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For The People & The Press

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Growing Number Sees Iraq Becoming ‘Another Vietnam’
BAKER-HAMILTON REPORT EVOKES MODEST PUBLIC INTEREST

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Growing Number Sees Iraq Becoming ‘Another Vietnam’

BAKER-HAMILTON REPORT EVOKES MODEST PUBLIC INTEREST

Despite deep public dissatisfaction with the Iraq war, the highly anticipated report by a bipartisan panel proposing new policy options for Iraq did not register strongly with most Americans. Only about half say they heard even a little about the report released last week by the Iraq Study Group led by James Baker and Lee Hamilton, while about as many (47%) say they heard nothing at all about the group’s recommendations.

The panel’s major proposals have won fairly broad acceptance among those familiar with them. Six-in-ten of those who have heard at least a little about the Baker-Hamilton report say they mostly agree with its major recommendations. There also is majority support for several of the specific steps proposed by the group, including launching talks with Iran and Syria to encourage their cooperation in Iraq (69%) and shifting the primary mission of U.S. troops from fighting insurgents to supporting the Iraqi army (62%).

However, the public is highly dubious that the study group’s recommendations will be accepted by the Bush administration. Fully 57% of those who have heard something about the Iraq Study Group’s report say the administration will *not* follow the panel’s major recommendations, compared with only about half that number (28%) who believe the administration will accept its proposals.

At the same time, the public has grown more negative about the situation in Iraq and President Bush’s handling of the war. Half of Americans now believe that the war in Iraq will turn out to be another Vietnam, while just a third think that the U.S. will accomplish its goals there. As recently as April, opinion on this issue was evenly divided (43% felt the U.S. would accomplish its goals vs. 41% who said it will be another Vietnam). And just 23% approve of President Bush’s handling of the situation in Iraq – down nine points since August. Bush’s overall job approval mark of 32% is unchanged from November, though it remains the lowest of his presidency.

Baker-Hamilton: Initial Reactions

<i>Heard about group’s report:</i>	%
A lot	16
A little	36
Nothing at all	47
Don’t know	<u>1</u>
	100

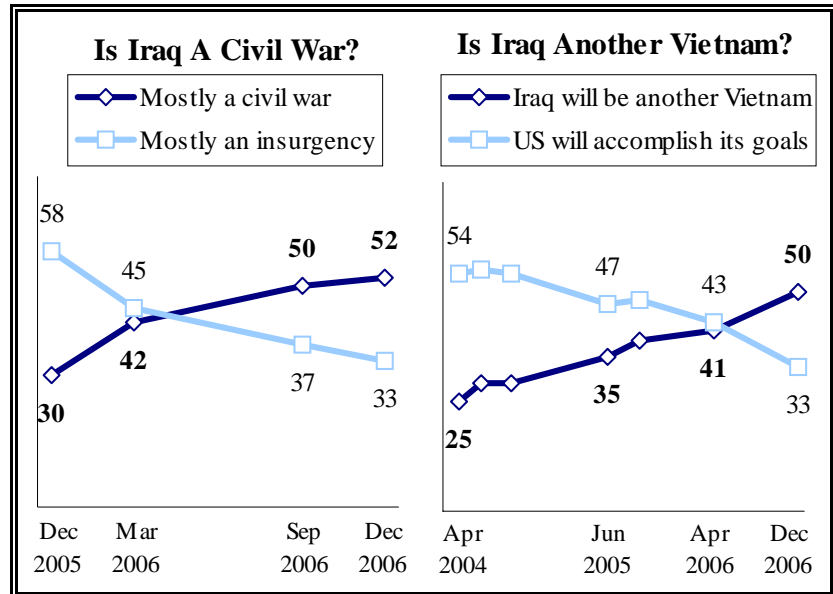
<i>Opinion of the recommendations*:</i>	%
Mostly agree	60
Mostly disagree	17
Don’t know	<u>23</u>
	100

<i>Will Bush follow the recommendations?*</i>	
Yes	28
No	57
Don’t know	<u>15</u>
	100

* Asked of those who have heard a lot/little about Iraq Study Group (N = 887)

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Dec. 6-10 among 1,502 adults, finds that 52% currently describe the violence in Iraq as “mostly a civil war,” rather than an insurgency against the U.S. and its allies. While this is largely unchanged from September, it represents a major shift from a year ago. In December 2005, just 30% viewed the violence in Iraq as mostly a civil war while 58% said it was an insurgency aimed at the U.S. and its allies.

