

NEWS Release

1615 L Street, N.W., Suite 700 Washington, D.C. 20036 Tel (202) 419-4350 Fax (202) 419-4399

EMBARGOED

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, JULY 21, 2005, 4:00 P.M.

<u>Support for Keeping Troops in Iraq Stabilizes</u> MORE SAY IRAQ WAR HURTS FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Jodie Allen, Senior Editor
Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research
Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors
Carolyn Funk, Senior Project Director

Nilanthi Samaranayake, Peyton Craighill, Nicole Speulda, Courtney Kennedy, Project Directors Jason Owens, Greg Smith, Research Assistants Kate DeLuca, Tiffany Turner, Staff Assistants Pew Research Center for The People & The Press 202/419-4350

http://www.people-press.org

Support for Keeping Troops in Iraq Stabilizes MORE SAY IRAQ WAR HURTS FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

A growing number of Americans believe that the war in Iraq has undermined the U.S. struggle against terrorism. Nearly half (47%) say the war in Iraq has hurt the war on terrorism, the highest percentage expressing that view since the war began in March 2003. Nonetheless, public support for an immediate withdrawal of troops from Iraq, which had risen steadily since last October, has leveled off. And despite the public's doubts about the war and its impact on the war on terror, Americans have not given up hope for a successful outcome on Iraq.

In the aftermath of the July 7 bombings in London, more Americans said that the war in Iraq is raising the risk of terrorism in this country. Currently, 45% believe that the war has raised the chances for terrorist attacks in the U.S., up from 36% last fall.

However, bottom-line support for the war has not eroded, even in the face of intensifying violence in Iraq.

Doubts Grow, But War Support Stable					
Iraq war's effect on war on terror Helped Hurt No effect (Vol.) Don't know	Oct Feb July 2004 2005 2005 % % % 45 44 39 40 41 47 6 7 7 9 8 7 100 100 100				
War's impact on chances of terror attacks in U.S. Increased chances Lessened chances No difference Don't know	$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{Oct} & & \text{July} \\ \underline{2004} & & \underline{2005} \\ 36 & & 45 \\ 32 & & 22 \\ 28 & & 30 \\ \underline{4} & & \underline{3} \\ 100 & & 100 \\ \end{array}$				
U.S. troops in Iraq Keep troops until stable Bring troops home now Don't know	Oct June July 2004 2005 2005 57 50 52 36 46 43 7 4 5 100 100 100				

Roughly half of the public favors maintaining U.S. forces in Iraq until the country is stabilized (52%), and about the same number support the original decision to go to war (49%). The issue of whether to set a timetable on the U.S. military involvement in Iraq also splits the public almost evenly – 49% say the U.S. should set a timetable, while 45% disagree.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted July 13-17 among 1,502 adults, finds a considerable degree of uncertainty in attitudes toward setting a timetable for a troop withdrawal. About half of those who favor setting a timetable nonetheless worry that Iraqi insurgents may simply wait out American forces and gain power. Similarly, roughly half of those who oppose a timetable express concern that such a strategy will force U.S. troops to remain in Iraq for a very long time.

Still, fully six-in-ten say it is at least probable that the U.S. will succeed in establishing a stable government in Iraq; just a third say the U.S. is likely to fail. While there is a large partisan divide on this measure, and on virtually every issue related to the war, nearly half of Democrats (45%) say the United States will probably or definitely succeed in establishing a stable democratic

government in the country.

Although most opinions on Iraq have been stable in recent months, the public has become increasingly critical of President Bush's handling of the war. Just 27% say Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion – the lowest percentage expressing that view since the start of the war. By more than three-to-one (72%-23%), independents say Bush lacks a clear plan for ending the war.

Fewer See Clear Plan on Iraq						
Bush has clear			Feb 2005	-		
plan on Iraq?	%	%	%	%		
Yes	36	35	32	27		
No	55	55	61	64		
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>		
	100	100	100	100		

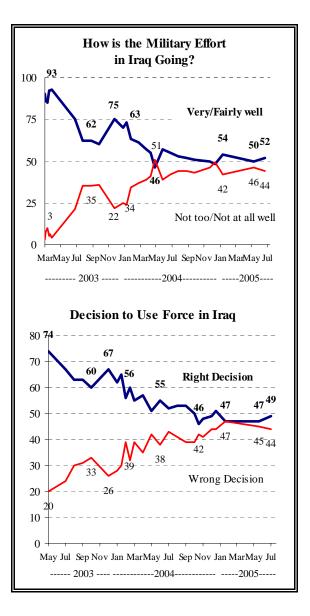
And increasingly, Americans are voicing doubts not only about Bush's handling of the war, but also terrorism, which has long been one of the president's main strengths. Since January, the number approving of the way Bush is handling the situation in Iraq has fallen by 10 percentage points (from 45% to 35%). Over the same period, there has been an even bigger decline in positive views of Bush's handling of terrorist threats; only about half (49%) approve of Bush's performance in this area, down from 62% in January (see "Republicans Uncertain on Rove Resignation," July 19).

