

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD 2009

An Investigation of Public and Leadership
Opinion About International Affairs



DECEMBER 2009

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

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD 2009
U.S. Seen as Less Important, China as More Powerful

December 3, 2009

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Isolationist Sentiment Surges to Four-Decade High **U.S. SEEN AS LESS IMPORTANT, CHINA AS MORE POWERFUL**

The general public and members of the Council on Foreign Relations are apprehensive and uncertain about America's place in the world. Growing numbers in both groups see the United States playing a less important role globally, while acknowledging the increasing stature of China. And the general public, which is in a decidedly inward-looking frame of mind when it comes to global affairs, is less supportive of increasing the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan than are CFR members.

In polling conducted before President Obama's decision to increase U.S. troop levels in Afghanistan, both groups expressed pessimism about prospects for long-term stability in Afghanistan. Fewer than half of the public (46%) and CFR members (41%) say it is very or somewhat likely that Afghanistan will be able to withstand the threat posed by the Taliban. While half of the CFR members (50%) favor increasing the number of troops in Afghanistan, just 32% of the public agrees.

Public Less Supportive than Council Members of Afghan Troop Increase		
	General public	CFR members
<i>Number of troops should be...</i>	%	%
Increased	32	50
Decreased	40	24
Kept the same	19	19
Don't know/No answer	8	7
	100	100

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

In the midst of two wars abroad and a sour economy at home, there has been a sharp rise in isolationist sentiment among the public. For the first time in more than 40 years of polling, a plurality (49%) says the United States should "mind its own business internationally" and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.

The quadrennial survey of foreign policy attitudes, conducted among the general public and members of the Council on Foreign Relations, finds broad recognition of China's growing power. But the public takes a less benign view of China's rise than do the members of the Council on Foreign Relations.

For CFR members, China has been transformed from a major threat to the United States to an increasingly important future ally. Just 21% of CFR members view China's emergence as a world

Council Members' Views of China Improve...			
CFR members			
<i>China's emergence as world power is...</i>	2001	2005	2009
	%	%	%
Major threat	38	30	21
Minor/not a threat	55	69	78
No answer	7	1	1
	100	100	100
But Public Remains Wary			
General public			
<i>China's emergence as world power is...</i>	2001	2005	2009
	%	%	%
Major threat	51	52	53
Minor/not a threat	40	41	40
Don't know	9	7	7
	100	100	100

Q12a CFR & Q26aF1 public.

power as a major threat to the United States. In 2001, 38% of foreign policy opinion leaders said that China’s emergence was a major threat, as did 30% in 2005.

More important, there is a growing belief among CFR members that China, along with India, will be more important U.S. allies in the future. Majorities of the Council members surveyed say China (58%) and India (55%) will be more important U.S. allies; Brazil is a distant third (37%). And while more CFR members view China, India and Brazil as more important future allies than did so four years ago, substantially fewer say the same about Japan and Great Britain.

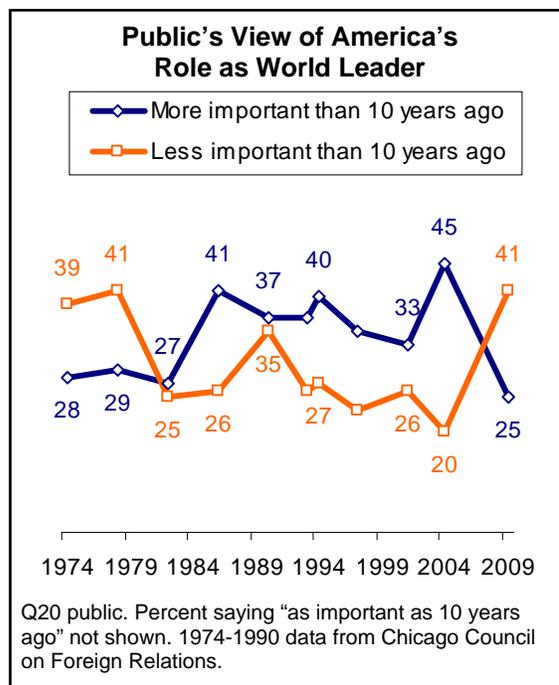
China, India Seen as More Important U.S. Allies		
CFR members	2005	2009
<i>More important future U.S. allies*...</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
China	31	58
India	43	55
Brazil	17	37
Europe/EU	23	19
Russia	16	17
Japan	32	16
Great Britain	27	10

* Open-ended questions, top responses shown. For complete results, see CFR topline, Q19.

The public sees China’s emerging power as more worrisome than do the foreign policy opinion leaders.

There has been virtually no change since 2005 in the percentage of the public saying that China represents a major threat to the United States (53% today, 52% then). Moreover, while Iran is mentioned most often as the country that poses the greatest danger to the United States, China continues to rank among the countries frequently named by the public as dangers to the U.S.

The new survey finds that 41% of the public says the United States plays a *less* important and powerful role as a world leader today than it did 10 years ago – the highest percentage ever in a Pew Research survey. And while the foreign policy opinion leaders differ with the public about many issues – including President Obama’s foreign policy, the war in Afghanistan and China – a growing proportion of Council on Foreign Relations members agree that the United States is a less important world leader. Fully 44% of the CFR members say the U.S. is a less important global leader, up from 25% in early September 2001, just before the 9/11 attacks.



In a reversal of opinion from the beginning of last year, 44% of the public now says China is the world's leading economic power, while just 27% name the United States. In February 2008, 41% said the U.S. was the top economic power while 30% said China. Somewhat fewer people now say China is the top economic power than named Japan as the leading economic power in the late 1980s (58% in 1989).

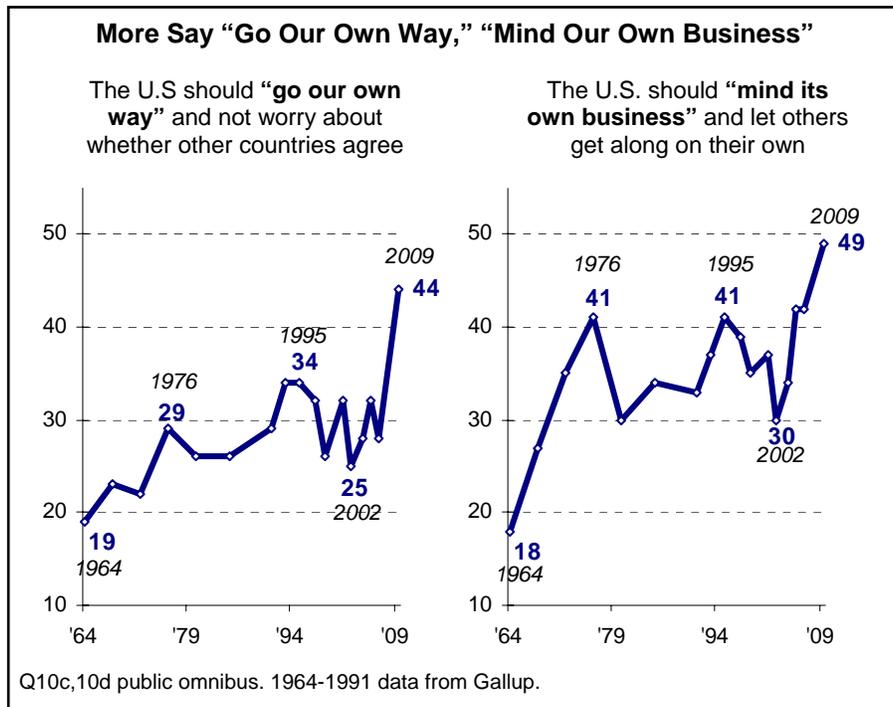
The United States is widely viewed as the world's leading *military* power – 63% express this view, while just 18% name China. A majority of the public (57%) continues to say that U.S. policies should try to maintain America's role as the world's only military superpower – although far fewer favor this if it risks alienating U.S. allies.

Public Now Sees China as Top Global Economic Power

General public	Feb 2008	Nov 2009
<i>World's leading economic power...</i>	%	%
United States	41	27
China	30	44
Japan	10	13
EU countries	9	5
Other/DK	10	11
	100	100
<i>World's leading military power</i>		
United States		63
China		18
Russia		6
EU countries		2
Other/DK		11
		100

Q19 & Q20 public omnibus. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

However, the percentage saying that the United States should “mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own” has reached an all-time high of 49%. Four years ago, 42% agreed that the U.S. should “mind its own business” in international affairs; in December 2002, just 30% agreed with this statement.



At the same time, there has been a rise in unilateralist sentiment. Fully 44% say that because the United States “is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying about whether other countries agree with us or not.” That is by far the highest percentage agreeing since the question was first asked by Gallup in 1964.

CFR members continue to strongly support the United States playing an assertive role in global affairs: 69% say the U.S. should be either the single world leader (7%) or the most assertive of leading nations (62%). These opinions are little changed from previous surveys.

Yet CFR members assign a far lower priority to several globally oriented policy goals than they did at the beginning of the decade. Just 10% of CFR members say that promoting democracy in other nations should be a top U.S. foreign policy goal, down from 44% in early September 2001, shortly before the 9/11 attacks.

Defending human rights (down by 22 percentage points as a top priority), strengthening the United Nations (19 points) and improving living standards in developing countries (13 points) also are now viewed as less important priorities by CFR members.

Fewer CFR Members Give Priority to Promoting Democracy, Human Rights and Foreign Aid						
	Sept 1993	Sept 1997	Early Sept 2001	Oct 2005	Nov 2009	01-09 change
<i>% of CFR members rating each as top priority...</i>	%	%	%	%	%	
Promoting democracy abroad	28	32	44	18	10	-34
Defending human rights	22	28	43	22	21	-22
Strengthening the UN	45	32	37	29	18	-19
Improving living standards in developing nations	25	31	48	47	35	-13

Q21 CFR.

These are among the principal findings of *America’s Place in the World*, a survey of foreign policy and national security attitudes conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, in collaboration with the Council on Foreign Relations, an independent, nonpartisan organization focused on helping government officials and the public better understand the world and foreign policy. The survey was conducted among 642 members of the Council on Foreign Relations and 2,000 members of the public.

The survey finds that the Council members are much more positive about President Obama’s approach to foreign policy and his handling of specific issues than is the public. About three-quarters (77%) of the members of the Council of Foreign Relations approve of Obama’s overall job performance, compared with just 51% of the public. There are comparable or even larger differences in opinions about Obama’s handling of Iran, Iraq, global climate change and several other issues. Yet the CFR members are nearly as critical of Obama’s handling of the situation in Afghanistan as is the public. Just 42% approve of Obama’s job performance on Afghanistan, which is modestly higher than his rating among the public (36%).

Only about half of CFR members (49%) say the Taliban's growing strength in Afghanistan represents a major threat to the United States; 70% of the public sees this as a major threat. Yet CFR members are much more supportive than the public of the initial decision to use force in Afghanistan – fully 87% say this was the right decision compared with 56% of the public. CFR members also are more supportive than the public of increasing the number of troops in Afghanistan.

There is little optimism among either the members of the Council on Foreign Relations or the public about prospects that Afghanistan can become stable enough to withstand the threat posed by the Taliban. Just 41% of the Council members and 46% of the public think that it is very or somewhat likely that Afghanistan will become stable enough to withstand the threat from the Taliban and other extremist groups.

Sizable Gaps between Public, CFR Members over Afghanistan		
	General public	CFR members
<i>Initial decision to use force</i>		
	%	%
Right decision	56	87
Wrong decision	34	10
Don't know/No answer	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100
<i>US military effort is going...</i>		
Very/fairly well	36	8
Not too/not at all well	57	90
Don't know/No answer	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
<i>Likelihood that Afghanistan can withstand Taliban threat...</i>		
Very/somewhat likely	46	41
Not too/Not at all likely	47	57
Don't know/No answer	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100

Q53-54, 56 public & Q28-29, 31CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Major Threats and Long-Term Priorities

The public and Council on Foreign Relations members generally agree on three of the major threats facing the United States – large majorities of both groups say Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda, Iran's nuclear program and international financial instability are major threats to the well-being of the United States. But they differ over the seriousness of other global threats. The public views China's emergence as a world power as a more serious threat than do CFR members, and the gap is nearly as large over North Korea's nuclear program.

Fully 69% of the public says that North Korea's nuclear program is a major threat to the well-being of the United States, which is little changed from 2005

(66%). But concerns about North Korea have declined markedly among CFR members over this period: just 44% currently regard North Korea's nuclear program as a major threat, down from

Public Concerned about China, North Korea, CFR Members Concerned about Pakistan			
	% "major threats"		
	General public	CFR members	Diff
<i>Viewed as greater threats by public...</i>			
	%	%	
China's emerging power	53	21	+32
N. Korea's nuclear program	69	44	+25
Tension bet. Russia & neighbors	38	12	+26
Taliban's growing strength	70	49	+21
<i>Viewed as greater threats by CFR members...</i>			
Instability in Pakistan	49	85	+36
Global climate change	44	59	+15
Int'l financial instability	61	74	+13

Q26 public & Q12 CFR.

67% in 2005. While growing tensions between Russia and its neighbors are viewed as major threat by just 38% of the public, even fewer CFR members (12%) say this is a major threat.

More than eight-in-ten (85%) CFR members say instability in Pakistan is a major threat to the U.S.; this is much lower concern for the public – just 49% view this as a major threat. In addition, higher percentages of the CFR members view global climate change (by 15 percentage points) and international financial instability (by 13 points) as major threats to the United States.

The CFR members’ concerns over Pakistan are seen in other ways as well. Nearly one-in-five (18%) says that Pakistan represents America’s most important international problem. However, Pakistan is mentioned by only 1% of the general public as America’s top international problem.

Policy Priorities: Jobs Rate Much Higher for Public, Climate Change for CFR Members			
	% “top priorities”		
	General public	CFR members	Diff
<i>Viewed as greater priorities by public...</i>	%	%	
Protecting U.S. jobs	85	21	+64
Reducing illegal immigration	46	11	+35
Combating drug trafficking	56	22	+34
Strengthening the UN	37	18	+19
<i>Viewed as greater priorities by CFR members...</i>			
Dealing w/ climate change	40	57	+17
Preventing spread of WMD	74	88	+14
Improving living standards in developing nations	26	35	+9
Q27 public & Q21 CFR.			

In terms of long-range policy priorities, large majorities of both the public and CFR members see preventing another terrorist attack on the United States and reducing U.S. dependence on imported energy sources as top priorities.

But on other goals – particularly protecting American jobs – there are substantial differences. Fully 85% of the public views this as a top foreign policy priority compared with just 21% of CFR members. This gap is not new: It was as large in the first America’s Place in the World survey in 1993 (85% of public, 19% of foreign policy opinion leaders) and has remained about as large in each of the succeeding studies.

Greater percentages of the public than CFR members also view reducing illegal immigration (by 35 points each) and combating drug trafficking (by 34 points each) as top long-range priorities. And while 37% of the public says strengthening the United Nations is a top priority, just 18% of CFR members agree. By contrast, a clear majority (57%) of CFR members say that dealing with global climate change should be a top long-range priority, compared with 40% of the public.

Support for Free Trade Holds Steady

The survey underscores the public's anxiety over the nation's economy. Fully 85% say protecting jobs should be a top foreign policy priority and economic issues are cited most frequently as the greatest international problem confronting the United States, followed closely by the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Despite these concerns, public support for free trade agreements like NAFTA and the policies of the World

Trade Organization (WTO) has increased somewhat over the past year. In April 2008, nearly half of Americans (48%) said that free trade agreements were bad for the country, while 35% said such agreements were good for the country. In two polls this year, including the current survey, pluralities have said that free trade agreements and WTO policies are good for the country; currently, 43% say that free trade agreements are good for the country, while 32% express a negative opinion.

Nonetheless, foreign policy specialists have long been more supportive of free trade compared with the public, and that remains the case today. Nearly nine-in-ten CFR members (88%) say that free trade agreements and the policies of the WTO are good for the country, which is little changed from previous America's Place in the World surveys.