The survey finds that public support for setting a timetable for withdrawing U.S. forces from Iraq has increased modestly over the past few months. Currently, 58% say the U.S. should set a timetable for withdrawing the troops, while 34% are opposed to that step. In two October surveys, smaller majorities favored setting a timetable for bringing the troops home (53% in early October, 54% in late October).



There also has been slight movement on the question of whether U.S. troops should remain in Iraq until the situation there stabilizes, or be brought home as soon as possible. Half of Americans say the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible, while 44% think they should stay in Iraq until it is stable. In recent months, opinion on this issue has been more evenly divided; the 50% in favor of a rapid troop withdrawal equals the highest percentage expressing this view (in March 2006).

As public perceptions of the situation in Iraq have deteriorated, so too have views of the situation in Afghanistan. Americans are divided about whether the war against terrorist organizations in Afghanistan has been mostly a success (45%) or mostly a failure (42%). Last January, more people viewed the military effort in Afghanistan as mostly a success rather than a

failure (by 52%-30%). Democrats, in particular, are now decidedly less positive about the military effort in Afghanistan; just 28% feel the war has been mostly a success, down from 41% in January.

Support for the decision to use force in Afghanistan also has slipped. About six-in-ten (61%) endorse that decision, down from 69% in January. Nonetheless, many more Americans feel that the use of force in Afghanistan was the right decision than say the same about using military force in Iraq (61% vs. 42%).

Opinions of Baker-Hamilton

There is no partisan divide in awareness of the Baker-Hamilton report, but Democrats and Republicans have different views and expectations about its recommendations. Just over half of Democrats, Republicans and independents say they have heard at least a little about the Iraq Study Group's report.

By a margin of 67%-12%, Democrats who are aware of the report say they mostly agree with its recommendations, and the balance of opinion among independents is virtually identical (67% mostly agree, 16% mostly disagree). While a larger share of Republicans (29%) disagree with the report's recommendations, a plurality of Republicans (49%) mostly agree with the proposals. This is the case even when the analysis is limited to self-described conservatives within the party, who tend to agree with the report's suggestions by a 48% to 30% margin.

Republicans and Democrats also differ over the prospects that the Bush administration will follow the Iraq Study Group's major recommendations. By roughly four-to-one (70%-17%), Democrats say the administration will not follow the Baker-Hamilton proposals; independents by a smaller but substantial margin agree (60%-29%). A slight

<i>War has been mostly a success</i>	<u>Jan</u> %	<u>Dec</u> %	<u>Change</u> %
Total	52	45	-7
Republican	72	68	-4
Democrat	41	28	-13
Independent	52	48	-4
<i>Use of force was right decision</i>			
Total	69	61	-8
Republican	90	79	-11
Democrat	56	47	-9
Independent	70	68	-2

	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %
<i>Heard a lot/little about report</i>	53	54	54
<i>If heard about... The report's recommendations*</i>			
Mostly agree	49	67	67
Mostly disagree	29	12	16
Don't know	<u>22</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Will Bush follow the recommendations?*</i>			
Yes	44	17	29
No	40	70	60
Don't know	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100
* Asked of those who have heard a lot/little about the Iraq Study Group report.			

plurality of Republicans (44%) believe the administration will follow the major recommendations of the Baker-Hamilton panel, though nearly as many (40%) disagree.

There is fairly strong bipartisan support for several of the major proposals of the Baker-Hamilton commission. While 72% of Democrats endorse the idea of starting talks with

Iran and Syria to encourage their cooperation in the Iraq effort, 62% of Republicans agree. When it comes to the idea of shifting the primary mission of U.S. troops from fighting insurgents to supporting the Iraqi Army, Republicans are slightly more supportive (70% favor) than are Democrats (60%) or independents (61%).

Bipartisan Support for Recommendations				
<i>Percent who favor</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
Starting talks with Iran & Syria to encourage their cooperation	69	62	72	76
Shifting mission from fighting insurgents to supporting Iraqi army	62	70	60	61
Trying harder to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict	59	62	56	62
Ending support of Iraqi govt if they fail to make progress	52	48	55	55

Divided Over Iraq-Vietnam Comparisons

Half of the American public now thinks the Iraq war will turn out to be another Vietnam, but opinions differ dramatically across party lines. Two-thirds of Democrats (67%) and just over half of independents (53%) see Iraq as another Vietnam, compared with just 23% of Republicans. Still, even among Republicans, optimism about the war is declining: in April 73% believed the U.S. would accomplish its goals in Iraq; currently, 58% think the U.S. will achieve its objectives.

