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THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Americans Assess US Security Policy

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: 11/21/06- 11/29/06
Sample Size: 1326

Margin of Error: +/- 2.7 % [full sample]
+/- 3.9 % [1/2 sample]

Q1. When you follow the news these days, how interested are you in news about the relations of the United States with other countries?

	WPO 11/06	CCGA 07/06
Very interested.....	34%	38%
Somewhat interested.....	46	46
Hardly interested.....	11	10
Don't follow the news.....	9	6
(No Answer).....	*	*
Very interested/Somewhat interested	80%	
Republicans.....	86	
Democrats	83	
Independents	69	
Hardly interested/Don't follow the news	20%	
Republicans.....	15	
Democrats	17	
Independents	30	

Q2. Currently, there is some debate whether it is important for people around the world to feel goodwill toward the US. Which statement is closer to your view:

Goodwill towards the US is important in order to obtain cooperation in dealing with important threats to US security, and because the opposite, hostility towards the US, can lead people to actively work against the US. 80%

 Republicans.....71

 Democrats91

 Independents75

Goodwill is not really critical for the US because it is so much stronger than all other countries. Trying to be popular can tie the US's hands and distract the US from pursuing its security.17

 Republicans.....28

 Democrats8

 Independents19

(No Answer).....3

Q3. Some people think that when people in other parts of the world are facing instability and feeling insecure, this creates conditions that diminish US security. Others think that the US is so strong that such conditions in other parts of the world have little real impact on US security. How much would you say instability and insecurity in other parts of the world impact US security?

A great deal 39%

Some48

Just a little9

Hardly at all.....4

(No Answer).....1

A great deal/Some..... 87%

 Republicans.....91

 Democrats90

 Independents77

Just a little/Hardly at all 13%

 Republicans.....9

 Democrats10

 Independents20

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q4. As you may know, Iran has been enriching uranium against the wishes of the US and the UN Security Council. Do you think the US:

	11/06	10/06*
Should demand Iran first stop enriching uranium before entering into talks	46%	39%
Republicans.....	62	50
Democrats	36	33
Independents	42	34
 Should not impose preconditions on Iran before entering into talks.....	 50	 55
Republicans.....	36	47
Democrats	62	60
Independents	49	56
 (No Answer).....	 4	 6

Q5: Over the last few years, do you think that people around the world have grown more afraid or less afraid that the US will use military force against them?

More afraid.....	63%
Republicans.....	57
Democrats	69
Independents	60
 Less afraid.....	 34
Republicans.....	39
Democrats	30
Independents	34
 (No Answer).....	 4

* In October 2006, the question was worded “When another country, such as Iran or North Korea, is engaging in activities the US opposes, as a general rule the US...”

[HALF-SAMPLE A]

Q6. As a general rule, if leaders of some countries grow more afraid that the US will use military force against them, do you think, on balance, this tends to be:

Good for US security, because then they are more likely to refrain from doing things the US does not want them to do	33%
Republicans.....	53
Democrats	20
Independents	29
 Bad for US security, because it makes them seek out new means of protecting themselves from the US, such as acquiring weapons of mass destruction	63
Republicans.....	45
Democrats	76
Independents	66
 (No Answer).....	4

[HALF-SAMPLE B]

Q7: As a general rule, if leaders of some countries grow more afraid that the US will use military force against them, do you think, on balance, this tends to increase or decrease the likelihood that countries will try to acquire weapons of mass destruction?

Increase the likelihood	80%
Republicans.....	68
Democrats	90
Independents	78
 Decrease the likelihood.....	15
Republicans.....	26
Democrats	9
Independents	12
 (No Answer).....	5

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q8: Which position is closer to yours:

The only way to counter the threat of terrorism is to find and destroy terrorists. It is naïve and pointless to try to understand their intentions or imagine that we can address any of their concerns.....	35%
Republicans.....	55
Democrats	20
Independents	33
Trying to destroy terrorists is not enough because if we are too heavy-handed, it just breeds more hostility and more terrorists. It is necessary to address the sources of the hostility in the larger societies that the terrorists come from	61
Republicans.....	41
Democrats	76
Independents	60
(No Answer).....	4

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q9: Please indicate which of the following two statements comes closer to your own view.

The threat of terrorism is the most important issue of our time, and we should be willing to do whatever it takes to fight it	27%
Republicans.....	47
Democrats	16
Independents	20
While terrorism is an important threat it is important to remember that it is not the only one we face. We should not let our concern about terrorism overwhelm all other priorities	71
Republicans.....	50
Democrats	83
Independents	77
(No Answer).....	2

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q10: Some say that a campaign of repeated air strikes could fully destroy Iran’s nuclear program. Others say that even if air strikes took out some targets Iran would just rebuild its nuclear facilities in hidden underground shelters. Do you think that it is or is not possible to fully destroy Iran’s nuclear program through air strikes?