War Views Stable

Perceptions of how the war is going have been fairly stable over the past year. Just over half of the public (52%) says the war is going very or fairly well, while 44% think the war is not going well. Positive views of the war reached 75% in December 2003, after the capture of Saddam Hussein, and reached a low of 46% in May 2004, in the wake of revelations of prisoner abuse by U.S. troops at Abu Ghraib prison.

Similarly, belief that the U.S. made the right decision in going to war has not changed much over the past year. Currently, a small plurality (49%) says the use of military force was the right decision, while 44% disagree. Since last July, support for the decision to go to war has ranged from 46% to 53%.

Support for the war has long been split along partisan lines. Independents now tilt negative about the decision to go to war by a 53%-43% margin. Further, independents are divided over how well the war is going with 47% saying it is going very or fairly well and half saying not too well or not at all well. By contrast 78% of Republicans say the war is going at least fairly well while just 36% of Democrats say the same.



Only a minority of respondents say they have changed their mind about the decision to go to war in Iraq, and about equal portions on both sides of the war decision say their views have stayed the same on Iraq. Eight-in-ten (83%) of those who think the U.S. made the right decision on Iraq report they have always felt this way, while just 15% say they have changed their mind on this issue. Similarly, 79% of those who think it was the wrong decision say they've always felt this way; 21% report having changed their mind.

Most See Successful Outcome

Six-in-ten Americans believe the U.S. will succeed in establishing a stable government in Iraq, compared with a third who think the U.S. will probably or definitely fail at this goal. Younger respondents are more optimistic in this regard than are older people; 64% of those below age 50 believe the U.S. is likely to succeed in Iraq, compared with 53% of those ages 50 and older.

The partisan divide on this issue is evident, with independents mostly optimistic in this judgment. A majority of independents (57%) believe the U.S. will probably or definitely succeed at establishing a stable democracy in Iraq while 38% of independents think failure is likely. More than eight-in-ten (83%) Republicans think the U.S. will succeed in

Will the U.S. Succeed in Iraq?					
	Will %	Won'	<u>t</u> <u>DK</u> %		
All	60	, -	7=100		
Men	61	33	6=100		
Women	59	33	8=100		
Under age 50	64	_	5=100		
50 and older	53		11=100		
Republican	83	11	9=100		
Democrat	45	46			
Independent	57	38			

Iraq. Democrats are divided on the likelihood of success with 45% optimistic and 46% pessimistic.

Perceptions that most Iraqi people support America's policies there are closely related to opinions of likely success or failure. Among those who think most Iraqis support America's current policies in Iraq, fully 84% expect success in establishing democracy there. This compares with 43% expecting success among those who see most Iraqis as opposed to U.S. policies in Iraq.

Is it Time to Withdraw?

A narrow majority (52%) believes the U.S. should keep troops in Iraq until the situation there has stabilized, while 43% say the U.S. should bring troops home as soon as possible; opinion on this is largely unchanged over recent months. But, by a 50% to 34% margin, more people are concerned that the U.S. will wait too long to withdraw troops from Iraq than worry about leaving Iraq before a stable democracy is in place.

Several different factors contribute to opinion about what to do with the troops, including beliefs about the original decision to use force, how well the military effort is going, views on the likelihood of success, and perceptions of support for U.S. policies in Iraq among the Iraqi people.

Those who see the war in Iraq going at least fairly well are inclined to keep troops in Iraq (70%), while only a third of those who view the war effort more negatively agree on this point. A similar pattern is seen among those who support and oppose the decision to use force in Iraq.

People who are optimistic that the U.S. will be able to establish a democracy in Iraq mostly want the troops to remain until the country is stabilized (69% compared to 28% who want to bring troops home as soon as possible). Those expecting failure take the opposite view, with 70% of this group wanting to bring troops home as soon as possible.

The same pattern occurs among those who perceive majority support or opposition for U.S. policies in Iraq among the Iraqi people. More than three-quarters (77%) of those who think most Iraqis support U.S. policies think the troops should stay until the situation is stabilized. By the same token, 63% of those who think most Iraqis oppose U.S. policies in Iraq want the troops home as soon as possible.

