</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Refused</u>
Early February, 2004	17	46	23	11	3=100
Mid-January, 2004	22	51	18	6	3=100
Early January, 2004	23	47	18	7	5=100
December, 2003	28	47	16	6	3=100
October, 2003	16	44	25	11	4=100
September, 2003	15	47	26	9	3=100
August, 2003	19	43	24	11	3=100
Early July, 2003	23	52	16	5	4=100
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>March 25-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7=100</i>

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.49F1 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]

	Keep troops <u>in Iraq</u>	Bring troops <u>home</u>	(VOL.) DK/ Ref
September, 2008	45	50	5=100
June, 2008	43	52	5=100
April, 2008	41	56	3=100
Late February, 2008	47	49	4=100
Late December, 2007	40	54	6=100
November, 2007	41	54	5=100
October, 2007	42	54	4=100
September, 2007	39	54	7=100
July, 2007	39	54	7=100
June, 2007	39	56	5=100
April, 2007	41	53	6=100
March, 2007	43	52	5=100
February, 2007	42	53	5=100
Mid-January, 2007	46	48	6=100
Early January, 2007	41	53	6=100
December, 2006	44	50	6=100
Mid-November, 2006	46	48	6=100
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	49	44	7=100
Late October, 2006	46	47	7=100
Early October, 2006	47	47	6=100
Early September, 2006	47	47	6=100
August, 2006	48	46	6=100
June, 2006	50	45	5=100
April, 2006	48	48	4=100
March, 2006	44	50	6=100
February, 2006	50	46	4=100
January, 2006	48	48	4=100
December, 2005	49	46	5=100
Early October, 2005	47	48	5=100
Mid-September, 2005	51	45	4=100

Q.49F1 CONTINUED...

	Keep troops <u>in Iraq</u>	Bring troops <u>home</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/ Ref</u>
July, 2005	52	43	5=100
June, 2005	50	46	4=100
February, 2005	55	42	3=100
January, 2005	54	41	5=100
December, 2004	56	40	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	57	36	7=100
September, 2004	54	40	6=100
August, 2004	54	42	4=100
July, 2004	53	43	4=100
June, 2004 ⁸	51	44	5=100
May, 2004	53	42	5=100
Late April, 2004	53	40	7=100
Early April, 2004	50	44	6=100
Early January, 2004	63	32	5=100
October, 2003	58	39	3=100
September, 2003	64	32	4=100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.50F1 Regardless of what you think about the original decision to use military force in Iraq, do you now believe that the United States will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in achieving its goals in Iraq?

BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]

	Definitely <u>succeed</u>	Probably <u>succeed</u>	Probably <u>fail</u>	Definitely <u>fail</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/ Refused</u>
September, 2008	18	40	24	10	8=100
June, 2008	12	38	31	11	8=100
April, 2008	12	35	30	16	7=100
Late February, 2008	13	40	26	13	8=100
Late December, 2007	10	35	31	14	10=100
November, 2007	11	37	33	13	6=100
October, 2007	11	35	31	13	10=100
September, 2007	8	34	32	15	11=100
July, 2007	9	34	32	17	8=100
April, 2007	9	36	30	16	9=100
February, 2007	7	40	34	12	7=100
November, 2006	12	41	28	13	6=100
Mid-September, 2006	13	44	26	9	8=100
August, 2006	14	40	28	12	6=100

⁸

In June 2004 and earlier, the question was worded: "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?"

ROTATE Q.51F2 AND Q.53F2

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Thinking about China for a moment...

Q.51F2 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today. . . Do you think China is **[READ]**:

BASED ON FORM 2: [N=1502]

		Oct	July	Feb	Sept	May	March	June	March	Sept
		<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1997</u>
19	An adversary	16	14	17	23	19	17	18	20	14
49	A serious problem, but not an adversary	45	40	39	48	51	44	53	48	46
26	OR, Not much of a problem	30	36	33	23	22	26	22	25	32
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

NO QUESTION 52

ROTATE Q.51F2 AND Q.53F2

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Thinking about Russia for a moment...

Q.53F2 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of Russia today. . . Do you think Russia is **[READ]**:

BASED ON FORM 2: [N=1502]

18	An adversary
48	A serious problem, but not an adversary
28	OR, Not much of a problem?
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
100	

NO QUESTION 54

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.55F1 Right now, which ONE of the following do you think should be the more important priority for U.S. energy policy... **[READ AND ROTATE]**

BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]

		June	Late	June	Feb	Mid-	Feb	May
		<u>2008</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>
45	Expanding exploration, mining and drilling, and the construction of new power plants	47	35	35	41	43	37	44
	[OR]							
47	More energy conservation and regulation on energy use and prices	45	55	57	52	48	54	49
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.56F1 Would you favor or oppose allowing oil and gas drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska?

BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]

		June <u>2008</u>	Late Feb <u>2008</u>	May <u>2006</u>	Jan <u>2006</u>	Mid- Sept <u>2005</u> ⁹	Late March <u>2005</u>	Mid- March <u>2005</u>
55	Favor	50	42	46	44	50	46	42
39	Oppose	43	50	44	47	42	49	46
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.57 As I read some possible government policies to address America's energy supply, tell me whether you would favor or oppose each. First, would you favor or oppose the government [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]? How about the government... [INSERT NEXT ITEM]

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	(VOL.) Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]				
a.F1	Promoting the increased use of nuclear power	50	43	7=100
	Late-February, 2008	44	48	8=100
	February, 2006	44	49	7=100
	Mid-September, 2005	39	53	8=100
b.F1	Requiring better fuel efficiency for cars, trucks and SUVs	88	10	2=100
	Late-February, 2008	90	8	2=100
	February, 2006	86	12	2=100
	Mid-September, 2005	86	12	2=100
c.F1	Increasing federal funding for research on wind, solar and hydrogen technology	82	14	4=100
	Late-February, 2008	81	14	5=100
	February, 2006	82	14	4=100
d.F1	Increasing federal funding for research on ethanol	57	36	7=100
	Late-February, 2008	57	35	8=100
	February, 2006	67	22	11=100
e.F1	Allowing more offshore oil and gas drilling in U.S. waters	67	28	5=100
f.F1	Establishing tax incentives to encourage conservation	69	23	8=100

⁹

In Mid-September 2005 and earlier the question was worded "... drilling in the Alaskan Arctic National Wildlife Refuge."

ROTATE Q58F1/59F1 WITH Q.60F1/61F1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.58F1 If the government were to allow more drilling for oil and gas in the U.S., do you think it would reduce America's dependence on foreign oil a lot, a little, or not much at all?

BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]

41 A lot
35 A little
20 Not much at all
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

IF A LOT OR A LITTLE: (Q.58F1=1,2)

Q.59F1 How soon would allowing more domestic drilling in the U.S. affect the energy supply? [READ]

BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]

76 A lot/A little
33 In the next few years
41 In the longer term
2 Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
20 Not much at all
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

ROTATE Q58F1/59F1 WITH Q.60F1/61F1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

Q.60F1 If the funding for wind, solar and hydrogen technology were increased, do you think it would reduce America's dependence on foreign oil a lot, a little, or not much at all?

BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]

43 A lot
42 A little
12 Not much at all
3 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

IF A LOT OR A LITTLE: (Q.60F1=1,2)

Q.61F1 How soon would increased funding for wind, solar and hydrogen technology affect the energy supply? [READ]

BASED ON FORM 1: [N=1480]

84 A lot/A little
28 In the next few years
54 In the longer term
2 Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
12 Not much at all
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Now, thinking about the issue of terrorism...

Q.62F2 Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks?

BASED ON FORM 2: [N=1502]

		Late- Feb <u>2008</u>	Dec <u>2006</u>	Aug <u>2006</u>	Jan <u>2006</u>	July <u>2005</u>	July <u>2004</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>
18	Greater	16	23	25	17	28	24	22
43	The same	41	41	37	39	40	39	39
36	Less	39	31	33	39	29	34	34
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.63F2 All in all, which do you think would have a greater effect in reducing the threat of terrorist attacks on the United States? [READ AND ROTATE]

BASED ON FORM 2: [N=1502]

		Aug <u>2006</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>
33	Increasing America's military presence overseas [OR]	32	48
48	Decreasing America's military presence overseas	45	29
8	Neither/Keep things as they are now (VOL. DO NOT READ)	10	8
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

On another subject...

Q.64F2 As you may know, the U.S. government is holding a number of detainees at a military base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. In your opinion, are the government's policies toward these prisoners fair or unfair?

BASED ON FORM 2: [N=1502]

		Late- Feb <u>2008</u>
48	Fair	52
35	Unfair	33
<u>17</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>15</u>
100		100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

Now a question about Afghanistan...

Q.65F2 Do you think the U.S. and NATO should keep military troops in Afghanistan until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. and NATO should remove their troops as soon as possible?

BASED ON FORM 2: [N=1502]

		Spring ¹⁰ <u>2008</u>	Late Feb <u>2008</u>	Spring <u>2007</u>
61	Keep troops in Afghanistan	50	61	50
33	Remove their troops	44	32	42
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	99

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.) No <u>Preference</u>	(VOL.) Other <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Ref</u>	<i>Lean</i> <u>Rep</u>	<i>Lean</i> <u>Dem</u>
September, 2008	28	35	32	3	*	2=100	12	14

SEE SEPTEMBER 18, 2008 RELEASE FOR FULL TREND

¹⁰

Spring 2008 and Spring 2007 trends from U.S. sample of Pew Global Attitudes polling.