Is possible.....	37%
Republicans.....	48
Democrats	27
Independents	37
Is not possible	59
Republicans.....	49
Democrats	71
Independents	51
(No Answer).....	5

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q11. Do you think the US should deal with the government of Iran primarily by:

Trying to build better relations	75%
Republicans.....	56
Democrats	88
Independents	80
Pressuring it with implied threats that the US may use military force against it	22
Republicans.....	40
Democrats	11
Independents	16
(No Answer).....	3

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q12a. As you may know, there are debates about whether the US should have diplomatic talks with countries that are doing things that the US opposes. Please select which position is closer to yours.

The US should:

Not talk to such countries but isolate them so as to pressure them to change their behavior.....	16%
Republicans.....	28
Democrats	10
Independents	10
Be willing to talk with such countries because isolating them often provokes them to increase the behavior the US opposes...	82
Republicans.....	71
Democrats	89
Independents	85
(No Answer).....	3

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q12b. As you may know, there are debates about whether the US should have diplomatic talks with countries that are doing things that the US opposes. Please select which position is closer to yours.

The US should:

Talk to such countries because communication increases the chance of finding a mutually agreeable solution	84%
Republicans.....	79
Democrats	91
Independents	82
Not talk to such countries because talking to them gives them recognition and effectively rewards their bad behavior.....	13
Republicans.....	19
Democrats	8
Independents	12
(No Answer).....	3

Q13. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
 The United States should look beyond its own self-interest and do what's best for the world as a whole, because in the long run this will probably help make the kind of world that is best for the US.

Agree.....	71%
Republicans.....	59
Democrats	79
Independents	72
Disagree	25
Republicans.....	38
Democrats	18
Independents	20
(No Answer).....	5

Q14. As you may know, there is a controversy about whether, as a general rule, the US should be willing to make commitments to countries that the US is having problems with, such as Iran and North Korea, that it will not attack them. Here are two positions about this issue. Please indicate which comes closer to your view.

The US should be willing to make such commitments, because they provide reassurance to these countries, and refusing to do so increases their fear that the US will attack them, which often leads them to do things that are negative for US security	45%
Republicans.....	31
Democrats	55
Independents	45

The US should not be willing to make such commitments, because it is important for the US to be able to put pressure on these countries to change their behavior by keeping open the possibility that the US might attack them.	48
Republicans.....	63
Democrats	41
Independents	42
(No Answer).....	7

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q15. Do you think the US military presence in Iraq is currently:

	11/06	3/06	10/04
A stabilizing force.....	35%	43%	46%
Republicans.....	68	75	75
Democrats	14	19	19
Independents	30	37	50
Provoking more conflict than it is preventing.....	60	55	51
Republicans.....	27	24	24
Democrats	85	78	77
Independents	60	62	49
(No Answer).....	5	2	3

Q16: To try to address the problem of stabilizing Iraq, there is a debate about whether to work with Iraq’s neighboring countries with whom we have other disputes. Do you think it is a good idea or bad idea for the US to have talks with Iran?

Good idea.....	75%
Republicans.....	72
Democrats	81
Independents	71
Bad idea	21
Republicans.....	25
Democrats	17
Independents	20
(No Answer).....	4

Q17: What about having such talks with Syria?

Good idea.....	75%
Republicans.....	72
Democrats	82
Independents	69
Bad idea	19
Republicans.....	23
Democrats	15
Independents	19

(No Answer).....6

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q18: Is it your impression that the attacks on US forces in Iraq are approved of by:

	11/06	3/06
A majority of the Iraqi people.....	15%	12%
Republicans.....	11	8
Democrats	20	17
Independents	12	9
About half of the Iraqi people.....	39	40
Republicans.....	35	28
Democrats	41	45
Independents	39	51
A minority of the Iraqi people	43	45
Republicans.....	53	62
Democrats	38	33
Independents	38	38
(No Answer).....	4	3

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q19. Would you favor having a major conference where leaders from the US, Europe, the UN, and various Arab countries would meet with leaders of the new Iraqi government to coordinate efforts to help Iraq achieve greater stability and economic growth, or do you think it is best for other countries to stay out of Iraq’s affairs?