The public expresses more negative opinions about the specific impact of free trade agreements on jobs, economic growth and wages. Still, somewhat smaller percentages say that free trade agreements lead to job losses (53%), lower wages (49%) and slower economic growth (42%) than did so in April 2008 (61%, 56% and 50%, respectively).

Public's Terrorism Concerns Grow

The survey also finds substantial differences between the public and CFR members over anti-terrorism strategies and tactics – and even over the ability of terrorists to launch new attacks on the United States. Currently, 29% of the public says the ability of terrorists to launch a major attack on the U.S. is greater than it was at the time of the 9/11 attacks; that percentage has risen 12 points since February. (*NOTE: The main survey of the public was mostly conducted before the Nov. 5 shootings at the Ft. Hood Army base in Texas.*)

Impact of Free Trade Agreements on the Country

	Nov <u>2007</u>	April <u>2008</u>	April <u>2009</u>	Nov <u>2009</u>
<i>General public</i>	%	%	%	%
Good thing	40	35	44	43
Bad thing	40	48	35	32
Don't know	<u>20</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>25</u>
	100	100	100	100

Q40 public. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

The public's attitudes about terrorists' capabilities are comparable to opinions in October 2005: 29% say the ability of terrorists to conduct a major attack is greater than it was at the time of 9/11, 38% say their ability to launch a major strike is the same as it was around 9/11, while 29% say it is less.

By contrast, an increasing proportion of CFR members say the ability of terrorists to launch a major attack is less now than at the time of the Sept. 11 attacks; 56% of CFR members say that currently, up from 44% in 2005.

The public and CFR members continue to support divergent policies to combat terrorism. Most notably, 19% of the public says the use of torture is often justified to gain important information from terrorist suspects, while 35% say the use of torture in these circumstances is at least sometimes justified. Just 2% of CFR members say torture is often justified, and 11% say it is sometimes justified, to gain important information from suspected terrorists.

The proportion of the public saying torture is at least sometimes justified against suspected terrorists has increased modestly over the past year. Currently, 54% say torture is at least sometimes justified to gain important information from suspected terrorists, compared with 49% in April and 44% in February.

Terror Concerns Rise Among Public, Fall among CFR Members				
<i>Compared w/ 9/11 terrorists' ability to strike U.S. is...</i>				
	Oct 2005	Feb 2008	Feb 2009	Nov 2009
General Public	%	%	%	%
Greater	26	16	17	29
The same	41	41	44	38
Less	29	39	35	29
Don't know	4	4	4	4
	100	100	100	100
CFR members				
Greater	13	--	--	11
The same	43	--	--	30
Less	44	--	--	56
No answer	0	--	--	3
	100			100

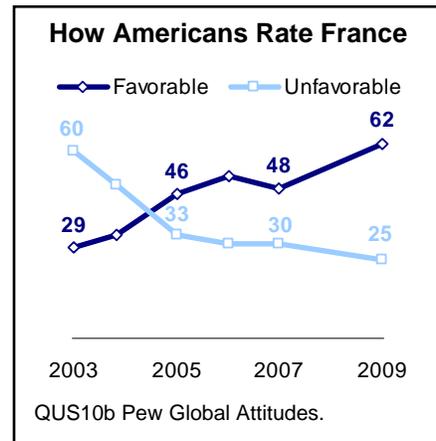
Q64F1 public & Q45 CFR.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Public More Likely to See Torture Against Terrorism Suspects as Justified		
<i>Use of torture to gain information from suspected terrorists can be...</i>	General public	CFR members
	%	%
Often justified	19	2
Sometimes justified	35	11
Rarely justified	16	38
Never justified	25	44
Don't know/No answer	5	4
	100	100

Q70 public & Q49 CFR.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Other findings:

- **France's Comeback:** A separate survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project finds that France's image has improved substantially in recent years. Fully 62% of the public says they have a favorable opinion of France, up from just 29% in May 2003, during tensions over France's opposition to the Iraq war.



- **Pakistan's Slide:** Favorable ratings of Pakistan, by contrast, have become more negative just in the past year. Currently, just 16% of the public expresses a favorable opinion of Pakistan, down from 37% in the spring of 2008.
- **Divided over Military Action:** Among the public, 63% approve of the use of U.S. military force against Iran if it were certain that Iran had produced a nuclear weapon; just 33% of CFR members agree. But a greater percentage of CFR members (63%) than the public (51%) favors using U.S. military force if extremists were poised to take over Pakistan.
- **Obama - Best and Worst:** CFR members overwhelmingly see President Obama's emphasis on engagement and diplomacy as the best thing about his administration's foreign policy (44%). The most frequently cited negatives about Obama's foreign policy are his handling of Afghanistan and Pakistan (27%).
- **Fewer See U.S. as Less Respected:** Most Americans (56%) say the United States is less respected than in the past, but that is down from 70% last year. In contrast with surveys during the Bush administration, more Republicans (68%) than Democrats (49%) now say the U.S. is less respected.
- **Less Support for U.N.:** The proportion of CFR members saying that strengthening the United Nations should be a top long-term policy priority is down sharply from 2001. Meanwhile, only about half the public (51%) says the United States should "cooperate fully" with the U.N., slightly fewer than in 2005 (54%) and the lowest percentage since 1976.

SECTION 1: STATE OF THE WORLD AND AMERICA'S GLOBAL ROLE

The public overwhelmingly continues to express dissatisfaction with the way things are going in the United States. Just 25% say they are satisfied with national conditions – a figure that has changed little over the past several months.

Americans express even more negative opinions about the way things are going in the world. Just 15% say they are satisfied, which is little changed from the previous America's Place in the World survey in October 2005.

More Democrats (35%) than independents (22%) or Republicans (17%) express a positive opinion of the way things are going in this country. There are more modest partisan differences regarding the way things are going in the world – just 18% of Democrats, 14% of Republicans and 13% of independents are satisfied.

Four years ago there was a much larger partisan divide in views of the world – 29% of Republicans were satisfied with the way things were going in the world, compared with just 9% of Democrats. Age also is a factor in assessments of global conditions. Those younger than 30 are far more likely than those 65 and older to say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the world. This is consistent with surveys going back to 1993 in which younger adults have consistently offered more upbeat assessments of the world. The 2005 survey was an exception in this regard, with little difference in satisfaction across age groups.

A Gloomy Public Mood: Nationally and Globally

<i>General public</i> <i>Conditions</i> <i>in the country</i>	Early					
	Sept <u>1997</u> %	Sept <u>2001</u> %	Sept <u>2002</u> %	July <u>2004</u> %	Oct <u>2005</u> %	Nov <u>2009</u> %
Satisfied	45	41	41	38	29	25
Dissatisfied	49	53	55	55	65	67
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Conditions</i> <i>in the world</i>						
Satisfied	29	27	17	21	16	15
Dissatisfied	65	64	79	74	77	79
Neither/DK	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q1 & Q10 public.

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

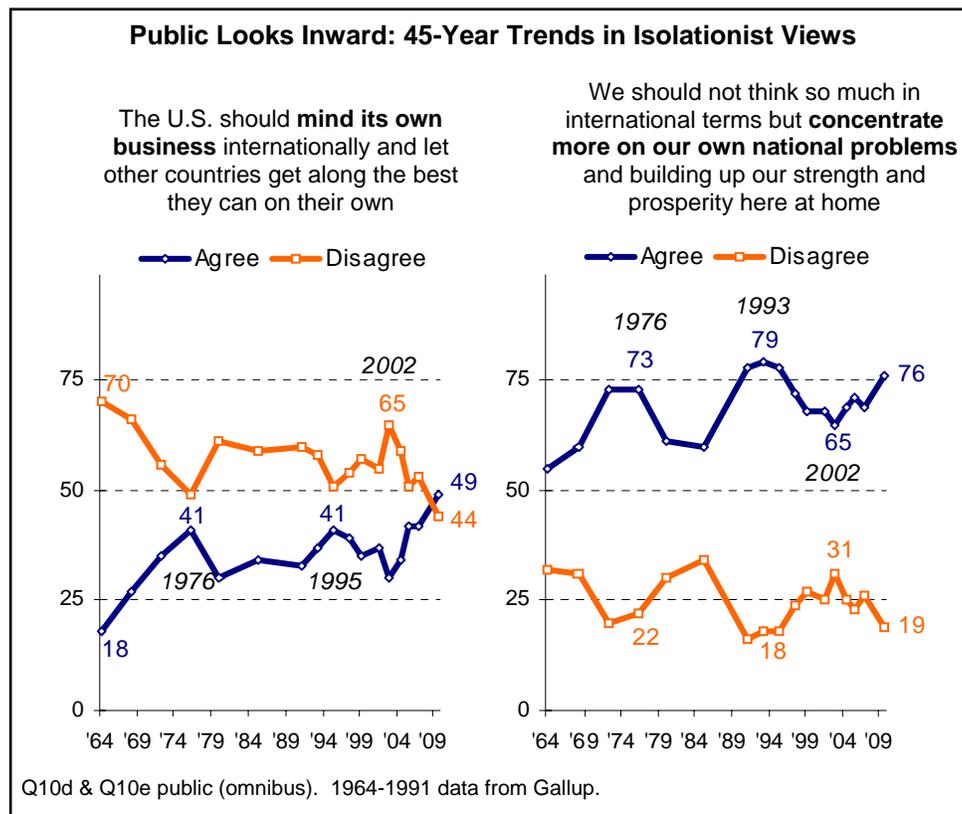
Age, Party and World Outlook

<i>Satisfied with</i> <i>conditions</i> <i>in the world</i>	July <u>2004</u> %	Oct <u>2005</u> %	Nov <u>2009</u> %
Total	21	16	15
18-29	27	17	22
30-49	24	18	16
50-64	16	15	13
65+	15	13	9
<i>Young-old gap</i>	+12	+4	+13
Republican	36	29	14
Democrat	11	9	18
Independent	18	13	13
<i>Rep-Dem gap</i>	+25	+20	-4

Q10 public.

Public Says Keep Focus at Home

A rise in isolationist sentiment – already apparent in polling conducted during George W. Bush’s second term – has continued in Barack Obama’s first year in office. For the first time in nearly half a century of polling, the public is divided over whether the U.S. should “mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.” Nearly half (49%) agree with that statement while 44% disagree. And on a related question, 76% now say we should “concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home” rather than think in international terms. This is approaching the previous 45-year high set in the early 1990s.



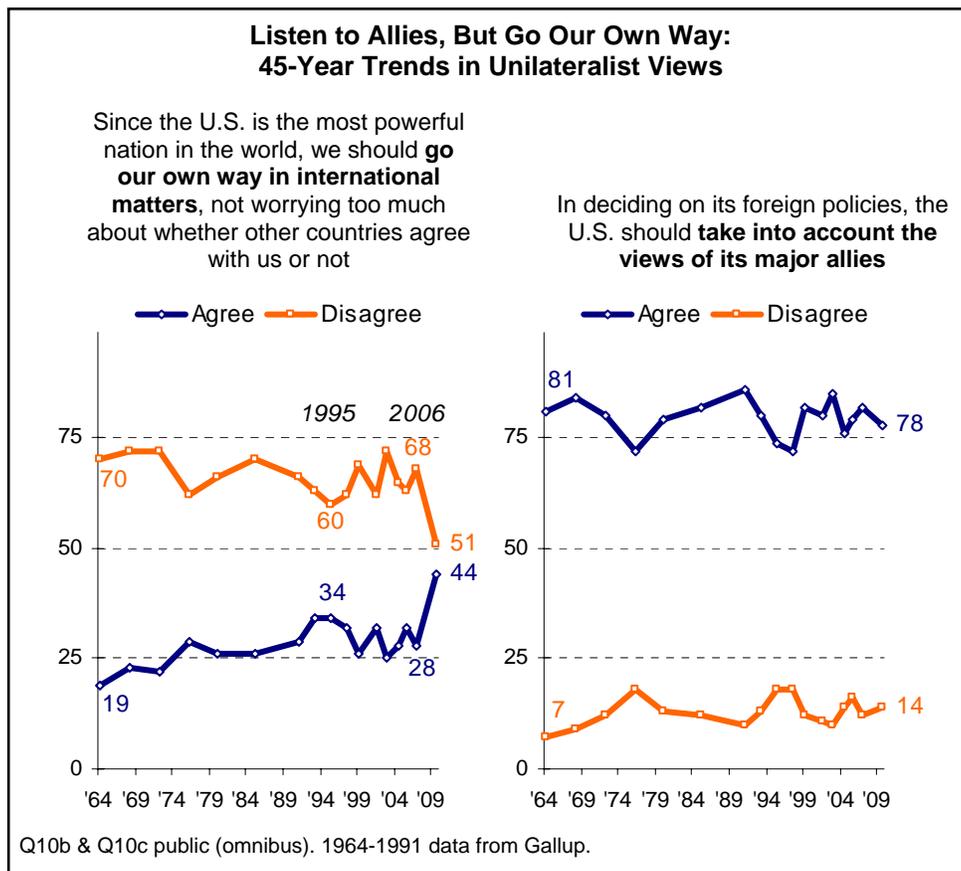
Isolationist views have typically been more prevalent among Democrats than among Republicans, and that remains the case today. But the rise in isolationism is evident across partisan lines: overall, 49% say the United States should mind its own business internationally, up from 30% in 2002. Currently, 53% of Democrats express this view, up from 40% in 2002. Among Republicans, 43% agree the U.S. should mind its own business, up from 22% in 2002. Roughly half of independents (49%) offer this opinion, compared with 27% in 2002.

The public also overwhelmingly continues to say that it is more important for President Obama to focus on domestic policy than foreign policy. Currently, 73% say Obama should focus on domestic policy, while just 12% say he should address foreign policy. These opinions are virtually unchanged since shortly before Obama took office in January.

Disengagement at 45-Year High

As has been the case consistently over the past 45 years, there is a broad agreement that “the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies.” Just over three-quarters (78%) agree with this today, and there is little difference across party lines. But there has been a sharp increase in the share saying that the U.S. should “go our own way in international matters” and not worry about whether other countries agree. While still a minority view, 44% agree with this statement today, up 16 points from 28% in 2006 and far exceeding the previous peak of 34% in 1993 and 1995.

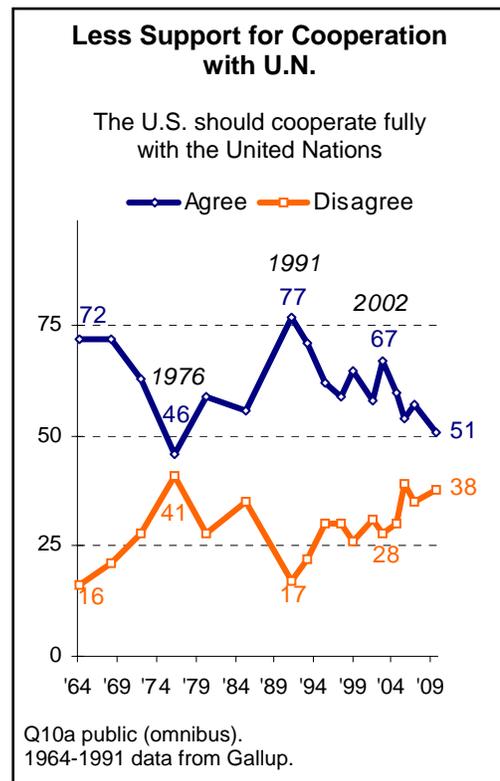
Half of Republicans and 45% of Democrats believe the U.S. should go its own way in international matters regardless of what other countries think. Independents stand apart – just 37% believe the U.S. should act unilaterally and not worry about what others think.



U.N. Support Slips

Only about half of Americans (51%) believe the United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations, slightly fewer than in 2005 (54%) and the lowest percentage since 1976. As recently as 2002, 67% said the United States should cooperate with the United Nations. At the same time, 38% disagree with the idea that we should cooperate fully with the U.N., up from 28% in 2002.

There are sharp partisan divisions over whether the U.S. should cooperate with the United Nations – 65% of Democrats say this, compared with 47% of independents and 39% of Republicans. These partisan divisions are hardly new. Even in 2002 when two-thirds of Americans backed working with the U.N., the party divide was about as large, with 80% of Democrats, 65% of independents and 58% of Republicans favoring full cooperation.