Independents split about evenly on this issue (49% to 47%). Three-quarters of Republicans believe the U.S. should keep troops in Iraq until it is stable; but only about four-in-ten Democrats (38%) favor keeping American troops in Iraq, while a majority at 55% favors withdrawing them as soon as possible.

Division Over Continued Troop Commitment					
1	Keep troops %	Bring home %	<u>DK</u> %		
All	52	43	5=100		
Men Women	57 48	37 47	6=100 5=100		
Male veteran? Yes No	64 55	35 38	1=100 7=100		
Republican Democrat Independent	75 38 49	22 56 47	3=100 6=100 4=100		
Iraq war going Very/fairly well Not too/not at all	70 33	26 63	4=100 4=100		
Use of force Right decision Wrong decision	73 31	23 64	4=100 5=100		
Succeed in Iraq? Will Won't	69 25	28 70	3=100 5=100		
Most Iraqis Support Oppose	77 33	20 63	3=100 4=100		

There is a sizable gender gap over whether to bring troops home, with women about evenly divided and men much more inclined to keep troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized. Men who have served in the military are significantly more likely than other men to think U.S. troops should stay in Iraq until it has stabilized; 64% of male veterans say this compared to 55% among men who are not veterans.

Mixed Views on a Timetable

The public is divided over the idea of setting a timetable for withdrawal from Iraq; 49% support a timetable and 45% do not. Support for setting a timetable on troop withdrawal is high among those who think the U.S. is unlikely to establish a stable democratic government in Iraq. Two-thirds of those who believe the U.S. will fail at establishing a stable democracy in Iraq favor a timetable, while those who think the U.S. will succeed lean against a timetable (56% opposed and 40% in favor).

Both sides of the timetable issue see potential dangers from their preferred course of action, however. A majority (53%) of those who support a timetable for withdrawal say they are concerned that Iraqi insurgents will wait out American forces and gain power. By the same token, opposition to setting a timetable does not mean that citizens have no concerns about the length of troop deployment. A majority (55%) of those opposed to setting a timetable for withdrawal report concern that American troops will have to stay in Iraq for a very long time. And a majority of both those for and against setting a timetable expect U.S. troops to remain in Iraq at least two more years.

Conflicted Over a Timetable Setting a timetable All for troop withdrawal % Should 49 Should not 45 Should leave now (Vol.) Don't know 6 100 Concerned insurgents will wait out U.S. forces?* Concerned 53 Not too concerned 42 <u>5</u> Don't know 100 (N=685) Concerned troops will stay a very long time?** Concerned 55 Not too concerned 42 3 Don't know 100 (N=724) Which concerns you more? Leaving too soon 34 50 Waiting too long Neither (Vol.) 9 Don't know 7 *Asked if said "should set a timetable." **Asked if said "should not set a timetable."

Is There an Exit Strategy?

More than six-in-ten (64%) are skeptical that President Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful endpoint, up slightly from 61% in February 2005. Democrats and independents overwhelmingly believe that Bush does not have a clear plan (85% and 72%, respectively). Republicans say Bush does have a clear plan by a 58% to 30% margin.

Even people who are optimistic that the U.S. will succeed in establishing a stable democracy in Iraq are divided over whether or not Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation to a successful endpoint (46% say he does not have a clear plan while 44% think he does). Nearly all (93%) of those who think the U.S. will fail say that Bush does not have a clear plan.

Those who think U.S. troops should stay in Iraq until the situation has stabilized are divided over whether or not Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation to a close. About half of this group (47%) express skepticism that Bush has a clear plan while 44% say he does.

Most of those endorsing a timetable for withdrawal are skeptical that Bush has a clear plan

% % % 9=100 All 27 64 (751)Use of force Right decision 52 10 = 100(355)38 Wrong decision 5 2 = 10093 (343)58 Republican 30 12=100 (239)9 Democrat 85 6 = 100(261)Independent 23 72 5=100 (200)Succeed in Iraq? 44 Will 46 10=100 (437)Won't 3 93 4 = 100(264)U.S. in Iraq Keep troops in 44 9 = 100(412)Bring home 10 83 7 = 100(295)Set timetable? Yes 14 78 8 = 100(343)No 45 8 = 100(355)

Does Bush Have A Clear Plan in Iraq?

No

Yes

DK

(N)

for bringing the situation to a successful conclusion; 78% say Bush doesn't have a clear plan. Those against setting a timetable are divided over whether or not Bush has a clear plan with 45% saying he does and 47% saying he does not.

The president also is faulted for how he has explained his plans for Iraq. About two-thirds of the public (68%) say that President Bush has not clearly explained his plans for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, just 28% say that he has. Even those who support the decision to use force in Iraq are divided over this point, with 48% saying Bush's explanation has not been clear enough and 49% saying otherwise.