	11/06	3/06
Favor a major conference where new Iraqi government meets leaders from US, Europe, the UN, and various Arab countries	79%	77%
Republicans.....	79	81
Democrats	80	78
Independents	77	72
Best for other countries to stay out of Iraq’s affairs	18	21
Republicans.....	19	18
Democrats	18	27
Independents	16	19
(No Answer).....	3	2

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q20. Do you think the majority of the Iraqi people favor or oppose the US having permanent military bases in Iraq?

	11/06	3/06	10/04
Favor	27%	21%	21%
Republicans.....	48	38	29
Democrats	20	9	14
Independents	15	17	21
Oppose	66	77	76
Republicans.....	48	60	66
Democrats	77	90	83
Independents	72	81	78
(No Answer).....	6	2	4

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q21. Do you think the US should or should not have permanent military bases in Iraq?

	11/06	3/06	10/04
Should	27%	27%	30%
Republicans.....	44	39	39
Democrats	21	17	22
Independents	19	27	33
Should not	68	71	67
Republicans.....	53	60	58
Democrats	77	82	77
Independents	70	70	66
(No Answer).....	5	2	3

[If “SHOULD” OR “SKIP” IN Q21]

Q21a. What if the newly elected Iraqi government is opposed to the US having permanent military bases? In that case, do you think the US should or should not have such bases?

	11/06*	3/06
Should	11%	12%
Should not	17	15
(No Answer).....	4	*

* All responses percent of total.

Q22: Which of the following do you think the US-led forces in Iraq should do?

Withdraw all US-led forces within six months.....	18%
Republicans.....	8
Democrats	25
Independents	19
Gradually withdraw US-led forces according to a one-year timeline	25
Republicans.....	14
Democrats	36
Independents	22
Gradually withdraw US-led forces according to a two-year timeline	15
Republicans.....	13
Democrats	17
Independents	15
Only reduce US-led forces as the security situation improves in Iraq	38
Republicans.....	64
Democrats	20
Independents	34
(No Answer).....	4

Q23: At this point do you think the majority of the Iraqi people want the US to

Commit to withdraw US forces according to a timeline of no more than a year	58%
Republicans.....	35
Democrats	75
Independents	61
Stay longer than a year.....	36
Republicans.....	59
Democrats	22
Independents	31
(No Answer).....	6

Q24: If the majority of the Iraqi people say they want the US to commit to withdraw US forces according to a timeline of no more than a year, do you think the US should or should not do so?

Should	73%
Republicans.....	67
Democrats	82
Independents	66
Should not	23
Republicans.....	31
Democrats	16
Independents	24
(No Answer).....	4

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q25: What if a large majority of the Iraqi people want the US to commit to withdraw within a year, but the Iraqi government wants the US to remain longer? In that case do you think the US should commit to withdraw within a year or stay longer?

Should commit to withdraw within a year.....	52%
Republicans.....	34
Democrats	65
Independents	54
Stay longer	41
Republicans.....	61
Democrats	33
Independents	32
(No Answer).....	6

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q26. Since the US has invaded and occupied Iraq, some people think that Iran is now more likely to make weapons of mass destruction to deter the US from attacking Iran. Others think that Iran is now less likely to make weapons of mass destruction because it is more afraid that the US will attack Iran if does make them. Do you think that since the US has invaded and occupied Iraq, Iran is now:*

	11/06	4/03
More likely to make weapons of mass destruction.....	61%	24%
Republicans.....	49	
Democrats	71	
Independents	61	
Less likely to make weapons of mass destruction	30	68
Republicans.....	42	
Democrats	25	
Independents	23	
(No Answer).....	9	

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q27. Some people think that the US invasion of Iraq increased the determination of North Korea to develop nuclear weapons because it became more afraid the US would attack North Korea. Others think the invasion of Iraq had no effect on North Korea either way. Do you think that the US invasion of Iraq:

Increased the determination of North Korea to develop nuclear weapons	36%
Republicans.....	21
Democrats	45
Independents	40
Had no effect either way	59
Republicans.....	76
Democrats	54
Independents	48
(No Answer).....	5

* In 4/03 the phrase “toppled the Iraqi government” was used and in 11/06 it was replaced by “invaded and occupied Iraq” in two sentences within the question.

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q28: As a general rule, when countries, such as India or Pakistan, have acquired nuclear weapons, what effect do you think this has had on their security: has this increased their security, decreased it, or on balance neither increased nor decreased their security?

Increased their security	26%
Republicans.....	23
Democrats	31
Independents	23
Decreased their security	14
Republicans.....	14
Democrats	16
Independents	13
Neither increased nor decreased their security	55
Republicans.....	59
Democrats	50
Independents	56
(No Answer).....	5

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q29: Do you think that if the US demands that Iran stop enriching uranium and threatens to use air strikes against its enrichment facilities, Iran would or would not stop enriching uranium?