U.S. Leadership Role

As in previous America's Place in the World surveys, a large proportion of the public (70% currently) favors a shared leadership role for the United States. Far smaller minorities say the United States should be the single world leader (14%) or, conversely, that it should have *no* leadership role (11%).

Among the large majority of the public favoring a shared U.S. leadership role, far more think that the United States should be about as active as other leading nations rather than the most active of leading nations (48% vs. 19%). These opinions have changed little from previous years.

CFR Members Continue to Favor "First Among Equals" Role for U.S.

	Sept 1993	Sept 1997	Sept 2001	Oct 2005	Nov 2009
<i>US leadership role...</i>					
General public	%	%	%	%	%
Single world leader	10	12	13	12	14
Shared leadership role	81	73	75	74	70
Most <u>active</u>	27	22	25	25	19
As active as others	52	50	49	47	48
No leadership role	7	11	8	10	11
Don't know	2	4	4	4	6
	100	100	100	100	100
CFR members					
Single world leader	7	15	9	13	7
Shared leadership role	92	84	91	85	92
Most <u>assertive</u>	68	54	55	55	62
As assertive as others	16	24	22	26	25
No leadership role	*	1	0	0	*
No answer	1	0	0	2	1
	100	100	100	100	100

Q21/22 public & Q14/15 CFR.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

The members of the Council on Foreign Relations continue to favor a more expansive U.S. global role than the public. Fully 62% of CFR members say the United States should be the most assertive of leading nations; just 25% say the U.S. should be about as assertive as other leading nations.

Fewer See U.S. as Important Leader

While opinions about the optimal approach to U.S. global leadership are largely unchanged, growing percentages of both the public and CFR members say the United States plays a less important and powerful role as a world leader than it did a decade ago.

Among the public, 41% say the United States plays a less important role as a world leader than it did a decade ago, 30% say it is about as important, while 25% say it is more important. In 2004, just 20% said that the United States was less important than it had been 10 years earlier and in early September 2001, shortly before the 9/11 attacks, 26% expressed this view.

Among CFR members, 44% see the United States as a less important and powerful world leader compared with 10 years ago, up from 25% in early September 2001. Four-in-ten CFR members (40%) say the United States is as important while 16% say the United States is a more important world leader.

The decline in public attitudes about America's global standing has been driven almost entirely by changes among Republicans and independents. Fully 50% of Republicans say the U.S. is less important than it was a decade ago, compared with just 8% who expressed that view in July 2004, during the Bush administration.

U.S. Viewed as Less Important World Leader					
<i>Compared with 10 yrs ago, U.S. is ...</i>	Early				
	Sept 1993	Sept 1997	Sept 2001	July 2004	Nov 2009
General public	%	%	%	%	%
More important	37	35	33	45	25
Less important	30	23	26	20	41
As important	31	40	38	31	30
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
CFR members					
More important	26	48	35	--	16
Less important	41	17	25	--	44
As important	32	35	40	--	40
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	--	*
	100	100	100		100

Q20F1 public & Q13 CFR.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

More Republicans, Independents See U.S. as Less Important						
	Early					<i>04-09 change</i>
	Sept 1993	Sept 1997	Sept 2001	July 2004	Nov 2009	
General public	%	%	%	%	%	
More important	35	30	38	63	17	-46
Less important	32	29	21	8	50	+42
As important	31	38	39	27	31	+4
Republicans						
More important	39	41	32	32	36	+4
Less important	26	14	28	27	29	+2
As important	32	43	38	37	30	-7
Independents						
More important	37	33	34	44	21	-23
Less important	30	28	27	23	45	+22
As important	32	39	37	30	30	0

Q20F1 public.

Republicans also are much more likely to see the United States as a less important world leader than they were during the 1990s when Bill Clinton was president. In 1993, 32% of Republicans said the United States was less important than it had been a decade ago, and four years later that percentage was largely unchanged (29%).

Currently, 45% of independents say the United States plays a less important and powerful role as world leader than it did 10 years ago, by far the highest percentage in surveys dating to 1993. In 2004, just 23% of independents said the United States was less important than it had been a decade ago.

Democrats' views about America's importance as a world leader have changed very little from 2004. Currently, 29% of Democrats say the United States is a less important and powerful leader compared with a decade ago; in 2004, 27% of Democrats said that the U.S. was less important.

Views of U.S. Global Image

Though impressions are better than they were when George W. Bush was president, most Americans continue to believe that the United States is less respected by the rest of the world. A majority (56%) still says that the U.S. is less respected by other countries than in the past, but that is down from 70% a year ago. The number saying the U.S. is more respected than in the past jumped from 5% last September to 21% today, while 20% say it is as respected as in the past.

Not surprisingly, the change from a year ago is highly partisan – 30% of Democrats today say the U.S. is more respected, up from just 2% in September 2008. There has also been a 15-point rise (from 6% to 21%) in the percentage of independents saying the U.S. is more respected than in the past. About two-thirds of Republicans

<i>General public</i>	July 2004	Oct 2005	Aug 2006	May 2008	Sept* 2008	Nov 2009
<i>Compared to past the U.S. is...</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%
More respected	10	9	7	7	5	21
Less respected	67	66	65	71	70	56
Major problem	43	43	48	56	48	38
Minor/Not a problem	23	22	16	14	21	18
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1	*
As respected as in past	20	21	23	18	22	20
Don't know	3	4	5	4	3	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q11/12 public (omnibus). Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

	May 2008	Sept 2008*	Nov 2009	Sept-Nov change
Republicans	%	%	%	
More respected	9	8	7	-1
Less respected	60	55	68	+13
The same	26	34	22	
Democrats				
More respected	6	2	30	+28
Less respected	81	81	49	-32
The same	10	14	18	
Independents				
More respected	8	6	21	+15
Less respected	72	72	59	-13
The same	18	21	17	

Q11 public (omnibus). * Based on registered voters.

(68%) now say the U.S. is less respected by other countries, up from 55% a year ago.

CFR members generally view America's international image as very important to U.S. foreign policy. Fully 73% say the image of the United States around the world is very important to the successful conduct of foreign policy; another 22% see it as somewhat important. Just 4% say the U.S. image is not too or not at all important to U.S. foreign policy.

How Important Is U.S. Image to a Successful Foreign Policy?

	CFR %
Very important	73
Somewhat important	22
Not too/Not at all important	4
No answer	1
	100

Q18 CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Most Favor Keeping U.S. as Only Superpower

A majority of the public (57%) says that future U.S. policies should try to maintain America's position as the only superpower; 29% say it would be acceptable for China, another country or the European Union to become as militarily powerful as the United States.

Members of the Council on Foreign Relations are somewhat more accepting of another country or the EU becoming as militarily powerful as the U.S. While roughly half (49%) of CFR members say U.S. policies should ensure America's position as the only military superpower, nearly as many (43%) say it would be acceptable for another country to be as powerful.

Keep U.S. as Sole Military Superpower – But Not if It Risks Alienating Allies

	Public %	CFR %
Keep US as only superpower	57	49
Even if it alienates allies	23	26
Not if it risks alienating allies	28	21
Okay if China/another country became as powerful	29	43
Don't know/No answer	14	8
	100	100

Q23/24 public & Q16/17 CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

However, those who favor policies aimed at keeping the United States the lone military superpower are divided over whether those policies should be implemented if they risk alienating principal U.S. allies. Overall, just 23% of the public and 26% of CFR members say the United States should pursue policies keeping it as the only military superpower even if such policies risk alienating principal U.S. allies; 28% the public and 21% of CFR members say such policies should not be pursued if they risk alienating key allies.

SECTION 2: GLOBAL THREATS AND USE OF MILITARY FORCE

Majorities of the public and Council on Foreign Relations members say Islamic extremist groups, Iran's nuclear program and international financial instability represent major threats to the well-being of the United States.

However, the public is much more likely than CFR members to view the Taliban's growing strength in Afghanistan, North Korea's nuclear program, and China's emergence as a world power as major threats. By comparison, far more CFR members see political instability in Pakistan as a major threat. Global climate change also is regarded as a more serious threat by CFR members than the public.

Public, CFR Members Differ over Global Security Concerns	
<i>% saying each is a "major threat" to the U.S.</i>	
<u>General public</u>	<u>CFR members</u>
76 Islamic extremist groups	85 Political instability in Pakistan
72 Iran's nuclear program	77 Islamic extremist groups
70 Taliban's growing strength	74 International financial instability
69 N. Korea's nuclear program	64 Iran's nuclear program
61 International financial instability	59 Global climate change
53 China's emerging power	49 Taliban's growing strength
49 Political instability in Pakistan	44 N. Korea's nuclear program
44 Global climate change	21 China's emerging power
38 Russia's tensions w/ neighbors	12 Russia's tensions w/ neighbors
Q26a-iF1 public & Q12a-i CFR.	

The public and CFR members generally see the world as more dangerous for the United States since the Cold War ended two decades ago. And majorities in both groups say the danger of an attack on the United States with a nuclear, biological or chemical weapon is greater now than a decade ago.

In terms of the possible use of U.S. military force, the public continues to be more supportive than CFR members of taking preemptive action against countries that may threaten the U.S., but have not yet attacked. The public also is much more supportive of using U.S. military force if it were certain that Iran had produced a nuclear weapon. However, there is greater support among foreign policy opinion leaders than the public for using force in response to another scenario – if extremists were poised to take over Pakistan.

Public's Security Concerns Change Little

The public's views of top international concerns have changed little over the past few years. Terrorism continues to be the top international concern; 76% say Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda are a major threat. Iran's nuclear program also continues to rank near the top of the list with 72% now saying this is a major threat, which has increased steadily from 60% in September 2008. In October 2005, 61% said Iran's nuclear program posed a major threat to the United States.

The proportion of the public saying North Korea's nuclear program is a major threat grew substantially between January and June of this year. Currently, 69% view North

Korea's nuclear program as a major threat, which is little changed from June (72%) and on par with opinions in 2005 (66%). A similar proportion of Americans (70%) view the Taliban's growing strength in Afghanistan as a major threat.

About three-in-five (61%) view international financial instability as a major threat to the well being of the U.S. There is greater concern about international financial stability now than a decade ago (52%) or in 2001 (47%).

About half (49%) of the public views political instability in Pakistan as a major threat, virtually unchanged from June and up only slightly since 2008. Global climate change (44%) and growing tensions between Russia and its neighbors (38%) rank somewhat lower as major threats to the United States.

For CFR members, North Korea's nuclear program rates as a less serious threat than it did in 2005: 44% now view it as a major threat, compared with 67% four years ago. And since 2001, the percentage citing China's emerging power as a major threat has declined from 38% to 21%.

<i>General public</i>	Oct	Sept	Jan	June	Nov
<i>% saying each is</i>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>
<i>a "major threat" to U.S. ...</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Islamic extremist groups	--	72	77	78	76
Iran's nuclear program	61	60	65	69	72
Taliban's growing strength	--	--	--	--	70
N. Korea's nuclear program	66	55	53	72	69
International financial instability	--	--	--	--	61
China's emerging power	52	48	46	52	53
Political instability in Pakistan	--	43	47	50	49
Global climate change	--	--	--	--	44
Russia's tensions w/ neighbors	--	44	37	--	38

Q26a-iF1 public.

Partisanship Colors Some International Concerns

Within the general public, majorities of Republicans and Democrats view many of the possible international concerns as major threats to the well-being of the United States. On most issues, there are only modest partisan differences – but climate change is a notable exception. Six-in-ten Democrats (60%) and 45% of independents view global climate change as a major threat, compared with only 24% of Republicans.

More Republicans than Democrats say Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda are a major threat, but the differences are much smaller: 85% of Republicans, 76% of independents and 72% of Democrats say that these groups are a major threat to the United States.

Within CFR members, some partisan differences also are evident. As with the general public, the largest difference is over the issue of climate change. More than seven-in-ten (73%) Democrats and those

who lean Democratic say global climate change is a major threat compared with only 20% of those who identify or lean Republican.

In addition, more Republicans and those who lean Republican view Iran’s nuclear program as a major threat than Democrats or those who lean Democratic (78% vs. 59%). A similar pattern is evident on the threat from the Taliban’s growing strength in Afghanistan; 59% of Republican CFR members view the Taliban as a major threat compared with 45% of Democrats.

Iran Seen as Greatest Danger

When asked in an open-ended format which country represents the greatest danger to the U.S., more Americans cite Iran (21%) than any other country. Smaller proportions of the public name Iraq and Afghanistan (14% each) and about one-in-ten cite China (11%) and North Korea (10%) as the country that poses the greatest danger to the U.S.

The proportion citing Afghanistan as the greatest danger has nearly tripled (from 5% to 14%) since September 2008. There has been a more modest increase in the percentage mentioning North Korea (from 6% a year ago to 10% now).

<i>General public</i>	<i>R-D</i>			
<i>% of saying each is a "major threat" to U.S. ...</i>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>diff</u>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
Islamic extremist groups	85	72	76	+13
Russia's tensions w/ neighbors	40	34	43	+6
N. Korea's nuclear program	77	72	63	+5
Taliban's growing strength	74	69	71	+5
China's emerging power	60	55	49	+5
Iran's nuclear program	78	74	66	+4
International financial instability	60	58	65	+2
Political instability in Pakistan	49	50	47	-1
Global climate change	24	60	45	-36
N	281	329	306	

Q26a-iF1 public.

Over the same period, public concerns over China have declined slightly; 11% cite China as the country representing the greatest danger to the U.S., down from 16% in 2008. Notably, very few (2%) name Russia as the greatest danger to the U.S., down substantially from the 14% who cited Russia in the fall of last year, after Russian troops entered Georgia.

Iran Viewed as Greatest Danger; Afghanistan Concerns Jump									
General public	Mar	Feb	Sept	Sept	Oct	Feb	Feb	Sept	Nov
<i>Country representing</i>	1990	1992	1993	2001	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
<i>"greatest danger" to U.S.</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Iran	6	4	7	5	9	27	25	21	21
Iraq	--	12	18	16	18	17	19	13	14
Afghanistan	--	--	--	*	2	1	2	5	14
China	8	8	11	32	16	20	14	16	11
North Korea	--	--	1	1	13	11	17	6	10
The U.S. itself	4	3	*	2	7	5	5	4	5
Pakistan	--	--	--	*	*	1	*	1	3
Al Qaeda/Terrorist groups	--	--	--	*	2	4	1	3	2
Russia/U.S.S.R.	32	13	8	9	2	3	2	14	2
Japan	8	31	11	3	1	1	1	1	*

Q12F2 public (open-ended question). Multiple responses accepted.
See topline for full results.

Republicans overwhelmingly view Iran as the greatest danger to the U.S.; 31% cite Iran whereas 13% mention North Korea and Afghanistan, the next most frequently mentioned countries. By comparison, Democrats are more divided in their views. Roughly equal proportions of Democrats cite Iraq (17%), Afghanistan (17%) and Iran (16%). About one-in-five (19%) independents mention Iran and 14% cite China as the country representing the greatest danger to the U.S.

More Dangerous World for U.S.

A majority of the public (58%) and nearly half of CFR members (49%) say the world is now more dangerous for the United States since the end of the Cold War. Just 12% of the public sees the world as *less* dangerous, compared with 30% of CFR members.

Public views about whether the world has become more dangerous for the U.S. have changed little since early September 2001, when 53% expressed this view. But in that 2001 survey, which was conducted shortly before the 9/11 attacks, most CFR members (60%) said the world was less dangerous for the United States than it had been during the Cold War.

Currently, there are no significant partisan differences on this question within the general public or CFR members. Majorities of Republicans (55%), Democrats (60%) and independents (60%) say the world is more dangerous for the U.S. since the end of the Cold War.

Public and CFR Members Say World is More Dangerous

<i>Since Cold War, world is ...</i>	Early	
	Sept 2001	Nov 2009
	%	%
General public		
More dangerous for U.S.	53	58
Less dangerous for U.S.	14	12
About the same	30	26
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100
CFR members		
More dangerous for U.S.	25	49
Less dangerous for U.S.	60	30
About the same	11	20
No answer	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100

Q46F1 public & Q11 CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Increased Threat of WMD Attack

Asked specifically about the possibility of an attack on the United States with a nuclear, biological or chemical weapon, CFR members are somewhat more likely than the public to say that the danger of such an attack is greater than it was a decade ago.