While opinion about the war in Iraq has long been politically polarized, about four-in-ten Republicans (43%) are critical of Bush's explanation of his plans for concluding the war. They are joined by large majorities of independents (78%) as well as Democrats (86%).

Iraq Hurting War on Terror

The public is growing more skeptical that the war in Iraq is helping in the effort to fight terrorism. A plurality (47%) believes that the war in Iraq has hurt the war on terrorism, up from 41% in February of this year. Further, a plurality (45%) now says that the war in Iraq has increased the chances of terrorist attacks at home, up from 36% in October 2004, while fewer say that the war in Iraq has lessened the chances of terrorist attacks in the U.S. (22% now and 32% in October). Another three-in-ten believe that the war in Iraq has no effect on the chances of a terrorist attack in the U.S.

Growing Skepticism that War Lessens Domestic Terror Threat						
% saying war has reduced chances of terror attack						
cne	ances of Oct	<i>terror</i> July	анаск			
		2005	Diff.			
	%	%				
Total	32	22	-10			
Republican	59	42	-17			
Democrat	15	8	-7			
Independent	25	16	-9			
Use of force						
Right decision	58	39	-19			
Wrong decision	8	3	-5			

Older Americans are more skeptical than younger people that the war in Iraq is helping the effort to fight

terrorism. A 56% majority of those age 50 and over say the war in Iraq has hurt the war on terrorism, up from 39% in February. Those younger than age 50 are divided on this issue, with 45% saying the war in Iraq has helped and 41% saying it hurt the war on terrorism; that pattern has remained stable since February.

Those who believe that most Iraqis support America's current policies in Iraq are also more positive about the war's impact on fighting terrorism; 64% of this group say the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism. A similar portion (66%) of those who think most Iraqis oppose America's policies in Iraq think the war has hurt the effort to fight terrorism.

Those who support the decision to use force in Iraq have less clear cut views, however, when it comes to helping reduce the chances of an attack on U.S. soil; a narrow 39% plurality believes the war in Iraq lessened the chances of a U.S. attack, while 34% say it had no impact, and 25% think it increased the chances of a terrorist attack here. This is a dramatic change from last October when 59% of those supporting the decision to use force believed the war in Iraq lessened the chances of a U.S. attack. By contrast, a clear majority of those who oppose the war believe it has increased the chances of terrorism hitting the U.S., up from 60% in October 2004 to 71% now.

Republicans have become more skeptical that the war in Iraq has reduced the chances of a terrorist attack in the U.S. About four-in-ten Republicans (42%) believe the war in Iraq lessened the chances of a terrorist attack in the U.S., down from 58% in October. Democrats have long been dubious that the war in Iraq has decreased the chances of a terrorist attack in the U.S.; 15%

expressed that view last October, which has declined to 8% currently. Fewer independents also believe the war has reduced the possibility of terrorism in the U.S.

Rating Anti-Terrorism Efforts

The July 7 terrorist attacks in London have had no effect on public views of the U.S. government's ability to reduce the threat of terrorism. Seven-in-ten say the government is doing very well (17%) or fairly well (53%) reducing the threat of terrorism, which is consistent with surveys over the past two years. Majorities of Republicans (89%), independents (59%), and Democrats (63%) rate the government's anti-terrorism efforts positively.

There has been only a modest increase in concern that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States. A quarter of Americans say they are very worried, up modestly from 17% last fall (see "Tempered Public Reaction to London Attacks," July 11).

About three-in-ten (28%) say the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater now than at the time of the 9/11 attacks. This is up somewhat since last July (24%); however, a plurality (40%) continues to express the view that the capability of terrorists to mount a major attack is about the same as it was on 9/11.

Only about three-in-ten (31%) say the government has gone too far in restricting civil liberties for the average person. A majority (52%) believes that the country has not gone far enough to guard against terrorism; that viewpoint is largely unchanged from one year ago. However, most Americans (53%) believe it is not necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties in order to curb terrorism; four-in-ten think that some reduction of civil liberties is necessary to achieve this goal.

ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a nationwide sample of 1,502 adults, 18 years of age or older, from July 13-17, 2005. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on Form 1 (N=751) or Form 2 (N=751) only, the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 4 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.

IRAQ WAR EFFORT

Question:

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

Regardless of what you think about the original decision to use military force in Iraq, do you now believe that the United States will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in establishing a stable democratic government in Iraq?

Continued on next page...