Would.....	16%
Republicans.....	19
Democrats	14
Independents	15
Would not.....	79
Republicans.....	77
Democrats	85
Independents	73
(No Answer).....	5

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q30: If the Iraqi government were to ask the US to commit to withdraw US forces according to a timeline of no more than a year, do you think the US should or should not agree to do so?

Should	77%
Republicans.....	73
Democrats	87
Independents	67
Should not	19
Republicans.....	24
Democrats	12
Independents	24
(No Answer).....	4

Q31: As you may know, the United States and most of the world’s countries have signed a treaty called the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty or NPT. According to this treaty, the countries that have nuclear weapons have agreed to actively work together toward eliminating their nuclear weapons. The countries that do not have nuclear weapons, including Iran, have agreed not to try to acquire them. Were you aware that the US has agreed to this?

	11/06	3/04
Yes	51%	39%
Republicans.....	59	
Democrats	49	
Independents	45	
No.....	46	59
Republicans.....	40	
Democrats	50	
Independents	47	
(No Answer).....	3	2

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q32: Do you think it was a good idea or a bad idea for the United States to agree to be part of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty?

	11/06	3/04*
Good idea	78%	84%
Republicans.....	79	
Democrats	85	
Independents	66	
Bad idea	15	14
Republicans.....	18	
Democrats	11	
Independents	19	
(No Answer).....	7	2

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q33: Do you approve of the United States continuing to be a member of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or do you think the US should withdraw from it?

Should continue as a member	79%
Republicans.....	76
Democrats	82
Independents	78
Should withdraw from the NPT	15
Republicans.....	18
Democrats	14
Independents	12
(No Answer).....	7

* In March 2004, the question was worded “Do you think it was a good idea or a bad idea for the US to agree to work toward eliminating nuclear weapons as part of the Non-Proliferation Treaty?”.

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q34: Do you favor or oppose the goal of eventually eliminating all nuclear weapons, which is stated in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)?

Favor	82%
Republicans.....	73
Democrats	87
Independents	84
Oppose	14
Republicans.....	22
Democrats	10
Independents	9
(No Answer).....	5

[HALF-SAMPLE B]

Q35: The United States and other countries with nuclear weapons are obliged under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to actively work together toward eliminating nuclear weapons. Please say how well you think the United States is fulfilling this obligation.

Very well.....	15%
Republicans.....	25
Democrats	11
Independents	9
Somewhat well.....	40
Republicans.....	47
Democrats	39
Independents	34
Not very well.....	28
Republicans.....	20
Democrats	33
Independents	30
Not at all well.....	9
Republicans.....	3
Democrats	12
Independents	10
(No Answer).....	9

[HALF-SAMPLE B]

Q36: Do you favor or oppose the idea of having a nuclear weapons free zone in the Middle East that would include both Islamic countries and Israel?

Favor strongly	41%
Favor somewhat	30
Oppose somewhat	12
Oppose strongly	9
(No Answer).....	9
Favor strongly/Favor somewhat	71%
Republicans.....	79
Democrats	75
Independents	56
Oppose somewhat/Oppose strongly.....	21%
Republicans.....	19
Democrats	18
Independents	26

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q37: As you may know, the US has been trying to get North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons program. North Korea has said that it will only do so under certain conditions. Here are two of the key conditions—though there are others. Please say whether you think the US should or should not be willing to agree to each condition:

Q37a: The US and North Korea signing a formal declaration that they will not attack each other

	11/06	12/04
Should be willing to agree to this	71%	72%
Republicans.....	61	
Democrats	82	
Independents	66	
Should not be willing to agree to this	24	23
Republicans.....	35	
Democrats	17	
Independents	21	
(No Answer).....	5	5

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q37b: The US increasing food aid to North Korea

	11/06	12/04
Should be willing to agree to this	58%	56%
Republicans.....	48	
Democrats	69	
Independents	53	
Should not be willing to agree to this	36	38
Republicans.....	49	
Democrats	30	
Independents	32	
(No Answer).....	6	5

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q38: If Iran were to develop nuclear weapons do you think this would:

Increase its security because it would be able to threaten nuclear retaliation against an attacker.....	23%
Republicans.....	17
Democrats	29
Independents	23
Decrease its security because other countries in the region could feel threatened and might want to develop nuclear weapons too.....	72
Republicans.....	79
Democrats	70
Independents	66
(No Answer).....	5