About six-in-ten CFR members (61%) and 52% of the public say the danger of an attack with a weapon of mass destruction is greater now than it was 10 years ago. Very few in either group say the danger of such an attack is less today; 29% of CFR members and 35% of the public say the danger is about the same now as it was then.

Danger of Nuclear, Biological or Chemical Attack

<i>Danger of attack now vs. 10 yrs ago ...</i>	Public	CFR
	%	%
Greater	52	61
Less	10	9
About the same	35	29
Don't know/No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100

Q47F2 public & Q23 CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Public views about the danger of a WMD attack on the U.S. have fluctuated since the late 1990s. In 1997, 36% said an attack with nuclear, chemical or biological weapon was greater than it had been a decade earlier. That figure rose to 51% in early September 2001 and 64% in August 2003, during the early months of the Iraq war, before declining in the current survey.

Fewer See Greater Danger of WMD Attack than in 2003				
General public	Early			
	Sept 1997	Sept 2001	Aug 2003	Nov 2009
<i>% saying danger is ...</i>	%	%	%	%
Greater	36	51	64	52
Less	30	12	5	10
About the same	32	34	29	35
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100

Q47F2 public. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Republicans in the general public and among CFR membership are more likely than Democrats to say there is greater danger of a WMD attack on the U.S. Majorities of Republicans (62%) and independents (52%) say the danger of attack on the U.S. with a nuclear, biological or chemical weapon is greater now than it was 10 years ago. Democrats are more divided in their opinion; 47% say the danger of attack is greater and 41% say it is about the same as ten years ago.

Among CFR members, 73% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say the danger of attack is greater, compared with 57% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents.

Public Favors Preemptive Force

A majority (52%) of the public says that it can often (16%) or sometimes (36%) be justified to use military force against countries that seriously threaten the U.S., but have not attacked. About four-in-ten (41%) say it can rarely (24%) or never (17%) be justified. These opinions are little changed since October 2005. In May 2003, a few months after the U.S. invasion of Iraq, 67% of the public said it was at least sometimes justified to use force against countries that threaten but have not attacked the U.S.

Public More Likely to Favor Preemptive Military Action			
<i>Preemptive military force can be justified*...</i>	May 2003	Oct 2005	Nov 2009
General public	%	%	%
Often/Sometimes justified	67	52	52
Rarely/Never justified	30	42	41
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100
CFR members			
Often/Sometimes justified	--	42	31
Rarely/Never justified	--	58	66
No answer	--	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>
		100	100

Q69F1 public & Q50 CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.
 * Use of military force "against countries that may seriously threaten our country, but have not attacked us..."

Far fewer CFR members say that preemptive military action against potential adversaries is often or sometimes justified. Currently, just 31% say the use of force can often (4%) or sometimes (27%) be justified. About two-thirds (66%) of CFR members say that the use of preemptive military force is rarely (55%) or never (11%) justified.

As expected, there are substantial partisan differences over whether it is justified to use force against countries that threaten the U.S., but have not attacked: 65% of Republicans say it is at least sometimes justified, compared with 44% of Democrats and 50% of independents. Similarly, 54% of CFR members who identify or lean Republican say the use of force is at least sometimes justified compared with 24% of those who identify or lean Democratic.

Using Force in “What if” Scenarios

A majority of the public approves of using U.S. military forces in several international situations. More than six-in-ten (63%) approve of using U.S. forces if it were certain Iran had produced a nuclear weapon while less than a third (30%) disapprove. Opinion among CFR members is nearly the opposite; only 33% approve of using force in this situation while 61% disapprove.

But more CFR members approve of using force if extremists were poised to take over Pakistan; 63% approve of the use of force in this scenario, compared with 51% of the public.

Public More Supportive than CFR Members of Possible Use of Force against Iran		
	Public	CFR
<i>% approve of using U.S. forces if ...</i>	%	%
Certain Iran had nuclear weapon	63	33
African group threatened by genocide	58	57
Extremists poised to take over Pakistan	51	63

Q48a-cF2 public & Q24a-c CFR.

Majorities of both the public (58%) and CFR members (57%) support the use of force if an ethnic group in Africa was threatened by genocide. There has been little change since 2001 among the public or CFR members in views about the use of force to help those in Africa threatened by genocide.

More Republicans approve of the possible use of U.S. military forces in Iran and Pakistan than do either Democrats or independents. About eight-in-ten (79%) Republicans approve of using force if it were certain Iran had produced a nuclear weapon compared with 57% of Democrats and 59% of independents.

More Republicans Favor Possible Use of Force in Iran, Pakistan				
	Rep	Dem	Ind	R-D diff
<i>% who approve of using U.S. forces if ...</i>	%	%	%	
Certain Iran had nuclear weapon	79	57	59	+22
Extremists poised to take over Pakistan	64	48	45	+16
African group threatened by genocide	59	59	59	0
N	283	328	317	

Q48a-cF2 public.

Similarly, 64% of Republicans approve of using force if extremists were about to take over Pakistan while fewer than half of Democrats (48%) of independents (45%) approve. However, identical percentages of Republicans, Democrats and independents (59% each) would favor using U.S. force if an ethnic group in Africa were threatened by genocide.

Little Change on Defense Spending

Currently, 46% favor keeping spending on national defense at about its present level, 26% favor increasing the level of defense spending, while about the same percentage (23%) supports cutting defense spending. Opinion has been relatively stable since 2004.

Support for increased defense spending had reached an all-time high (50%) in October 2001, shortly after the 9/11 attacks. From 1999 to 2000, more Americans thought defense spending should be increased than decreased. From 1990 to 1997, the trend was reversed with more saying spending should be cut back than saying it should be increased.

Compared with the public, a far greater proportion of CFR members say defense spending should be reduced; 40% say that, compared with 23% of the public. Conversely, a far smaller percentage of CFR members (7%) than the public (26%) favors increasing defense spending.

Among the public, more Republicans (39%) than Democrats (17%) support increased spending on national defense. About three times as many Democrats (31%) as Republicans (10%) say defense spending should be cut. Independents are somewhat more divided; 48% say the U.S. should keep defense spending the same, 24% say it should be increased and another 24% say it should be decreased.

Similar partisan differences are evident among CFR members. Half of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents think defense spending should be cut back compared with only 13% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents. By comparison, far more Republicans than Democrats say spending should be increased (22% vs. 2%).

	In-crease	Cut back	Keep same
<i>General public</i>	%	%	%
Nov 2009	26	23	46
Dec 2004	20	19	54
July 2004	25	18	53
Oct 2001	50	7	41
Early Sept 2001	32	20	44
Sept 2000*	34	14	48
Aug 1999	27	16	54
June 1999	31	19	47
Sept 1997	17	24	57
Feb 1995	19	24	56
Oct 1994	18	26	53
Sept 1993	10	36	52
Nov 1990	12	32	53
Nov 1986	21	23	55
Nov 1982	22	24	52
Nov 1978	32	16	45
Nov 1974	13	33	47
<i>CFR members</i>			
Nov 2009	7	40	51

Q44F1 public & Q22 CFR. Figures read across. * 9/00 based on registered voters.

SECTION 3: TOP GLOBAL PROBLEMS, LONG-TERM POLICY GOALS

The public and members of the Council on Foreign Relations cite the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq as the most important international problem facing the United States. Yet the two groups differ over the importance of other issues, most notably Pakistan: 18% of CFR members view Pakistan as America's top international problem, compared with just 1% of the public.

In addition, nuclear proliferation and global environmental issues are cited more often by CFR members than by the public as top international problems: 12% of CFR members mention nuclear proliferation, compared with just 2% of the public; and 7% of CFR members cite environmental issues, compared with 1% of the public. Conversely, economic problems are viewed as more important concerns by the public (19%) than CFR members (12%).

America's Most Important International Problem	
<u>% of General public</u>	<u>% of CFR members</u>
19 Economic problems	28 Afghanistan
16 War/Wars	18 Pakistan
10 Afghanistan	12 Nuclear proliferation
9 Terrorism/Violence	12 Economic problems
7 Iraq	10 Terrorism/Violence
3 Iran	9 Iran
3 Middle East	7 Loss of leadership
3 AIDS/health problems	7 Environmental issues
3 US peacekeeper role	6 Iraq
3 Energy/oil crisis	4 Middle East
3 U.S. image/credibility	4 U.S. image/credibility
2 Nuclear proliferation	3 Islamic fundamentalism

Q11F1 public & Q3 CFR (open-ended questions).
Multiple responses accepted. See topline for full results.

Notably, relatively few CFR members (4%) view the loss of trust, credibility or international respect as America's top international problem; in 2005, 17% of CFR members viewed the loss of trust as a top global concern, placing it behind only terrorism (21%) and Iraq (19%) on the list of top problems.

Long-Range Foreign Policy Goals

Opinions about long-term U.S. foreign policy goals have changed little in recent years, among both the public and Council on Foreign Relations members. As in the past, protecting American jobs is a much greater foreign policy priority for the public than CFR members. By contrast, CFR members are somewhat more likely than the public to rate preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction as a major priority.

Protecting the nation against terrorist attack and protecting the jobs of American workers are the public's top long-range foreign policy goals. Fully 85% say each should be given top priority. About three-quarters (74%) say stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction should be a top priority.

Members of the Council on Foreign Relations put stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction at the top of their long-range priority list (88%), along with the need to protect the nation against terrorist attacks (81%). But Council members see protecting the jobs of

American workers as a much lower *foreign policy* priority than does the public. Just 21% rate this as a top priority. Among both groups, about two-thirds see the need to reduce dependence on imported energy sources as a top long range goal (64% among the public, 65% among CFR members).

Long-Range Foreign Policy Goals	
% saying each is a "top priority" ...	
<u>General public</u>	<u>CFR members</u>
85 Protect against terror	88 Stop spread of WMD
85 Protect American jobs	81 Protect against terror
74 Stop spread of WMD	65 Reduce imported energy
64 Reduce imported energy	57 Global climate change
56 Combat drug trafficking	35 Improve living standards in poor nations
46 Reduce illegal immigration	22 Combat drug trafficking
40 Global climate change	21 Promote human rights abroad
37 Strengthen United Nations	21 Protect American jobs
29 Promote human rights abroad	18 Strengthen United Nations
26 Improve living standards in poor nations	11 Reduce illegal immigration
21 Promote democracy abroad	10 Promote democracy abroad

Q27F2 public & Q21 CFR.

The public and foreign policy opinion leaders also diverge on such issues as combating drug trafficking, reducing illegal immigration and the importance of dealing with global climate change. The public puts a much greater priority on combating international drug trafficking (56% top priority) and reducing illegal immigration (46%) than do CFR members (22% and 11%, respectively). On the other hand, 57% of CFR members say that dealing with global climate change is a top priority, compared with 40% of the public.

While 37% of the public says that strengthening the United Nations is a top long-range goal, just 18% of CFR members agree. Small minorities in both groups rate promoting democracy in other nations as a top long-range priority at this point (21% for the general public, 10% for CFR members).

Little Change in CFR Members' Priorities

Currently, 88% of CFR members say stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction should be a top priority, largely unchanged from 89% in 2005 and 83% in early September 2001, just before the Sept. 11 terror attacks. About nine-in-ten said the same in 1997 and 1993 (88% and 90%, respectively).

More CFR members now cite the need to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks as a top goal than just before the 2001 attacks. About eight-in-ten (81%) say that currently, little changed from 84% in 2005. In 2001, 62% viewed protecting against terrorism as a top priority.

The percentages who say dealing with global climate change is a top priority have changed little over this period (56% in 2001, 56% in 2005 and 57% in 2009). But other concerns have declined as priorities for CFR members in recent years. These include strengthening the United Nations, promoting human rights abroad and promoting democracy abroad.

For example, in 2001 43% of CFR members said promoting human rights abroad was a top priority; 21% say so today, about the same as in 2005 (22%). Strengthening the UN is a top priority for 18% of CFR members, down from 29% in 2005 and 37% in 2001.

Top Priority for CFR Members – Stop Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction			
	Early Sept <u>2001</u>	Oct <u>2005</u>	Oct <u>2009</u>
<i>CFR members</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>% saying each is a "top priority"...</i>			
Stop spread of WMD	83	89	88
Protect against terror attacks	62	84	81
Reduce dependence on imported energy	--	67	65
Deal with global climate change*	56	56	57
Improve living standards in poor nations	48	47	35
Combat international drug trafficking	35	21	22
Promote human rights abroad	43	22	21
Protect jobs of American workers	17	19	21
Strengthen the United Nations	37	29	18
Reduce illegal immigration	--	12	11
Promote democracy abroad	44	18	10
N	89	96	642
Q21 CFR.			
* In 2001, the item was worded "dealing with global warming."			

Top Public Priorities: Terrorism, Jobs

The public's foreign policy priorities also have not changed much in recent years. Fully 85% say that taking measures to protect the United States from terrorist attacks should be a top priority, little changed from 2005 (86%) and in 2001 (80%) just before the 9/11 attacks.

As many Americans view protecting the jobs of American workers as a top priority (85%) as say that about protecting the nation against terrorist attacks. A somewhat smaller percentage (74%) says stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction is a top foreign policy priority.

The percentage saying that reducing dependence on imported energy is a top priority remains near two-thirds (64% now, 67% in 2005). Currently, 56% say combating international drug trafficking is a high priority, compared with 59% in 2005 and 64% in 2001.

Nearly half (46%) say reducing illegal immigration is a top priority, compared with 51% in 2005. Currently, 40% of the public says dealing with global climate change should be a top long-range foreign policy goal, which also is largely unchanged from 2005 (43%) and 2001 (44%).

While strengthening the U.N. has never rated as a leading policy goal for the public, the percentages rating this as a top priority have remained steady in recent years, even as bolstering the U.N. has declined as a priority among CFR members. Currently, 37% of the public says strengthening the U.N. should be a top long-range goal, compared with 40% in 2005 and 42% in 2001.

Protecting Jobs Consistently a Top Priority for Public			
	Early Sept 2001	Oct 2005	Oct 2009
General public			
% saying each is a "top priority"...	%	%	%
Protect against terrorist attacks	80	86	85
Project jobs of American workers	77	84	85
Stop spread of WMD	78	75	74
Reduce dependence on imported energy	--	67	64
Combat international drug trafficking	64	59	56
Reduce illegal immigration	--	51	46
Deal with global climate change*	44	43	40
Strengthen the United Nations	42	40	37
Promote human rights abroad	29	37	29
Improve living standards in poor nations	25	31	26
Promote democracy abroad	29	24	21
Q27F2 public.			
* In 2001, the item was worded "dealing with global warming."			

Partisan Divides over Immigration, U.N., Poverty

There are only small partisan differences over the top foreign long-term policy goals: overwhelming majorities of Republicans (90%), Democrats (85%) and independents (82%) say that protecting the U.S. from terrorism should be a top priority. Large majorities in each group say the same about protecting American jobs.

But there are substantial partisan differences over several other long-term objectives. For Republicans, reducing illegal immigration is a far more important long-range goal than it is for Democrats: 56% of Republicans rate reducing illegal immigration as a top objective, compared with 47% of independents and 39% of Democrats.

By contrast, strengthening the U.N., improving living standards in poor nations and dealing with global climate change are all rated more highly by Democrats than Republicans. Half of Democrats (50%) say strengthening the United Nations should be a top priority, compared with 34% of independents and just a quarter (25%) of Republicans.

Similarly, a majority of Democrats (56%) say dealing with global climate change should be a top priority, compared with 35% of independents and 23% of Republicans. And while just 36% of Democrats view helping to improve living standards in developing nations as a top priority, it is even a less important goal for Republicans (14%).