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

	Military force against Iraq			Establishing a stable democracy			
	Right	Wrong					
	decision	decision	DK/Ref	Succeed	<u>Fail</u>	DK/Ref	(N)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	49	44	7=100	60	33	7=100	(1502)
Region							
East	48	46	6	56	36	8	(288)
Midwest	49	43	8	65	37	8	(345)
South	53	41	6	64	30	6	(542)
West	43	50	7	50	41	8	(327)
Religious Affiliation							
Total White Protestant	63	33	4	71	22	7	(608)
- Evangelical	68	28	4	74	20	6	(341)
- Non-Evangelical	56	39	5	68	24	8	(267)
White Catholic	54	42	4	70	27	3	(252)
Secular	35	58	7	47	47	6	(206)
Party ID							
Republican	82	11	7	83	11	6	(476)
Democrat	28	67	5	45	46	9	(513)
Independent	43	52	5	57	38	5	(413)
Party and Ideology							
Conservative Republican	88	8	4	85	9	6	(306)
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	74	18	8	80	15	5	(157)
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	32	63	5	54	41	5	(303)
Liberal Democrat	22	73	5	32	56	12	(192)
Bush Approval							
Approve	84	10	6	86	8	6	(670)
Disapprove	19	77	4	37	56	7	(723)
Male Veterans							
Male Veteran	51	43	6	63	29	8	209)
Male Non-Veteran	52	44	4	61	34	5	(499)
Parents							
Yes	56	38	6	65	30	5	(439)
No	46	48	6	57	35	8	(1043)
Labor Union		-			-		/
Union Household	43	50	7	58	36	6	(220)
Non-Union Household	50	44	6	60	33	7	(1245)
	- 0		9		22	•	()

IRAQ WAR'S EFFECT ON TERRORISM

	June 2004			July 2005				
		(VOL)			(VOL)			
	Helped	Hurt	No effec	t DK/Ref	Helped	<u>Hurt</u>	No effect	DK/Ref
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	43	44	4	9=100	39	47	7	7=100
Sex								
Male	48	43	4	5	42	45	5	8
Female	39	45	5	11	36	48	8	8
Race								
White	47	39	5	9	43	43	7	7
Non-white	28	63	3	6	26	61	6	7
Black	20	71	4	5				
Hispanic*	36	52	5	7				
Race and Sex								
White Men	52	39	4	5	48	40	4	8
White Women	43	39	6	12	38	46	9	7
Age								
Under 30	43	48	5	4	39	45	5	11
30-49	47	43	4	6	48	38	9	5
50-64	46	42	4	8	34	55	4	7
65+	32	43	5	20	25	57	7	11
Sex and Age								
Men under 50	50	43	3	4	47	38	6	9
Women under 50	41	47	5	7	43	43	9	5
Men 50+	45	42	5	8	34	55	4	7
Women 50+	36	43	4	17	27	57	6	10
Education								
College Grad.	45	44	4	7	44	47	4	5
Some College	46	43	4	7	42	43	6	9
High School Grad.	44	42	5	9	39	43	10	8
< H.S. Grad.	33	49	3	15	24	64	3	9
Family Income								
\$75,000+	51	39	4	6	46	39	9	6
\$50,000-\$74,999	50	38	6	6	47	47	3	3
\$30,000-\$49,999	48	41	4	7	48	42	5	5
\$20,000-\$29,999	38	48	5	9	30	53	8	9
<\$20,000	31	54	4	11	26	57	9	8

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

Question: Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

Continued on next page...

	June 2004 (VOL)			July 2005 (VOL)				
	Helped	Hurt		t DK/Ref	Helped	Hurt	No effect	DK/Dof
	<u>11erpeu</u> %	11u11 %	%	<u> </u>	<u>Helpeu</u>	<u>11u1t</u>	NO Effect	DK/Kei
Total	43	44	4	9=100	39	47	7	7=100
Region								
East	36	54	4	6	42	47	8	3
Midwest	44	39	5	12	43	43	6	8
South	47	40	4	9	39	43	8	10
West	43	45	5	7	32	57	4	7
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	52	34	4	10	47	38	6	9
- Evangelical	57	28	4	11	55	32	3	10
- Non-Evangelical	47	40	4	9	36	46	10	8
White Catholic	46	43	5	6	56	33	5	6
Secular	28	59	7	6				
Community Size								
Large City	36	54	3	7				
Suburb	44	43	4	9				
Small City/Town	44	42	5	9				
Rural Area	49	37	5	9				
Party ID								
Republican	69	20	3	8	69	17	5	9
Democrat	23	63	4	10	25	63	7	5
Independent	41	48	6	5	30	58	6	7
Party and Ideology								
Conservative Republican	76	14	3	7	75	11	8	6
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	56	33	3	8	60	29	2	9
Conservative/Mod. Dem.	24	62	4	10	31	58	6	5
Liberal Democrat	23	67	4	6	18	73	5	4
Bush Approval								
Approve	69	20	3	8	69	16	7	8
Disapprove	16	72	5	7	16	73	7	4
Male Veterans								
Male Veteran	49	42	4	5	41	52	4	3
Male Non-Veteran	48	43	4	5	43	44	5	8
Labor Union								
Union Household	37	51	6	6	42	48	5	5
Non-Union Household	45	42	4	9	39	48	6	7