Q39: Currently there is a debate about whether the US government should announce that it has the goal of removing the existing government of another country that it sees as a problem, such as the government of Iran. Some people say that this is a good idea because it creates moral clarity and strengthens opposition to the government both inside and outside that country. Others say it is a bad idea because it violates the principle of national sovereignty and when countries feel threatened they are less cooperative and more likely to use dangerous means to protect themselves. Do you think announcing that the US has the goal of removing an existing government that it sees as a problem, is

A good idea.....	21%
Republicans.....	28
Democrats	18
Independents	18
A bad idea	72
Republicans.....	67
Democrats	78
Independents	68
(No Answer).....	7

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q40: As you may know, the US and other members of the UN Security Council are trying to get Iran to refrain from enriching uranium as part of its nuclear energy program, because this could lead to the ability to develop nuclear weapons.

Some people have suggested that the US should be willing to commit to not attack Iran, on the condition that Iran commits to refrain from enriching uranium.

Others say that the US should not be willing to commit to not attack Iran, because Iran does other things that are negative for US security interests, so the US should keep the option of threatening Iran with military strikes.

Do you think the US should or should not be willing to commit to not attack Iran, on the condition that Iran commits to refrain from enriching uranium?

Should be willing to make a commitment	47%
Republicans.....	38
Democrats	51
Independents	49
Should not be willing to make a commitment	45
Republicans.....	56
Democrats	45
Independents	34

(No Answer).....8

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q41: As you may know, the US and other countries have demanded that Iran stop enriching uranium out of concern that this could lead to Iran gaining the ability to develop nuclear weapons. However, Iran has refused, insisting that it is only enriching uranium for its nuclear energy program, not to build nuclear weapons. Here is a proposal some people have offered for resolving this impasse. Iran should be able to enrich uranium, but only on two conditions:

- 1) Enrichment must be limited to the low levels necessary for nuclear energy, while enrichment to higher levels needed for nuclear weapons would be forbidden.
- 2) Iran must fully cooperate with the UN inspectors, allowing full access to make inspections throughout the country, to make certain Iran is limiting its uranium enrichment to low levels.

Proponents of this idea say that this is a safe approach, because if Iran were to try to cheat, it would take them years to enrich uranium to the higher levels necessary for nuclear weapons, and with full access for UN inspectors they would be caught.

Critics of this idea say that Iran should not be allowed to enrich uranium at all, because doing so would give them technical experience that would put them in a strong position if they later decide to violate the agreement and build nuclear weapons.

Do you think it is a good idea or not a good idea to make an agreement whereby Iran would be allowed to enrich uranium, provided that this is limited only to low levels and UN inspectors would have full access to make sure that enrichment remained at low levels?

Good idea	55%
Republicans	53
Democrats	62
Independents	48
Not a good idea	38
Republicans	41
Democrats	34
Independents	41
(No Answer).....	7

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:

Republican	24%
Independent.....	20
Democrat.....	28
Other	3
DK/No preference.....	25

[IF “OTHER,” “NO PREFERENCE” “INDEPENDENT” OR SKIP at D1]

D1c. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:

Republican Party.....	8% *
Democratic Party	11
Neither	29

D1c. Who did you support in the election for Congress in the House of Representative in November 2006?

Republican candidate.....	31%
Democratic candidate	45
Other	17
Refused	7

D3. What is your religious preference? Do you consider yourself:

Christian.....	68%
Jewish.....	2
Muslim	1
Buddhist.....	1
Hindu.....	1
Other religion	7
No religious preference.....	15
Agnostic	1
Atheist.....	2
(No answer).....	2

[IF “CHRISTIAN” at D3]

D3a. Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or evangelical?

Yes	21% †
No.....	30

* Percent of total
 † Percent of total.

No opinion	16
(No answer).....	1

D4. Age

18-29	22%
30-44	28
45-59	28
60+	22

D5. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	14%
High School Graduate.....	32
Some College	27
College Graduate	26

D6. Race/Ethnicity

White, Non-Hispanic	70%
Black, Non-Hispanic.....	11
Other, Non-Hispanic	5
Hispanic	13
2+ Races, Non-Hispanic	1

D7. Gender

Male	48%
Female.....	52

D8. Region

Northeast.....	19%
Midwest.....	22
South	36
West	23

METHODOLOGY

In the United States, the poll of 1326 respondents was fielded November 21-November 29 with a margin of error of +/- 2.7-3.9% depending on the sample size for each question. The poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks, using its nationwide panel, which is randomly selected from the entire adult population and subsequently provided internet access. For more information about this methodology, go to www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.