	Rep	Dem	Ind	R-D diff
<i>General public</i>	%	%	%	
<i>%saying each is a "top priority" ...</i>				
Reduce illegal immigration	56	39	47	+17
Protect against terror attacks	90	85	82	+5
Promote democracy abroad	25	22	15	+3
Stop spread of WMD	79	78	69	+1
Reduce dependence on imported energy	65	64	68	+1
Combat international drug trafficking	59	61	47	-2
Protect jobs of American workers	83	87	82	-4
Promote human rights abroad	23	33	30	-10
Improve living standards in poor nations	14	36	25	-22
Strengthen the United Nations	25	50	34	-25
Deal with global climate change	23	56	35	-33
N	283	328	317	
Q27F2 public.				

SECTION 4: U.S. ALLIES AND COUNTRY FAVORABILITY

Opinions among members of the Council on Foreign Relations about which U.S. allies and partners will be more important in the future – and those that will be less important – have changed dramatically since the last America’s Place in the World survey in 2005.

Fully 58% now say that China will be a more important future U.S. ally, up from just 31% in 2005. A majority (55%) also names India as a more important future ally, up from 43% in 2005 when India was mentioned more frequently than any other country. And the proportion of CFR members identifying Brazil as a more important U.S. ally has more than doubled – from 17% to 37% – since 2005.

By contrast, the percentages identifying Japan and Great Britain as more important future allies have fallen sharply. Currently, 16% say Japan will be a more important U.S. ally, down from 32% in 2005. While roughly the same percentages of CFR members named Japan and China as future allies four years ago, more than three times many now cite China than Japan.

Just 10% of CFR members view Great Britain as a more important future ally, down from 27% in 2005. And both Great Britain and Japan rank near the top of the list of U.S. allies predicted to be *less* important in the future.

Nearly one-in-five CFR members (18%) name France as a less important U.S. ally, while nearly as many say Great Britain (17%) and Japan (16%). But while the percentage naming France as less important has declined from 31% in 2005, far more CFR members say Great Britain and Japan will be less important; just 2% saw Great Britain as a less important ally in 2005 while just 7% said the same about Japan.

More Important Allies - China, India Less Important - France, Britain		
CFR members	Oct	Nov
<i>U.S. allies/partners that will be <u>more</u> important...</i>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2009</u>
	%	%
China	31	58
India	43	55
Brazil	17	37
EU/Europe	23	19
Japan	32	16
Russia	16	17
Turkey	9	10
Great Britain	27	10
Germany	3	9
Mexico	7	8
<i>U.S. allies/partners that will be <u>less</u> important...</i>		
France	31	18
Great Britain	2	17
Japan	7	16
EU/Europe	5	13
Germany	21	8
Italy	4	7
Israel	8	9
South Korea	3	4
Russia	5	5
Saudi Arabia	9	5
Q19 & Q20 CFR (open-ended questions). Multiple responses accepted. See topline for full results.		

Currently, 13% of CFR members mention European countries generally or the EU as less important U.S. allies in the future; just 5% named Europe in 2005. However, there has been little change in the percentage naming European countries as more important (19% now, 23% then).

In the 2005 survey, 21% of CFR members said that Germany would be a less important future U.S. ally. But that figure has fallen to 8% in the current survey. And while just 3% of CFR members named Germany as a more important future ally four years ago, 9% cite Germany today.

Public's Views of Leading Countries

While fewer CFR members see Great Britain and Japan as more important future U.S. allies, both countries continue to be viewed very positively by the general public. In a September survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, 84% said they had a favorable opinion of Canada, while 77% had a favorable impression of Great Britain. Two-thirds expressed positive opinions of Japan (67%) and Germany (66%), while nearly as many (62%) had a positive opinion of France.

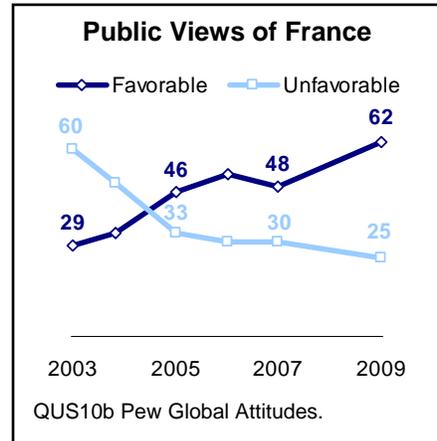
By contrast, public views of Iran, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia were overwhelmingly negative. Just 11% had a favorable opinion of Iran compared with 77% who had an unfavorable opinion. The balance of opinion toward Pakistan was only somewhat better (16% favorable/68% unfavorable). And only about a quarter (24%) felt favorably toward Saudi Arabia, compared with 61% who had an unfavorable opinion.

These opinions were little changed from recent years for many of the countries where comparative data was available. Yet there were substantial changes in the public's impressions of some countries. Most notably, opinions of France, which were roughly two-to-one unfavorable during the early months of the Iraq war, turned dramatically.

	<u>Fav</u>	<u>Unfav</u>	<u>DK</u>
<i>General public</i>	%	%	%
Canada	84	6	10=100
Britain	77	10	14=100
Japan	67	20	13=100
Germany	66	19	16=100
France	62	25	14=100
Brazil	57	17	26=100
India	56	24	19=100
China*	50	38	13=100
Mexico	44	45	11=100
Russia*	43	39	18=100
Saudi Arabia	24	61	16=100
Pakistan	16	68	15=100
Iran	11	77	12=100

QUS10/Q11c & Q11e Pew Global Attitudes.
 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.
 * All ratings from Sept. 2009, except China and Russia from June 2009.

In the September Global Attitudes survey, 62% said they had a favorable opinion of France compared with just 25% who had an unfavorable opinion. As recently as 2007, fewer than half (48%) expressed positive opinions of France and in May 2003 just 29% had a favorable opinion.



The most recent survey found that 71% of Democrats expressed a favorable view of France, compared with 62% of independents and 53% of Republicans. The improvement in opinions of France since 2003 has come across the partisan spectrum: at that time, just 39% of Democrats, 30% of independents and 19% of Republicans felt favorably toward France.

China Viewed More Favorably

Most Americans continue to say that China's emergence as a major power represents as major threat to the United States. Yet a Global Attitudes survey from June found that China's image among the public had improved. Half expressed a favorable opinion of China, compared with 38% who had an unfavorable opinion. In April 2008, opinion of China was evenly divided (39% favorable/42% unfavorable).

The improved image of China reflected primarily a shift in Democratic opinion. More than half of Democrats (54%) rated China positively, while about 35% said they had a negative view. In April 2008 Democrats were nearly evenly split – 39% had a favorable view and 42% had an unfavorable view of China.

Republicans expressed mixed views of China; 43% give it a positive rating and 46% rate it negatively. In April 2008, somewhat more Republicans said they had an unfavorable opinion of China than said they had a favorable opinion (47% vs. 40%).

	April 2008	June 2009
General public		
Total	39%	50%
Favorable	39	50
Unfavorable	42	38
Don't know	19	13
	100	100
Republicans		
Favorable	40	43
Unfavorable	47	46
Don't know	14	11
	100	100
Democrats		
Favorable	39	54
Unfavorable	42	35
Don't know	19	11
	100	100
Independents		
Favorable	43	50
Unfavorable	39	37
Don't know	18	13
	100	100

Q11c Pew Global Attitudes.
 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Iran and Pakistan

Views of Iran have become even more negative than they were in April 2008, when clear majorities already saw that country in a negative light. In the September Pew Global Attitudes survey, 77% expressed unfavorable views of Iran, up from 64% in April 2008.

Positive impressions of Pakistan also declined substantially during this period. In September, just 16% had a positive impression of Pakistan, while more than four times as many (68%) expressed a negative opinion. In April 2008, as many expressed favorable views (37%) as unfavorable views (39%) of Pakistan. In both surveys, opinions of Pakistan did not vary significantly across party lines.

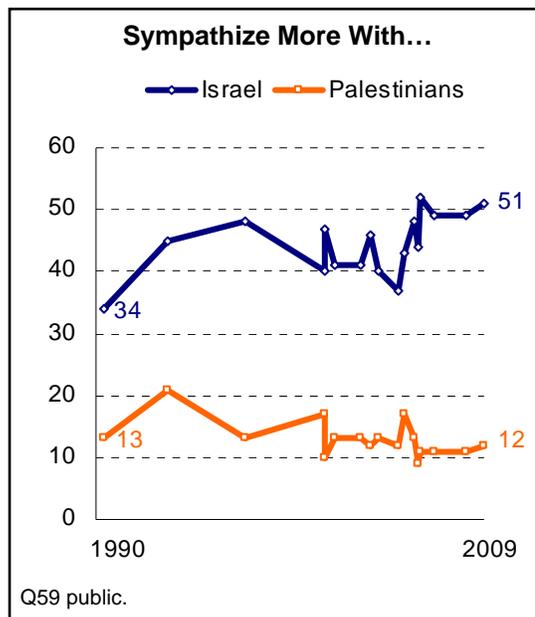
	April 2008	Sept 2009
Iran	%	%
Favorable	20	11
Unfavorable	64	77
Don't know	16	12
	100	100
Pakistan		
Favorable	37	16
Unfavorable	39	68
Don't know	24	15
	100	100

QUS10a & 10g Pew Global Attitudes. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Public Remains More Sympathetic to Israelis

The public continue to sympathize more with Israel than the Palestinians in the long-running Middle East conflict. About half (51%) say they sympathize more with the Israelis, while just 12% say they sympathize more with the Palestinians. Another 14% volunteer that they sympathize with neither side; about two-in-ten (19%) offer no opinion. These numbers have changed little in recent years.

As in past years, a much greater percentage of Republicans (68%) than Democrats (43%) or independents (49%) say they sympathize more with Israel than the Palestinians.



A partisan gap in public's views of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict had been evident since the 1990s, but those differences widened considerably in 2006. Since then, about two-thirds of Republicans – including 68% in the current survey – have said they sympathize more with Israel, compared with slightly less than half of independents (49% currently) and a smaller share of Democrats (43% currently).

Support for Israel is especially strong among conservative Republicans. More than seven-in-ten (72%) say they sympathize more with the Israelis, while 58% of moderate and liberal

Republicans share that view. There also are differences among Democrats: 49% of moderate and conservative Democrats sympathize more with Israel compared with 35% of liberal Democrats.

Among religious groups, white evangelical Protestants are most likely to say they sympathize more with Israel (72%). Close to six-in-ten of all Protestants agree (58%), as do 49% of white mainline Protestants. Among Catholics, 46% say they sympathize more with Israel, 12% sympathize more with the Palestinians and 17% volunteer that they sympathize with neither side. About two-in-ten (19%) offer no opinion.

<i>General public</i>	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %	<i>R-D diff</i>
Oct 2009	68	43	49	+25
Jan 2009	69	42	47	+27
May 2007	68	44	46	+24
Aug 2006	68	45	49	+23
Oct 2005	57	42	35	+15
July 2005	50	32	36	+18
July 2004	57	34	33	+23
July 2003	53	37	36	+16
Apr 2002	56	37	33	+19
Sept 2001	50	38	38	+12
Sept 1997	55	48	45	+7
Sept 1993	52	43	44	+9

Q59 public.

The unaffiliated are more closely divided. A third (33%) say they sympathize more with Israel, while 23% say they sympathize more with the Palestinians and 19% volunteer neither; 20% offer no opinion.

A plurality of CFR members (41%) say they sympathize with both sides equally in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 26% sympathize more with the Israelis, 16% more with the Palestinians and 12% with neither side. But the question asked of CFR members was different from the question asked of the public. CFR members were asked whether they sympathized more with Israel, more with the Palestinians, with both sides equally, or with neither side. The public survey did not include the categories of “both” and “neither.” Therefore, results from the two questions are not comparable.

<i>General public</i>	<u>Israel</u> %	<u>Pales- tinians</u> %	<u>(Vol.) Neither</u> %	<u>(Vol.) Both</u> %	<u>Don't know</u> %
Total	51	12	14	4	19=100
Republican	68	6	10	2	15=100
Conservative	72	5	9	1	12=100
Mod/Lib	58	8	10	2	22=100
Democrat	43	18	14	4	21=100
Cons/Mod	49	14	15	3	19=100
Liberal	35	27	12	6	20=100
Independent	49	13	16	6	15=100
18-29	50	16	12	2	20=100
30-49	49	13	14	3	21=100
50-64	53	11	15	6	15=100
65+	52	9	15	5	19=100
Protestant	58	8	11	3	19=100
White evang	72	4	8	2	13=100
White mainline	49	11	18	5	18=100
Catholic	46	12	17	5	19=100
White non-Hisp	48	13	14	5	21=100
Unaffiliated	33	23	19	4	20=100

Q59 public. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

SECTION 5: OBAMA’S HANDLING OF FOREIGN POLICY

The public expresses mixed views of Barack Obama’s foreign policy performance so far. More approve than disapprove of his handling of terrorist threats and global climate change, but the balance of public opinion is negative when it comes to his handling of immigration policy, Afghanistan, Iraq and his decision to close the U.S. military prison in Guantanamo Bay. The public is divided evenly in its assessments of how Obama has dealt with Iran and China, as well as his handling of international trade issues.

Members of the Council on Foreign Relations offer far more positive assessments of Obama’s foreign policy in almost all areas. More than eight-in-ten CFR members approve of his handling of Iraq (83%), and Guantanamo Bay (81%), and nearly as many rate his handling of China (79%), Iran (76%) and terrorism (77%) positively.

Just shy of three-quarters (73%) approve of how Obama has handled the issue of global climate change. On a separate question, 58% say they think Obama will get the U.S. to take significant measures to reduce carbon emissions, while 37% say they think he will not.

Obama Job Approval				
	General public		CFR Members	
	App-rove %	Dis-approve %	App-rove %	Dis-approve %
Overall job	51	36	77	20
General foreign policy	44	38	--	--
Foreign Policy Issues				
Terrorism	52	34	77	18
Climate change	44	32	73	22
Iran	43	40	76	21
Iraq	41	48	83	13
Closing Guantanamo	39	49	81	17
Afghanistan	36	49	42	47
International trade	36	35	49	40
China	33	34	79	16
Immigration	31	48	58	28
Missile defense policy	--	--	80	17
Pakistan	--	--	66	26
Israel/Palest. conflict	--	--	59	35
Q2 & Q13 public and Q1 & Q7 CFR.				

Eight-in-ten Council members (80%) approve of Obama’s decision to change U.S. policy on missile defense in Eastern Europe, and about six-in-ten approve of his handling of U.S. policy regarding Pakistan (66%) and the Israeli/Palestinian conflict (59%).

But Council members do not universally praise all aspects of Obama’s foreign policy. In particular, just 42% approve of how Obama has handled Afghanistan so far, while 47% disapprove. On this issue, there is little difference between the ratings offered by foreign policy opinion leaders and the general public. Council members’ views of Obama’s handling of international trade are also somewhat divided (49% approve, 40% disapprove).

Not surprisingly, opinion among the general public about Obama’s performance is divided along partisan lines. But the size of the party gap varies by issue. The 48-point difference over Obama’s handling of terrorism is almost as large as the partisan divide in views of his overall job performance. And while 39% of Americans approve of Obama’s decision to close Guantanamo Bay, the majority of Democrats (59%) approve of this policy, compared with just 18% of Republicans – a 41-point party gap.

The percentage of Americans who approve of Obama’s handling of the situation in Iraq is comparable (41%), though the partisan divide is considerably narrower (22 points). More than half of Democrats (54%) and 32% of Republicans offer positive ratings.

Among Democrats, approval of Obama’s handling of both Iraq and Afghanistan stands at 54%. But Republicans’ views of his handling of Afghanistan are far more negative than their assessments of his handling of Iraq (19% vs. 32%).

General public	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<i>R-D</i> <u>diff</u>
<i>% approve</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
Overall job	22	79	45	-57
Terrorism	29	77	44	-48
General foreign policy	21	62	44	-41
Closing Guantanamo	18	59	37	-41
Iran	22	58	43	-36
Afghanistan	19	54	31	-35
International trade	18	52	34	-34
Climate change	28	62	42	-34
China	19	49	29	-30
Immigration	17	45	29	-28
Iraq	32	54	36	-22

Q2 & Q13 public.