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS JULY 2005 NEWS INTEREST INDEX / RELIGION FINAL TOPLINE July 13-17, 2005

N=1,502

QUESTIONS 1 THROUGH 24 IN PREVIOUS RELEASE

ASK ALL:

Turning to the subject of Iraq ...

Q.25 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

	Right	Wrong	Don't know/
	decision	decision	Refused
July, 2005	49	44	7=100
June, 2005	47	45	8=100
February, 2005	47	47	6=100
January, 2005	51	44	5=100
December, 2004	49	44	7=100
November, 2004 (RVs)	48	41	11=100
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12=100
Early October, 2004	50	39	11=100
Early September, 2004	53	39	8=100
August, 2004	53	41	6=100
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	55	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	7=100
Late April, 2004	54	37	9=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100
April 10-16, 2003	74	19	7=100
April 8-9, 2003	74	19	7=100
April 2-7, 2003	72	20	8=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	25	6=100
March 25-27, 2003	74	21	5=100
March 23-24, 2003	74	21	5=100
March 20-22, 2003	71	22	7=100
Late January, 1991	77	15	9=100

ASK IF RIGHT DECISION IN Q.25:

Q.26RIGHT Have you always felt this way, or have you changed your mind about the war?

- 41 Always felt this
- 7 Changed mind
- 1 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)
- 49% Right Decision

ASK IF WRONG DECISION IN Q.25:

Q.26WRONG Have you always felt this way, or have you changed your mind about the war?

- 35 Always felt this
- 9 Changed mind
- * Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)
- 44% Wrong Decision

ASK ALL:

Q.27 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [**READ IN ORDER**]

	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	Don't know/
	well	well	<u>well</u>	well	Refused
July, 2005	14	38	27	17	4=100
June, 2005	9	41	27	19	4=100
February, 2005	14	40	25	17	4=100
January, 2005	9	39	29	20	3=100
December, 2004	10	40	28	18	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	13	38	26	17	6=100
Early September, 2004	12	40	26	18	4=100
August, 2004	12	41	28	16	3=100
July, 2004	13	42	26	16	3=100
June, 2004	16	41	25	14	4=100
May, 2004	10	36	32	19	3=100
Late April, 2004	12	43	26	15	4=100
Early April, 2004	14	43	26	13	4=100
Mid-March, 2004	16	45	26	11	2=100
Early February, 2004	17	46	23	11	3=100
Mid-January, 2004	22	51	18	6	3=100
Early January, 2004	23	47	18	7	5=100
December, 2003	28	47	16	6	3=100
October, 2003	16	44	25	11	4=100
September, 2003	15	47	26	9	3=100
August, 2003	19	43	24	11	3=100
Early July, 2003	23	52	16	5	4=100
April 10-16, 2003	61	32	3	1	3=100
April 8-9, 2003	60	32	3	3	2=100
April 2-7, 2003	55	37	3	2	3=100
March 25-April 1, 2003	39	46	8	2	5=100
March 23-24, 2003	45	41	6	2	6=100
March 20-22, 2003	65	25	2	1	7=100

Q.28 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

	Keep troops	Bring troops	Don't know/
	<u>in Iraq</u>	<u>home</u>	Refused
July, 2005	52	43	5=100
June, 2005	50	46	4=100
February, 2005	55	42	3=100
January, 2005	54	41	5=100
December, 2004	56	40	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	57	36	7=100
Early September, 2004	54	40	6=100
August, 2004	54	42	4=100
July, 2004	53	43	4=100
June, 2004 ¹	51	44	5=100
May, 2004	53	42	5=100
Late April, 2004	53	40	7=100
Early April, 2004	50	44	6=100
Early January, 2004	63	32	5=100
October, 2003	58	39	3=100
September, 2003	64	32	4=100

IF "KEEP TROOPS IN IRAQ" (1 IN Q.28) ASK:

Q.29 Do you think more troops are needed in Iraq right now, or do you think there are already enough troops there to do the job?

			Early		
		June	Jan	Oct	Sept
		2004	2004	2003	2003
16	More troops needed	18	29	32	34
27	Have enough there to do the job	23	26	21	25
*	Reduce number of troops (VOL.)	*	*	*	*
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
52%		51%	63%	58%	64%

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=751]:

Q.30F1 Do you think George W. Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

	Has a clear	Doesn't have	Don't know/
	<u>plan</u>	a clear plan	Refused
July, 2005	27	64	9=100
February, 2005	32	61	7=100
Early October, 2004	35	55	10=100
Early September, 2004	36	55	9=100
August, 2004	36	58	6=100
July, 2004	34	59	7=100
June, 2004	37	55	8=100
Late April, 2004	36	54	10=100
Early April, 2004	32	57	11=100
December, 2003	44	45	11=100

In June 2004 and earlier, the question was worded: "Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?"

Q.30F1 CONTINUED	Has a clear	Doesn't have	Don't know/
	<u>plan</u>	a clear plan	Refused
October, 2003	35	54	11=100
September, 2003	32	58	10=100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=751]:

Q.31F2 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly his plans for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or do you think he has not explained his plans clearly enough?

									Late	Mid-	Late	NY Times
		Dec	Oct	Sept	March	Feb	Jan	Dec	Oct	Sept	Aug	Aug
		2003	2003	2003	2003^{2}	2003	2003	2002	2002	2002	2002	1990^{3}
28	Explained clearly	35	32	30	49	53	42	48	48	52	37	50
68	Not clearly	59	63	63	47	40	53	45	45	37	52	41
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=751]:

Q.32F1 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

			(VOL)	Don't know/
	<u>Helped</u>	<u>Hurt</u>	No effect	Refused
July, 2005	39	47	7	7=100
February, 2005	44	41	7	8=100
Mid-October, 2004	45	40	6	9=100
Early September, 2004	46	40	6	8=100
August, 2004	45	44	4	7=100
July, 2004	43	45	5	7=100
June, 2004	43	44	4	9=100
Mid-March, 2004	50	37	5	8=100
Late February, 2004	62	28	3	7=100
Early February, 2004	55	32	7	6=100
December, 2003	59	26	6	9=100
September, 2003	54	31	7	8=100
May, 2003	65	22	6	7=100
April, 2003 ⁴	63	22		15=100
Early October, 2002	52	34		14=100

From 2002 through March 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?"

New York Times trend was worded: "Do you think George Bush has explained clearly what's at stake and why the U.S. is sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or do you think ..."

In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?" In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=751]:

Q.33F2 In the long run, do you think the war in Iraq has increased the chances of terrorist attacks in the U.S., lessened the chances, or has it made no difference?

		Mid-Oct	Early Sept	Nov
		<u>2004</u>	2004	2002^{5}
45	Increased	36	34	45
22	Lessened	32	32	18
30	No difference	28	31	30
_3	Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.34 Based on what you've seen and read, do MOST people in Iraq support or do most oppose America's current policies in Iraq?

		Early		
		April	Dec	Sept
		2004	2003	2003
38	Support	37	47	39
44	Oppose	48	34	47
<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>15</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=751]:

Q.35F1 Which concerns you more... [READ AND ROTATE]

		Early April 2004	Mid-Jan 2004
34	That the U.S. will leave Iraq before a stable democracy is in place	36	41
	OR		
50	That the U.S. will wait too long to withdraw its troops from Iraq	52	48
9	Neither (VOL.)	2	5
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=751]:

Q.36F2 How much longer do you think United States troops will have to remain in Iraq – for less than a year, one to two years, two to five years, or will the U.S. troops have to stay in Iraq for longer than five years?

				-	CBS/New York Times				
		Feb	July	June	April	March	Dec	July	
		<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	2003	<u>2003</u>	
9	Less than a year	11	17	17	8	8	15	13	
23	One to two years	27	31	33	27	22	34	31	
31	Two to five years	32	27	26	33	35	31	31	
27	Longer than five years	22	17	16	25	26	12	18	
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

The question from the November 2002 Global Attitudes survey was worded: "In the long run, do you think a war with Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule is likely to increase the chances of terrorist attacks in the U.S., lessen the chances, or will it make no difference?"

ASK ALL:

- 0.37 Do you think the U.S. should or should not set a timetable for when troops will be withdrawn from Iraq?
 - 49 Should set a timetable
 - 45 Should not set a timetable
 - Should get out now (VOL.)
 - Don't know/Refused (VOL.) 6 100

IF "SHOULD SET A TIMETABLE" (1 IN Q.37) ASK [N=685]:

- If the U.S. DOES set a timetable for withdrawing troops, are you concerned that the insurgents in Iraq will just wait out American forces and then gain power, or aren't you too concerned about that?
 - 53 Concerned
 - 42 Not too concerned
 - 5 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

100

IF "SHOULD NOT SET A TIMETABLE" (2 IN Q.37) ASK [N=724]:

- 0.39 If the U.S. does NOT set a timetable for withdrawing troops, are you concerned that American troops will have to stay in Iraq for a very long time, or aren't you too concerned about that?
 - 55 Concerned
 - 42 Not concerned
 - $\frac{3}{100}$ Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

- Q.40 Regardless of what you think about the original decision to use military force in Iraq, do you now believe that the United States will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in establishing a stable democratic government in Iraq?
 - 17 Definitely succeed
 - Probably succeed 43
 - 25 Probably fail
 - 8 Definitely fail
 - Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

NO QUESTIONS 41 THROUGH 64

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=751]:

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

Q.65F1 Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks?