On several issues, the ratings offered by independents are substantially closer to the views of Republicans than the views of Democrats. For example, just 36% of independents approve of Obama’s handling of Iraq, nearly as low as the 32% of Republicans who approve on that issue. And only 44% of independents approve of how Obama is handling the threat of terrorism, far closer to the 29% of Republicans than the 77% of Democrats who say the same.

Best and Worst of Obama's Foreign Policy

When asked to name the best things about Obama's handling of foreign policy, Council on Foreign Relations members overwhelmingly cite the administration's emphasis on engagement and diplomacy. More than four-in-ten (44%) specifically mention multilateralism, an emphasis on diplomacy or the administration's outreach and engagement efforts. In a similar vein, 9% also refer to Obama's approach to the Muslim world and his June speech in Cairo, Egypt. Nearly one-in-five CFR members (18%) mention the improved U.S. image and greater international respect or credibility relative to the previous administration. And about one-in-ten (11%) volunteer Obama's realistic, flexible and non-ideological approach to foreign affairs as one of the best things about his administration's handling of foreign policy.

When asked to name the worst things about Obama's handling of foreign policy, Afghanistan and Pakistan policy is mentioned by about a quarter (27%) of Council members. Some also cite the way the administration has handled the Israeli-Palestinian situation (13%), and one-in-ten (10%) cite a pattern of indecisiveness or criticize the administration for too much talk and not enough tough decision-making.

Best Things about Obama's Foreign Policy

CFR members

%	
44	Engagement/Multilateralism/Outreach/ Emphasis on diplomacy
18	Improves U.S. image/credibility/int'l respect
11	Realistic/Flexible/Non-ideological/ Willing to compromise
9	Approach to Muslim world/Cairo speech
8	Handling of Iran
7	Made good appointments
5	Handling of Iraq
5	Handling of Mideast/Israel-Palestinian conflict
5	Public diplomacy & communications
5	Reversal of Bush policies
4	Handling of Afghanistan & Pakistan
3	Handling of Russia
3	Arms control/ nuclear non-proliferation
3	Environment/Climate change policies
3	Trade & global economics
3	Not deploying European missile defense
3	Nothing/No answer

Q5 CFR (open-ended question). Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

Worst Things about Obama's Foreign Policy

CFR members

%	
27	Handling of Afghanistan & Pakistan
13	Handling of Mideast/Israel/Palestinians
10	Indecisive/Slow/Too much talk/ Not making tough decisions
6	Lacks foreign policy direction & goals
6	Trade policies
5	Handling of Iran
5	Trying to do too much
5	Overemphasis on diplomacy & engagement
5	Bad appointments/staffing issues
4	Handling of Iraq
4	Handling of Latin America
3	Downplaying human rights & democracy
3	Handling of Russia
3	Mishandling of European missile defense
13	Nothing/Too early/Don't know

Q6 CFR (open-ended question). Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

Assertiveness vs. Engagement

When asked specifically about the balance of Obama’s foreign policy, roughly a third (31%) of Council members say the administration is not assertive enough, while two-thirds (67%) say its approach to foreign policy is about right and only 1% say Obama is too assertive.

Instead, most Council members are optimistic that “Obama’s policy of greater engagement with problem countries will advance U.S. interests” either a lot (29%) or some (54%). Just 16% say this approach to problem nations will not be effective.

As with his overall approval ratings, there is broader criticism of Obama’s approach to foreign policy among the general public. Nearly half of Americans (47%) say they think Obama is “not tough enough” in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues, though nearly as many (43%) say his approach is about right. The share saying Obama’s approach is not tough enough has risen nine-points from 38% in June. Currently, 72% of Republicans say Obama’s approach to foreign and national security issues is not tough enough, as do 47% of independents. Just 29% of Democrats say the same, though this is up from 19% in June.

<i>General public</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
November	%	%	%	%
Not tough enough	47	72	29	47
About right	43	22	60	41
Too tough	3	1	2	6
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
June				
Not tough enough	38	67	19	39
About right	51	26	75	49
Too tough	2	2	2	2
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100

Q15F2 public. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Middle East Conflict

There is a broad belief among Council on Foreign Relations members that U.S. policies toward Israel and the Palestinians have been out of balance, and that Obama is bringing things into alignment. Two-thirds (67%) of Council members say that, historically, U.S. policies have favored Israel too much; just 24% believe America’s policies have been balanced. But most Council members (69%) say Obama is now striking the right balance. Just a quarter see him favoring one side in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with comparable percentages saying Obama favors the Palestinians too much (12%) and Israel too much (13%).

	<u>Public</u>	<u>CFR</u>
Historically, U.S. policies have...	%	%
Favored Israel too much	30	67
Favored the Palestinians too much	15	2
Struck the right balance	29	24
Don't know/No answer	<u>27</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100
Obama’s approach to Middle East...		
Favors Israel too much	7	13
Favors Palestinians too much	16	12
Strikes the right balance	51	69
Don't know/No answer	<u>26</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100

Q60F2 & Q61F2 public and Q34 & Q35 CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

The public does not have as clear an impression of U.S. policies in this area – roughly a quarter are unable to offer an assessment of U.S. policies either historically (27%) or currently (26%). Among those who do, 30% think that past U.S. policy has favored Israel too much, 15% say the United States has favored the Palestinians too much and 29% say past policy has struck the right balance.

When it comes to Obama, 51% of Americans say he is striking the right balance, with 16% saying he favors the Palestinians too much. The impression that Obama's policies are biased toward the Palestinians is more widespread among Republicans, 30% say this is the case compared with 18% of independents and just 6% of Democrats. Yet about as many Republicans (34%) say Obama is striking the right balance, as do 56% of independents and 64% of Democrats.

SECTION 6: OPINIONS ABOUT AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ

During a time when the Obama administration is pivoting the U.S. military's focus from the conflict in Iraq to the one in Afghanistan, majorities of the American public and members of the Council on Foreign Relations express positive expectations for the future stability of Iraq. There is less optimism about the long-term chances for stability in Afghanistan; public opinion is mixed and most CFR members say it is unlikely that Afghanistan can become a country that is stable enough to withstand the threat posed by the Taliban or other extremist groups. However, CFR members, on balance, do think the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan should be increased; the public is less supportive of a troop increase.

Majorities of both the American public and Council members say things are not going well for the U.S. in Afghanistan, with the CFR members offering a particularly gloomy appraisal. Nine-in-ten CFR members (90%) say the U.S. military effort there is not going well; a smaller majority of the public (57%) agrees with this view.

Despite their assessments of the current situation, the vast majority (87%) of CFR members say the initial decision to use force in Afghanistan was correct. Among the public, support for that decision has slipped over the course of the year from 64% in January to 56% now.

The public and foreign policy opinion leaders offer different opinions on the size of the U.S. military force needed in Afghanistan. Half of Council members (50%) say that the number of troops should be increased, about one-in-four (24%) support a reduction in troop strength and 19% favor keeping troop levels as they are now.

Views of Afghanistan		
<i>How well is military effort going</i>	Public %	CFR %
Very/fairly well	36	8
Not too/at all well	57	90
Don't know/No answer	6	2
	100	100
<i>Initial decision to use force</i>		
Right decision	56	87
Wrong decision	34	10
Don't know/No answer	10	3
	100	100
<i>Number of troops should be</i>		
Increased	32	50
Decreased	40	24
Kept the same	19	19
Don't know/No answer	8	7
	100	100
<i>Long-term stability of Afghanistan against extremists</i>		
Very/somewhat likely	46	41
Not too/at all likely	47	57
Don't know/No answer	8	2
	100	100

Q53-56 public & Q28-31 CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

The public offers less support for a troop increase in Afghanistan – just 32% favor sending more troops while four-in-ten (40%) say that the number of troops should be decreased. As with Council members, a smaller minority (19%) favors no change. Among the public at large, the percentage of Republicans who support a troop increase is more than double that of Democrats (48% vs. 21%). (*For more on public opinion on Afghanistan from this survey see [“A Year Out, Widespread Anti-Incumbent Sentiment”](#) released Nov. 11, 2009.*)

Strengthening Afghan Security Forces

When asked about the possibility that Afghanistan could become stable enough to withstand the threat posed by the Taliban or other extremist groups, most CFR members (57%) say this is not too (45%) or not at all likely (12%) to happen. That compares with 41% who say that stability in Afghanistan over the long run is very (2%) or somewhat (39%) likely. The public is evenly divided on the question of stability in Afghanistan: 46% say that the nation is very (10%) or somewhat likely (36%) to become stable enough to withstand the threat posed by extremist groups, while roughly the same percentage (47%) says that this is not too (29%) or not at all (18%) likely in the long run.

Council members were asked to judge the relative importance of several political, economic and social factors to making Afghanistan stable enough to withstand these threats. Strengthening security and establishing a stable economy were rated as the most important steps. Eight-in-ten CFR members (80%) say that that strengthening Afghan security forces is very important to withstanding extremists and 74% say that establishing a stable economy is very important.

By contrast, just 21% of foreign policy opinion leaders say that establishing a democratic government in Afghanistan is very important to the long term stability of

the country. More than four-in-ten (43%) say that democratic government is somewhat important, while a third (33%) say this is not too or not at all important to withstanding the threat posed by extremist groups over the long term. Of the factors asked about, the one seen as least important to the effort to stabilize the nation is capturing or killing Osama bin Laden. Just 14% say this is a very important step to take, and 31% say it is somewhat important. Half of CFR members (50%) say capturing or killing bin Laden is not too or not at all important.

For four-in-ten CFR members (41%), establishing political and educational rights for women is viewed as very important to a stable Afghanistan, while about as many (40%) say this is somewhat important. Few (16%) say this is not too or not at all important. Opinions on this among Council members differ by gender. Women are far more likely than men to rate this as a very important consideration (61% vs. 36%).

Large Majorities of CFR Members See Security and Economy as Major Factors for Stability in Afghanistan

	<i>Importance for Afghan stability</i>			
	<u>Very</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>not at all</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%
CFR members				
Strengthening Afghan security forces	80	15	1	4=100
Stabilizing economy	74	20	2	4=100
Political & educational rights for women	41	40	16	3=100
Eliminating opium trade	26	47	22	5=100
Establishing democratic government	21	43	33	4=100
Capturing or killing Osama bin Laden	14	31	50	4=100

Q32a-f CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Council members are divided over the importance of eliminating the opium trade and capturing or killing Osama bin Laden to the stability of Afghanistan. About one-in-four opinion leaders (26%) say that ending the opium trade is very important to the country’s stability, about half (47%) say this is somewhat important and 22% say it is not too or not at all important.

More See a Stable Future for Iraq than For Afghanistan

Both the general public and CFR members are more optimistic about the prospects for long-term stability in Iraq. Council members are particularly confident about Iraq’s prospects. A solid majority of CFR members (63%) say that Iraq is likely to maintain a stable government after most U.S. forces leave, while 36% say this is unlikely. About half (52%) of the general public is optimistic about Iraq’s long-term stability. By contrast, slightly fewer Americans (46%) say that long-term stability is likely in Afghanistan.

Republicans and Democrats are about equally likely to say that Iraq is likely to maintain stability after U.S. forces leave (55% vs. 50%). There is more of a partisan divide over Afghanistan’s prospects – 58% of Republicans believe Afghanistan will ultimately be stable enough to withstand the threat of extremist groups, compared with 46% of Democrats. Independents’ opinions on this question are similar to those of Democrats; 41% of independents say that Afghanistan is very or somewhat likely to withstand extremist threats in the long run.

Views on Iraq and Afghanistan		
<i>How likely is long term stability</i>	<u>Iraq</u> *	Afghan- <u>istan</u> **
	%	%
General public		
Very/somewhat likely	52	46
Not too/at all likely	42	47
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100
CFR members		
Very/somewhat likely	63	41
Not too/at all likely	36	57
No answer	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100

Q56 & Q58F1 public and Q27 & Q31 CFR.
 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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

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

Exiting Iraq

Under the Obama administration's plan for withdrawing troops from Iraq, American forces are slowly leaving the country and there are fewer new deployments. About half (49%) of the American public and the vast majority of CFR members (80%) say Barack Obama is handling the withdrawal of troops about right. Among the public, nearly twice as many say Obama is removing troops too quickly (29%) as say that the drawdown is not quick enough (15%).

Democrats (58%) and independents (49%) are more likely than Republicans (35%) to say Obama's approach to troop levels in Iraq is about right. Most Republicans are critical of Obama's approach. About as many in the GOP say he is moving too quickly (31%) as say he is not bringing troops out quickly enough (26%).

Council on Foreign Relations members support a longer timeline than the general public when it comes to how long U.S. troops should remain in Iraq. About two-thirds (65%) of the public think most troops should be out of Iraq within the next two years, while 26% think troops should remain for two years or longer. Among CFR members, about half (51%) support a time frame of less than two years, and 45% say that a significant number of troops should remain in Iraq two years or more.

For both the general public and Council members there are stark partisan differences about how much longer to keep troops in Iraq. Among the public, 77% of Democrats and 65% of independents say most troops should be out of Iraq in less than two years, compared with 53% of Republicans. About a third (35%) of Republicans support a longer stay. Partisan divisions are even more pronounced among CFR members. About six-in-ten (61%) Democratic or Democratic-leaning Council members think that most troops should leave Iraq in less than two years. By contrast, about three-quarters (73%) of Republican or Republican-leaning CFR members say that a significant number of U.S. troops should remain in Iraq for two years or longer.

	<u>Public</u>	<u>CFR</u>
<i>Obama is withdrawing troops from Iraq...</i>	%	%
Too quickly	15	8
Not quickly enough	29	11
Handling about right	49	80
Don't know/No answer	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100
<i>How much longer should U.S. troops remain in Iraq...</i>		
Less than a year	34	11
One to less than two years	31	40
Two to five years	19	37
More than five years	7	8
Don't know/No answer	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100

Q57F1 & Q57aF1 public and Q25 & Q26 CFR.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
General public	%	%	%	%
Less than two years	65	53	77	65
Two years or more	26	35	17	29
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100

Q57aF1 public.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

SECTION 7: THREAT OF TERRORISM AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Most Council on Foreign Relations members believe that America is safer from terrorism than it was at the time of the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks. But the majority of Americans disagree, saying that the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack is either greater (29%) or the same (38%) as it was on 9/11. Just 29% of Americans believe terrorists are less able today than then to attack the U.S.

The percentage of Council members who believe that America is more secure has risen from 44% in 2005 to 56% today. About one-in-ten (11%) Council members believe that terrorists have a greater ability to strike the U.S. today than they did on 9/11. Another 30% think the terrorists' ability to strike has not changed since 9/11.

When George W. Bush was president, Democrats were more likely than Republicans to believe that terrorists had a greater ability to strike the U.S. This partisan gap changed following Barack Obama's inauguration this January. In February, just 7% of Democrats felt the U.S. was at greater risk than on 9/11, down from 21% one year earlier. Meanwhile the share of Republicans who saw the U.S. at greater risk rose from 10% in 2008 to 32% after Obama's inauguration.

Democratic concerns have resurfaced over the course of the year, however. This fall, 27% of Democrats believe the ability of terrorists to launch a major attack is greater today than it was on Sept. 11, 2001, a 20-point increase since February. Roughly a third of Republicans (34%) share this view.

Terror Concern Rises Among Public, Falls among CFR Members

<i>Compared w/ 9/11, terrorists' ability to strike U.S. is...</i>				
	Oct <u>2005</u>	Feb <u>2008</u>	Feb <u>2009</u>	Nov <u>2009</u>
General Public	%	%	%	%
Greater	26	16	17	29
The same	41	41	44	38
Less	29	39	35	29
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
CFR members				
Greater	13	--	--	11
The same	43	--	--	30
Less	44	--	--	56
No answer	<u>0</u>	--	--	<u>3</u>
	100			100

Q64F1 public & Q45 CFR.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Partisanship and Perceptions of Terror Threat

<i>Percent saying terrorists have a greater ability to attack today than on 9/11</i>				
	Oct <u>2005</u>	Feb <u>2008</u>	Feb <u>2009</u>	Nov <u>2009</u>
General public	%	%	%	%
Total	26	16	17	29
Republican	18	10	32	34
Democrat	32	21	7	27
Independent	28	17	17	26
<i>R-D gap</i>	-14	-11	+25	+7

Q64F1 public.