		July	Late Aug
		<u>2004</u>	2002
28	Greater	24	22
40	The same	39	39
29	Less	34	34
_3	Don't know/refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=751]:

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

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

				(RVs)				
				Early		Early	Oct	Oct
		July	Aug	Nov	June	Nov	15-21	10-14
		2004	2003	2002	<u>2002</u>	2001	2001	2001
17	Very well	18	19	15	16	35	38	48
53	Fairly well	53	56	54	60	46	46	40
19	Not too well, OR	17	16	19	16	9	9	6
8	Not at all well	8	7	8	4	5	4	2
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=751]:

Q.67F1 In order to curb terrorism in this country, do you think it is necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?

						Mid-			
		July	Aug	June	Jan	Sept	April	March	L.A. Times
		2004	2003^{6}	2002	2002	2001	1997	1996	April 1995
40	Yes, it is necessary	38	44	49	55	55	29	30	49
53	No, it is not necessary	56	50	45	39	35	62	65	43
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	6	6	<u>10</u>	9	<u>5</u>	8
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=751]:

Q.68F2 What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism policies? [READ AND ROTATE]

		July
		<u>2004</u>
	That they have not gone far enough to adequately	
52	protect the country	49
	OR	
	That they have gone too far in restricting the average	
31	person's civil liberties	29
10	Neither / Approve of policies (VOL .)	11
_7	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>
100		100

In 2003 and earlier the question was worded: "In order to curb terrorism in this country, do you think it will be necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?

Now, just a few questions for statistical purposes only... PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

					(VOL)	(VOL)		
					No	Other		
Trend		Republican	Democrat	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Preference</u>	Party	Don't know	
	July, 2005	31	34	29	4	*	2=100	
	June, 2005	30	32	32	4	*	2 = 100	
	Mid-May, 2005	30	34	29	4	*	3=100	
	Late March, 2005	29	32	36	2	*	1=100	
	Mid-March, 2005	30	34	29	4	*	3=100	
	February, 2005	31	32	30	4	1	2 = 100	
	January, 2005	32	33	30	4	*	1=100	
	December, 2004	31	34	30	3	*	2 = 100	
	Mid-October, 2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100	
	Late September, 2004	4 29	30	31	6	*	4=100	
	Mid-September, 2004	4 29	31	30	5	*	5=100	
	Early September, 200	04 30	33	31	3	*	3=100	
	August, 2004	31	35	27	4	*	3=100	
	July, 2004	29	33	32	3	*	3=100	
Yearly T	Totals							
•	2004	30	33	30	4	*	3=100	
	2003	30	31	31	5	*	3=100	
	2002	30	31	30	5	1	3=100	
	2001	29	34	29	5	*	3=100	
	2001 Post-Sept 11	31	32	28	5	1	3=100	
	2001 Pre-Sept 11	28	35	30	5	*	2=100	
	2000	28	33	29	6	*	4=100	
	1999	27	33	34	4	*	2 = 100	
	1998	28	33	32	5	*	2 = 100	
	1997	28	33	32	4	1	2 = 100	
				No Preference/				
		Republican	Democrat	Independent	Other/DK			
	1996	29	33	33	5=100			
	1995	32	30	34	4=100			
	1994	30	32	34	4=100			
	1993	27	34	34	5=100			
	1992	28	33	35	4=100			
	1991	31	32	33	4=100			
	1990	31	33	30	6=100			
			Independent/					
	Republican Democrat No Pref/Oth/DK							
	1989	33	33	34=100				
	1987	26	35	39=100				

IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

			Refused
	Republican	<u>Democrat</u>	to lean
July, 2005	9	15	11=35%
June, 2005	10	16	12=38%
Mid-May, 2005	9	13	14=36%
Late March, 2005	13	17	9=39%
December, 2004	14	12	9=35%
August, 2003	12	16	14=42%
August, 2002	12	13	13=38%
September, 2000	11	13	15=39%
Late September, 1999	14	15	16=45%
August, 1999	15	15	12=42%