Terrorism Defenses Effective

The U.S. government gets more credit today than it did in 2005 for effectively stopping terrorist attacks. Pluralities of 44% among both the public and Council members say that there has not been another major terrorist attack on the U.S. since 9/11 mostly because the government is doing a good job of protecting the nation. This is up from 33% of Americans and just 17% of Council members four years ago. At that time, a plurality of Americans (45%) and most foreign policy opinion leaders (53%) said the country had just been lucky so far.

Public ratings of the government's anti-terrorism efforts have strengthened in recent years, especially among Democrats and independents. Overall, 73% of Americans say the government is doing very or fairly well in reducing the threat of terrorism – up from 66% in February 2008 and a post-9/11 low of 54% in January 2007. Democratic ratings have improved the most – with the change occurring once Obama took office. Independents' ratings of government anti-terror efforts also have improved – 70% say the government is doing very or fairly well today, up from a low of 52% in 2007. Republican ratings have dropped only slightly since Obama took office – currently 73% of Republicans give the government positive ratings for terrorism defenses, down from 84% in 2008.

Government Gets Credit for Terrorist Defenses

<i>Why there hasn't been another attack</i>	Oct 2005	Nov 2009	<i>Change</i>
General Public	%	%	
Gov't doing a good job	33	44	+11
U.S. a difficult target	17	11	-6
Lucky so far	45	35	-10
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	
	100	100	
CFR members			
Gov't doing a good job	17	44	+27
U.S. a difficult target	26	19	-7
Lucky so far	53	31	-22
No answer	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	
	100	100	

Q65F1 public & Q46 CFR.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

How Well is Government Doing Reducing the Threat of Terrorism?

<i>% saying "very/fairly well"</i>	Oct 2005	Feb 2006	Jan 2007	Feb 2008	Feb 2009	Nov 2009
General public	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	67	68	54	66	71	73
Republican	91	89	82	84	70	73
Democrat	55	55	36	57	74	78
Independent	58	63	52	65	71	70
<i>R-D Gap</i>	+36	+34	+46	+27	-4	-5

Q66F2 public.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Are Civil Liberties at Risk?

The public is somewhat conflicted over the tradeoff between civil liberties and security from terrorist threats. A slim 40% plurality say they are more concerned that government anti-terrorism policies have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country, while 36% say they worry more that the government has gone too far in restricting civil liberties; nearly a quarter (24%) volunteer other views (13%) or give no response (11%). As recently as three years ago, 55% said security was their greater concern, while roughly half that number (26%) said they were more concerned about restrictions to civil liberties.

Public Divided over Civil Liberties vs. National Security

	July 2004	Oct 2005	Jan 2006	Aug 2006	Feb 2008	Feb 2009	Nov 2009
<i>Government anti-terror policies have...</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Gone too far in restricting civil liberties	29	34	33	26	36	36	36
Not gone far enough to protect country	49	48	46	55	47	42	40
Other/DK	22	18	21	19	17	22	24
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q67F2 public. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Among members of the Council on Foreign Relations, the numbers – and the balance of opinion – have reversed since 2005. Today, 46% say restrictions on civil liberties are their greater concern, while 33% say they worry more that anti-terrorism policies haven't gone far enough to adequately protect the country. In 2005, 46% said they worried more about security and 33% said limits on civil liberties was their greater concern.

CFR Members' Concerns about Civil Liberties Increase

	Oct 2005	Nov 2009
<i>CFR members</i>	%	%
<i>Government anti-terror policies have...</i>		
Gone too far in restricting civil liberties	33	46
Not gone far enough to protect country	46	33
Both/Neither/No answer	21	21
	100	100

Q47 CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

There is a wide gap between the public and foreign policy opinion leaders over the issue of student visas. Eight-in-ten Council members say that increased security measures that have made it more difficult for foreign students to get visas to study in American universities go too far because the U.S. loses too many good students to other countries. Just 22% of the public shares this view. Instead, two-thirds of the public believe such restrictions are worth it in order to prevent terrorists from getting into the

Public and CFR Members Remain Divided Over Student Visa Issue

	Oct 2005	Nov 2009
<i>Security measures that make it more difficult for foreign students to get visas...</i>	%	%
General Public		
Go too far/loses too many good students	20	22
Worth it to prevent terrorists from entering	71	67
Don't know	9	11
	100	100
CFR members		
Go too far/loses too many good students	77	80
Worth it to prevent terrorists from entering	21	13
No answer	2	7
	100	100

Q68F1 public & Q48 CFR.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

country. In both cases, these views are virtually unchanged from 2005.

More Americans Find Torture Justifiable

Public opinion about the use of torture remains divided, though the share saying it can at least sometimes be justified has edged upward over the past year. Currently just over half of Americans say that the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can either often (19%) or sometimes (35%) be justified. This is the first time in over five years of Pew Research polling on this question that a majority has expressed these views. Another 16% say torture can rarely be justified, while 25% say it can never be justified.

Continuing Public Support for Torture of Suspected Terrorists									
General public									
<i>Torture to gain important information from suspected terrorists can be justified...</i>	Jul 2004	Oct 2005	Oct 2006	Jan 2007	Nov 2007	Feb 2008	Feb 2009	Apr 2009	Nov 2009
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Often	15	15	18	12	18	17	16	15	19
Sometimes	28	31	28	31	30	31	28	34	35
Rarely	21	17	19	25	21	20	20	22	16
Never	32	32	32	29	27	30	31	25	25
Don't know	4	5	3	3	4	2	5	4	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
NET: Often/Sometimes	43	46	46	43	48	48	44	49	54
NET: Rarely/Never	53	49	51	54	48	50	51	47	41

Q70F2 public. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

There is far more consensus among Council on Foreign Relations members against the use of torture; 44% say it can never be justified, 38% say it can rarely be justified, while far fewer say it can sometimes (11%) or often (2%) be justified. The views of Council members are virtually unchanged from four years ago.

Both Democrats and independents have become more accepting of the idea that torture can be justified. Currently, 47% of Democrats say torture can either often or sometimes be justified – more than in any previous Pew poll. Just over half of independents (53%) are of the same view; from 2004 through February 2009, fewer than half of independents expressed this view. Republicans remain more open to the use of torture – 67% say it can often or sometimes be justified – and the balance of opinion has not changed substantially in recent years.

Democrats and Independents More Accepting of Torture									
General public									
<i>Torture to gain important information from suspected terrorists is justified...</i>	Jul 2004	Oct 2005	Oct 2006	Jan 2007	Nov 2007	Feb 2008	Feb 2009	Apr 2009	Nov 2009
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NET: Often/Sometimes	43	46	46	43	48	48	44	49	54
Republican	52	62	65	55	62	66	65	64	67
Democrat	38	37	33	36	41	38	29	36	47
Independent	38	44	46	44	47	47	44	54	53

Q70F2 public.

SECTION 8: VIEWS OF FREE TRADE

Council on Foreign Relations members continue to express much stronger support for free trade agreements than does the general public. Nearly nine-in-ten (88%) CFR members say that free trade agreements like NAFTA and the policies of the World Trade Organization have been a good thing for the United States; just 5% say they have been a bad thing. Attitudes among Council members have been remarkably stable on this question, with favorable views of free trade consistently registering at 85% or higher. Among the general public, opinion is more mixed. Currently, 43% say free trade agreements have been a good thing for the U.S., while 32% say they are bad for the country and 25% offer no opinion.

Council Members, Public Differ Over Free Trade

<i>Free trade agreements are ...</i>	<u>Public</u> %	<u>CFR</u> %
Good thing for U.S.	43	88
Bad thing for U.S.	32	5
Don't know/No answer	<u>25</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100

Q40 public & Q38 CFR. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Public attitudes toward free trade have not turned more negative this year despite an economic recession and the unemployment rate hovering at about 10%. In fact, positive views of free trade have rebounded somewhat from April 2008. At that time, public support for free trade had hit a low point with more calling it a bad thing (48%) for the U.S. than a good thing (35%). The decline was driven in part by a drop in support among Democrats. In April 2009, and in the current survey, a favorable balance of opinion toward free trade returned with more calling it a good thing for the U.S. than a bad thing.

Impact of Free Trade Agreements on the Country

	Sept 1997	Sept 2001	Dec 2003	July 2004	Oct 2005	Dec 2006	Nov 2007	April 2008	April 2009	Nov 2009
General public	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Good thing	47	49	34	47	44	44	40	35	44	43
Bad thing	30	29	33	34	34	35	40	48	35	32
Don't know	<u>23</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>25</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q40 public. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

In the new survey, partisans take roughly the same view of free trade and its impact on the country. Pluralities of Democrats (47% good thing, 27% bad thing), Republicans (43%-36%), and independents (41%-36%) call free trade agreements a good thing for the United States. In April 2008 – when the public expressed greater skepticism toward free trade – there were wider differences between partisans. At that time, Democrats (34% good thing, 50% bad thing) and independents (35%-52%) saw free trade as a bad thing for the United States. Republicans were divided, with about as many calling it a good thing for the country (42%) as a bad thing (43%).

There is little difference in opinions about free trade agreements across demographic groups. Nearly identical percentages of college graduates (44%) and those with no more than a high school degree (43%) say free trade agreements are good for the country. A similar pattern is seen across income groups. One notable exception is that younger people are much more favorable toward free trade than are older people: 62% of those under 30 view free trade agreements as a good thing for the U.S., compared with just 29% of those ages 65 and older.

Free Trade's Impact on Personal Finances

While, on balance, the public sees free trade agreements as a good thing for the country as a whole, Americans are more negative when it comes to free trade's effect on their personal finances. More (40%) say that free trade agreements have probably or definitely hurt their personal financial situation than say they have probably or definitely helped their financial situation (33%).

Opinions on trade's effect on personal finances vary somewhat across socioeconomic lines. In general, those with higher levels of education and income and young people are more likely to say that free trade agreements have helped their financial situation.

For example, by a narrow 38% to 33% margin, college graduates say their finances have been helped by free trade agreements. By contrast, the balance of opinion is reversed – by wider margins – among those without a college degree, with more saying they have been hurt rather than helped financially. Similarly, those with family incomes of \$75,000 a year or more are slightly more likely than lower income families to say that free trade agreements have definitely or probably helped the financial situation of their family. And almost half

(46%) of those under 30 say they have been helped by free trade, compared with just 23% of those 65 and older.

Partisan gaps on this question are generally modest. As many Democrats say they have been helped (36%) as hurt (36%) by free trade agreements. Slightly fewer Republicans and independents say that they have been helped by free trade agreements (30% and 31%, respectively). However, the balance of opinion among Republicans and independents tilts

	<u>Helped</u> %	<u>Hurt</u> %	<u>DK/ Neither</u> %
General public			
Total	33	40	28=100
18-29	46	27	28=100
30-49	34	42	25=100
50-64	25	47	28=100
65+	23	43	34=100
College grad+	38	33	29=100
Some college	30	41	29=100
High school or less	31	43	25=100
<i>Family income</i>			
\$75,000 or more	40	33	26=100
\$30,000-74,999	30	44	26=100
Less than \$30,000	33	44	23=100
Republican	30	42	28=100
Democrat	36	36	29=100
Independent	32	45	23=100
Q41 public. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.			

negative, with both groups more likely to say they have been hurt (42% and 45%, respectively), rather than helped, by free trade.

Downsides of Free Trade

Despite embracing free trade as a good thing for the United States broadly, the public expresses largely negative views of free trade when asked about its impact on several specific aspects of the economy. Majorities or pluralities say that free trade agreements lead to job losses, lower wages, and slower economic growth in America. On the other hand, more than half (54%) say trade agreements are good for the people of developing countries.

While still negative on balance, views of trade's effect on several aspects of the economy have improved somewhat since April 2008 – a time when public views of free trade were particularly critical.

In the current survey, by a 53%-13% margin, more Americans say trade agreements lead to job losses in the U.S. than say they create jobs; 19% say the agreements don't make a difference. Similarly, 49% think wages of American workers are lower because of free trade; just 11% think they are higher, while 24% say wages are unaffected by trade agreements. In addition, more say free trade agreements slow the economy down (42%) than say they make the economy grow (25%).

The public is more divided over the impact of free trade agreements on the price of products sold in the U.S. About as many say free trade agreements make prices higher (33%) as say they make them lower (32%). On this question, partisan groups stake out slightly different positions: Republicans are divided with nearly equal percentages saying free trade agreements make prices higher (35%) as say they make them lower (33%). Opinion among Democrats is slightly more pessimistic with 38% saying free trade leads to higher prices, while 26% say trade agreements lead to lower prices. More independents think free trade agreements lead to lower prices for products sold in the U.S. (40%) than think they result in higher consumer prices (27%). On most other measures, the balance of opinion among partisan groups is the same, though small differences exist in the magnitude of opinions.

And while skeptical about free trade's effect on elements of the domestic economy, a majority of the public believes that trade agreements have been a good thing for the people of

	Dec 2006	Apr 2008	Nov 2009
General public			
<i>Jobs in America</i>	%	%	%
Creates jobs	12	9	13
Leads to job losses	48	61	53
<i>Wages in America</i>			
Higher	11	8	11
Lower	44	56	49
<i>National economy</i>			
Leads to growth	28	19	25
Slows economy	34	50	42
<i>Price of products</i>			
Higher	30	39	33
Lower	32	29	32
<i>People of developing countries</i>			
Good for them	57	58	54
Bad for them	9	12	8

Q42a-e public. Figures read down.

developing countries: 54% say this, while just 8% say free trade agreements have been bad for the people of developing countries.

Going It Alone in Tough Times

James M. Lindsay and Parke T. Nicholson
Council on Foreign Relations

Tough economic times have always led the American public to turn inward rather than look beyond America's shores. The Great Depression sparked a surge of isolationism that only ceased after Pearl Harbor. The stagflation of the 1970s combined with the fallout from Vietnam to shake America's confidence as a global leader. Even the relatively mild recession in the early 1990s sparked complaints that the United States and the Soviet Union had fought the Cold War but Germany and Japan had won it.

The latest nationwide poll by the Pew Research Center and the Council on Foreign Relations shows this inward looking dynamic at play during today's global financial crisis. That reality has significant implications for President Obama's handling of foreign policy.

The most telling results come in response to the question of America's role in the world. When asked whether the United States should mind its own business internationally, 49 percent of Americans say yes. That is up seven points compared to when the question was last asked in 2005 and the first time that a plurality of the public has said the United States should mind its own business abroad. Just as important, only 44 percent of Americans disagree.

The surge in isolationist sentiment cuts across partisan lines. Roughly half of Democrats and independents, and four out of ten Republicans, say the United States should mind its own business.

When asked whether the United States plays a less important role as a world leader today, 41 percent of the public and 44 percent of CFR members say yes. The public's response is the highest since the United States was mired in an economic malaise in 1978. It is also a 21-point increase over 2004, the last time this question was asked.

As in past polls, overwhelming percentages of the public and CFR members—seven in ten members of the public and nine in ten CFR members—say they would prefer that the United States share global leadership duties. CFR members and the public disagree, however, on how much the United States should share. Three out of five CFR members say the United States should be the most "assertive country." In contrast, only one in five members of the public wants the United States to be the "most active" country. That is six points lower than five years ago, and among the lowest percentages the poll has recorded.

The financial crisis has not changed how Americans view the desirability of U.S. military superiority. Almost two out of three members of the public name the United States as the world's leading military power. Nearly as many want Washington to pursue policies that would keep things that way. Half of CFR members agree, with a quarter being willing to maintain U.S. predominance even at the risk of alienating allies.

The financial crisis has, however, changed who Americans think dominates the global economy. In 2008, 41 percent of the public named the United States as the world's leading economic power, and 30 percent named China. Today the numbers are flipped, with 44 percent naming China and 27 percent naming the United States. This turnaround has happened before. At the end of the Cold War, as the U.S. economy slumped, a majority of Americans believed that Japan had passed the United States as an economic power.

The preference for shared global leadership and pessimism about U.S. economic power has not increased support for multilateralism. To the contrary. When asked whether the United States should go its own way in international affairs, 44 percent of the public agrees that it should. This is a 16-point jump since the question was last asked in 2005. It is ten points higher than the previous high, recorded in 1995.

These poll results highlight a potential political problem for President Obama. He campaigned on a pledge to use energetic diplomacy to restore American global leadership. So far, though, his multilateral efforts have come up short. Iran and North Korea refuse to halt their nuclear programs. The Israeli-Palestinian peace process remains frozen. America's image in Europe has improved, but European governments remain skeptical of many of Obama's policies.

Against this backdrop, Obama's decision to send more troops to Afghanistan is politically risky. Majorities of both the public and CFR members believe that the U.S. effort in Afghanistan is going poorly. Although half of CFR members favor a troop increase, 59 percent of the public favors reducing U.S. troops or keeping them level. Both the public and CFR members doubt that additional U.S. troop deployments would stabilize the country; 57 percent of CFR members and 47 percent of the public say it is unlikely that Afghanistan can become stable enough to withstand the Taliban threat.

These findings suggest that the public will want quick results from Obama's surge. If that doesn't happen, he could find himself under intense pressure to bring the troops back home. More broadly, he could face greater political resistance, from both ends of the political spectrum, to his activist foreign policy and multilateralism.

The White House can find good news in the Pew-CFR poll. The president still gets good marks overall, with 51 percent of the public and 77 percent of CFR members approving of the job he is doing. The public also supports his Iraq policy, with 49 percent saying that he is handling U.S. troop withdrawals "about right" compared to 29 percent who say he is moving "not quickly enough."

The White House also knows that what the economy takes away it can also give back. Periods of pessimism about America's role in the world can pass. A quick economic turnaround would lift the public's spirit, lessen isolationist sentiment, and give the president more political room to maneuver. The critical question for Obama's ambitious foreign policy plans, then, is whether the economic recovery will happen soon enough.

James M. Lindsay is Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair at the Council on Foreign Relations, where Parke T. Nicholson is a Research Associate.

APPENDIX: SURVEY METHODS

About the General Public Survey

Results for the general public survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Abt SRBI Inc. among a national sample of 2,000 adults living in the continental United States, 18 years of age or older, from October 28-November 8, 2009 (1500 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 500 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 193 who had no landline telephone). Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish.

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 2008 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample also is 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 2008 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 combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <http://people-press.org/methodology/>.

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	2000	3 percentage points
Form 1	999	4 percentage points
Form 2	1001	4 percentage points
Republicans	564	5 percentage points
Democrats	657	5 percentage points
Independents	623	5 percentage points

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

About the Survey of Foreign Policy Opinion Leaders

Results for the survey of foreign policy opinion leaders are based on 642 web and telephone interviews conducted from October 2 to November 16, 2009 with members of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International, a sample of 1,000 members was drawn randomly from the CFR membership list; a total of 642 of the 1,000 sampled members completed the interview, with 506 completing the survey online and 136 by phone. The overall response rate for the survey is 64%.

Founded in 1921, the Council on Foreign Relations is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank and publisher dedicated to helping its members, government officials, journalists and others better understand the world and foreign policy. CFR publishes *Foreign Affairs*, a journal of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. Individual membership is limited to U.S. citizens and U.S. residents in the process of becoming citizens. New members must be nominated by a current member. For more information about CFR, see <http://www.cfr.org>.

Each member sampled was mailed a letter describing the nature and purpose of the survey and encouraging participation in the survey. This letter contained a URL and a password for a secure web site where the survey could be completed. It also included a toll-free number for respondents to call if they had questions or if they preferred to take the survey by telephone. CFR members who did not participate in the first week after the mailing were sent follow up e-mails and/or received telephone calls to encourage them to participate in the survey.

In estimating the overall balance of opinion among Council on Foreign Relations members based on the total sample of 642 interviews completed, the margin of error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 4.5 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Additional Data Sources:

In addition to the main surveys described above, this report is supplemented with public opinion data from three other survey projects.

November 12-15 Omnibus:

Conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a national sample of 1,003 adults living in the continental United States, 18 years of age or older, from November 12-15 (700 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 303 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 92 who had no landline telephone.) Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English. The error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for the total sample is plus or minus 4 percentage points. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting.

May 27-June 10 and September 10-15 Global Attitudes Surveys:

Favorability ratings of various countries discussed in this report are from two Pew Global Attitudes Project surveys. Both surveys were conducted by telephone by Princeton Survey Research Associates International with national samples of adults living in the continental United States, 18 years of age or older. Interviews were conducted in English.

The first survey was conducted May 27-June 10, 2009 among 1,000 people (750 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone and 250 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 97 who had no landline telephone.) The error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for the total sample is plus or minus 4 percentage points. The second survey was conducted September 10-15, 2009 among 1,006 people (754 respondents were interviewed on a landline and 252 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 103 who had no landline telephone.) The error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for the total sample is plus or minus 4 percentage points. The landline and cell phone samples for both surveys were provided by Survey Sampling International. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting.

ABOUT THE PROJECT

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. 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 the Center's current survey results are made available free of charge.

All Pew Research Center for the People & the Press 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
Michael Remez, Senior Writer
Robert Suls, Shawn Neidorf, Leah Christian, Jocelyn Kiley and Alec Tyson, Research Associates
Jacob Poushter, Research Analyst

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

NO QUESTION 2

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

ASK ALL:

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

CFR

Members

2009

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

[N=999]

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

NO QUESTION 4

ASK ALL:

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

CFR

Members

2009

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

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

2005 TREND FOR COMPARISON

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

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

[N=96]

ASK ALL:

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

CFR Members

2009

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

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

2005 TREND FOR COMPARISON

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

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

[N=96]

ASK ALL:

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

RANDOMIZE LIST

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

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

Q.7 CONTINUED...

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

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.8 AND Q.9

ASK ALL:

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

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

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.8 AND Q.9

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

RANDOMIZE LIST

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

⁴ For general public survey, response options not randomized.

Q.12 CONTINUED...

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

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

Q.12 CONTINUED...

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

Q.14 What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it be the SINGLE world leader, or should it play a SHARED leadership role, or shouldn't it play any leadership role?

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

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

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

TREND FOR COMPARISON

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

Q.17 Should U.S. policies try to keep it so America is the only military superpower even if it risks alienating our principal allies, or not?

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

Q.19 In the future, what countries in the world, if any, do you think will be **more important** as America's allies and partners? [**OPEN-END; RECORD UP TO 7 MENTIONS**]

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

[N=96]

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

ASK ALL:

Q.20 In the future, which of America's allies and partners, if any, do you think will be **less important** to the U.S.? [OPEN-END; RECORD UP TO 7 MENTIONS]

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

[N=96]

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

ASK ALL:

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

RANDOMIZE LIST

		<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority at all</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a.	Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction				
	CFR Members				
	2009	88	12	0	1
	2005	89	10	0	1
	2001	83	17	0	0
	1997	88	12	0	0
	1993	90	10	*	*
	<i>General public</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>2</i>
b.	Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks				
	CFR Members				
	2009	81	18	0	1
	2005	84	16	0	0
	2001	62	36	2	0
	<i>General public</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
c.	Protecting the jobs of American workers				
	CFR Members				
	2009	21	57	20	2
	2005	19	60	21	0
	2001	17	70	11	2
	1997	16	65	12	7
	1993	19	65	10	6
	<i>General public</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
d.	Strengthening the United Nations				
	CFR Members				
	2009	18	58	23	1
	2005	29	57	14	0
	2001	37	53	10	0
	1997	32	55	12	1
	1993	45	48	7	*
	<i>General public</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>2</i>
e.	Dealing with global climate change				
	CFR Members				
	2009	57	35	7	1
	2005	56	41	3	0
	2001 ⁷	56	41	3	0
	1997	49	44	7	0
	1993	42	55	3	*
	<i>General public</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>3</i>

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

Q.21 CONTINUED...

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

ASK ALL:

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

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF OPTIONS 1 AND 2

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

RANDOMIZE LIST

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

⁸ For general public survey, response options not randomized.

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about the situation in Iraq...

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about Afghanistan...

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

RANDOMIZE LIST

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

TREND FOR COMPARISON

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

ASK ALL:

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

RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2

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

ASK ALL:

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

RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2

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

RANDOMIZE Q.36 AND Q.37

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

RANDOMIZE Q.36 AND Q.37

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

NO QUESTION 39

ASK ALL:

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

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

NO QUESTIONS 41-44

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

¹¹ In 2005, the response options were not randomized.

¹² For the general public survey, the question wording was, "Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks?" and the response options were not randomized.

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

	<u>Go too far because the U.S. loses too many good students to other countries</u>	<u>Are worth it in order to prevent terrorists from getting into the country</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR Members			
2009	80	13	7
2005	77	21	2
<i>General public</i>	22	67	11

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

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

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.1 AND Q.2

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

Q.1 CONTINUED ...

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

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.1 AND Q.2

ASK ALL:

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

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

QUESTIONS 3-7 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

QUESTION 8 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

And thinking about the world...

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

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

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

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.11F1 What is America's most important INTERNATIONAL problem today? **[RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY — DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION.]**

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

[N=1003]

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.12F2 What country in the world, if any, represents the greatest danger to the United States? [**OPEN END; DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION. IF MULTIPLE MENTIONS ONLY RECORD EXPLANATION IF NECESSARY FOR CLARIFICATION.**]

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

ASK ALL:

Thinking about some issues...

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

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

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

Q.13a CONTINUED...

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

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

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

Q.13cF2 CONTINUED...

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

²¹ In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about George W. Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings and are combined.

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

Q.13eF2 CONTINUED...

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

f.F1 Terrorist threats

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

g.F2 The nation's immigration policy

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

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

²⁴ In Mid-September, 2001 the question was worded: "...dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington." In Early September 1998 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

Q.13 CONTINUED...

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

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

Q.13 CONTINUED...

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

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

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

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

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

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

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

TREND FOR COMPARISON

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

QUESTIONS 16-19 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

On another subject...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

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

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

ASK ALL:

Q.21 What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it be the SINGLE world leader, or should it play a SHARED leadership role, or should it not play any leadership role?

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

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

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

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

²⁸ In 1995 and earlier, the answer categories were "...most active, or should it be no more or less active than other leading nations?"

ASK ALL:

Q.23 In the future, should U.S. policies try to keep it so America is the only military superpower, OR would it be acceptable if China, another country or the European Union became as militarily powerful as the U.S.?

IF ANSWERED 1 “KEEP U.S. AS ONLY MILITARY SUPERPOWER” IN Q.23, ASK:

Q.24 Should U.S. policies try to keep it so America is the only military superpower even if it risks alienating our principal allies, or not?

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.26F1 I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns for the U.S. Do you think that [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to the well being of the United States? What about [INSERT ITEM]? [READ THE ANSWER CHOICES AS NECESSARY AFTER THE FIRST TIME]

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

Q.26F1 CONTINUED...

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.27F2 As I read a list of possible LONG-RANGE foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me how much priority you think each should be given. (First,) **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**, do you think this should have top priority, some priority, or no priority at all? What about **[INSERT ITEM]**? **[READ THE ANSWER CHOICES AS NECESSARY AFTER THE FIRST TIME]**

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

Q.27F2 CONTINUED...

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

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

Q.27F2 CONTINUED...

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

NO QUESTIONS 28-29

QUESTIONS 30-36 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

NO QUESTIONS 37-39

ASK ALL:

Thinking about another topic...

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

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

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

³¹ In December 2006, December 2004, July 2004 and March 2004, the question wording asked about: "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the World Trade Organization," and did not mention "policies of" the World Trade Organization. In October 2005 the question asked: "So far, do you think that NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?" In December 2003 the question wording asked about "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the WTO;" full names of the organizations were read out only if the respondent was uncertain. In Early September 2001 and earlier the question was worded: "NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement..."

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q.42 CONTINUED...

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

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

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

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

NO QUESTION 43

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

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

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

NO QUESTION 45

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

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

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

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

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

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

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

NO QUESTIONS 49-52

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about Afghanistan...

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

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

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Now thinking about the situation in Iraq...

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

Oct 28-Nov 8

2009

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

TREND FOR COMPARISON

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

Jan 7-11

2009

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

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

Oct 28-Nov 8

2009

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

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

Oct 28-Nov 8

2009

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

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

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

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

Q.59 CONTINUED...

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

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

Oct 28-Nov 8

2009

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

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

Oct 28-Nov 8

2009

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

Jun 10-14

2009

- 6
- 17
- 62
- 14

RANDOMIZE Q.62F1 AND Q.63F1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

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

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

RANDOMIZE Q.62F1 AND Q.63F1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

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

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

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.64F1 Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks?

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

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

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

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

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

Q.66F2 CONTINUED...

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

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

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.68F1 Increased security measures have made it more difficult for foreign students to get visas to study in American universities. Do you think these restrictions **[INSERT OPTION; RANDOMIZE]**, OR do you think these restrictions **[NEXT OPTION]**?

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=999]:

Q.69F1 Do you think that using military force against countries that may seriously threaten our country, but have not attacked us, can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

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

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1001]:

Q.70F2 Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

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

ASK ALL:

PARTY

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

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

PARTYLN

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

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

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FINAL TOPLINE
November 12-15, 2009
N=1003

QUESTIONS 1-6 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

NO QUESTIONS 7-9

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

³⁶ Trends for this series in 1991 and earlier are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research.

Q.10 CONTINUED...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>Dk/Ref</u>
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	72	18	10
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	80	12	8
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	84	9	7
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	81	7	12
c. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not			
November 12-15, 2009	44	51	5
December, 2006	28	68	4
October, 2005	32	63	5
August, 2004	28	65	7
December, 2002	25	72	3
Early September, 2001	32	62	6
March, 1999	26	69	5
September, 1997	32	62	6
June, 1995	34	60	6
April, 1993	34	63	3
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	29	66	5
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	26	70	4
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	26	66	8
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	29	62	9
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	22	72	6
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	23	72	5
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	19	70	11
d. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own			
November 12-15, 2009	49	44	7
December, 2006	42	53	5
October, 2005	42	51	7
August, 2004	34	59	7
December, 2002	30	65	5
Early September, 2001	37	55	8
March, 1999	35	57	8
September, 1997	39	54	7
June, 1995	41	51	8
April, 1993	37	58	5
1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	33	60	7
1985 (<i>Gallup</i>)	34	59	7
1980 (<i>Gallup</i>)	30	61	9
1976 (<i>Gallup</i>)	41	49	10
1972 (<i>Gallup</i>)	35	56	9
1968 (<i>Gallup</i>)	27	66	7
1964 (<i>Gallup</i>)	18	70	12
e. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home			
November 12-15, 2009	76	19	4
December, 2006	69	26	5
October, 2005	71	23	6
August, 2004	69	25	6

Q.10 CONTINUED...

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

ASK ALL:

Q.11 Compared with the past, would you say the U.S. is MORE respected by other countries these days, LESS respected by other countries, or AS respected as it has been in the past?

ASK IF LESS RESPECTED (Q.11=2):

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

		(RV)					<i>Newsweek</i>	
		Mid-			Late		May	Jan
Nov 12-15		Sep	May	Aug	Oct	July	1987 ³⁷	1984
<u>2009</u>		<u>2008</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>		
21	More respected	5	7	7	9	10	19	27
56	Less respected	70	71	65	66	67	55	36
38	Major problem	48	56	48	43	43	--	--
14	Minor problem	19	11	14	18	19	--	--
4	Not a problem	2	3	2	4	4	--	--
	* Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	1	1	1	--	--
20	As respected as in the past	22	18	23	21	20	23	29
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	4	5	4	3	3	8

QUESTIONS 13 AND 14 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

NO QUESTIONS 15-18

³⁷

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

RANDOMIZE Q.19 AND Q.20

ASK ALL:

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

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

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

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

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

RANDOMIZE Q.19 AND Q.20

ASK ALL:

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

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

QUESTION 30 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

QUESTION 40 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent? **IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:**

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

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

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

QUESTIONS 1 THROUGH 9 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

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

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

Q.10US CONTINUED ...

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

PEW GLOBAL ATTITUDES PROJECT

MAY 27 – JUNE 10, 2009

N=1,000

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

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

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



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