Views about how to characterize the current violence in Iraq also vary according to party identification, although less sharply. Overall, a narrow majority (52%) considers the current violence in Iraq a civil war, including majorities of independents (58%) and Democrats (55%). While Republicans are less likely to believe this, a 47% plurality nonetheless views the current violence in Iraq as mostly a civil war, while 38% describe the violence there primarily as an insurgency aimed against the U.S. and its allies.

Iraq Not Another Vietnam, for Republicans				
<i>Will war in Iraq be another Vietnam?</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
Another Vietnam	50	23	67	53
US will achieve goals	33	58	19	31
Too early to tell (VOL)	5	5	3	5
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Current violence in Iraq is mostly a...</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
Civil war	52	47	55	58
Anti-US insurgency	33	38	30	31
Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100

In general terms, most Americans continue to believe the war in Iraq is going poorly. As was

the case in November, 64% say U.S. military efforts are going not too well or not well at all. Perceptions of progress in Iraq also continue to be divided sharply by party: Just 17% of Democrats and 30% of independents think the war is going well, but a solid majority of Republicans (57%) say military efforts in Iraq are moving in the right direction.

More Favor a Timetable

The number of Americans who believe the U.S. should set a timetable for the withdrawal of American troops from Iraq is at an all-time high (58%). Only about third (34%) reject setting a timetable for bringing the troops home. As recently as September, the public was roughly split between those who supported (47%) and those who opposed (45%) a timetable.

This increase in support for a timetable over the last three months has been particularly strong among independents: in September half (50%) of independents favored a timetable, compared to 64% now. But Republicans are also significantly more likely to back a timetable now (40%) than they were three months ago (31%). And two-thirds of Democrats (67%) currently favor a timetable, up six percentage points from September.

Support for a Timetable Grows			
<i>Favor a timetable for withdrawal</i>			
	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Change</u>
	%	%	
Total	47	58	+11
Republicans	31	40	+9
Democrats	61	67	+6
Independents	50	64	+14

Half Say Bring Troops Home

Half of the public (50%) now says the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible, while 44% believe the U.S. should keep troops there until the situation has stabilized. Opinion on bringing the troops home is now at the same level as in March; that survey followed the Feb. 22 bombing of a Shia mosque in Samarra, which incited a wave of sectarian conflict.

Two-thirds of Democrats (67%) say the U.S. should bring its troops home, compared with just 29% who favor keeping troops in Iraq as long as necessary to bring stability. Independents are almost evenly split on this issue; 49% say bring the troops home and 47% believe U.S. forces should stay. Most Republicans (68%) continue to favor keeping troops in Iraq, although the number of Republicans favoring withdrawal has risen eight points over the last month, from 19% to 27%.

Most of those who favor withdrawal believe it should be done on a gradual basis rather than immediately. About a third of the public (32%) says the troops should be withdrawn over the next year or two, compared with 18% who believe they should be removed from Iraq immediately. Even Democrats, who overwhelmingly favor bringing troops home as soon as possible, tend to prefer gradual (41%) over immediate (25%) withdrawal.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
Bring troops home	50	27	67	49
<i>Remove all troops immediately</i>	18	7	25	17
<i>Gradually over next 1-2 years</i>	32	19	41	32
Keep troops in Iraq	44	68	29	47
<i>More troops needed</i>	17	26	12	18
<i>Have enough to do job</i>	20	32	13	21
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100

People who think the U.S. should keep troops in Iraq until the situation is stable are divided between those who say we have sufficient forces to do the job (20%) and those who feel more troops are needed (17%). About a quarter of Republicans (26%) believe more U.S. troops should be sent to Iraq.

Most Still See Iraqis as Better Off

Despite increasing sectarian violence in Iraq and growing frustration with the war in the U.S., most Americans (57%) believe the Iraqi people are better off now than they were when Saddam Hussein was in power. This includes solid majorities of Republicans (80%) and independents (58%). Democrats are almost evenly divided on this question (44% worse off, 42% better off). Opinions about whether Iraqis are better or worse off are correlated with views of the decision to go to war. A large majority (86%) of those who feel the decision to use force was the right decision think the Iraqis are better off, while only one-third of those who say the war was a mistake think Iraqis are in a better situation now.

	<u>Total</u>	<i>Decision to use force was...</i>	
	%	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>
<i>Iraqis are...</i>	%	%	%
Better off	57	86	33
Worse off	30	10	49
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100
<i>In long run, Iraqis will be...</i>			
Better off	71	91	55
Worse off	18	6	30
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100

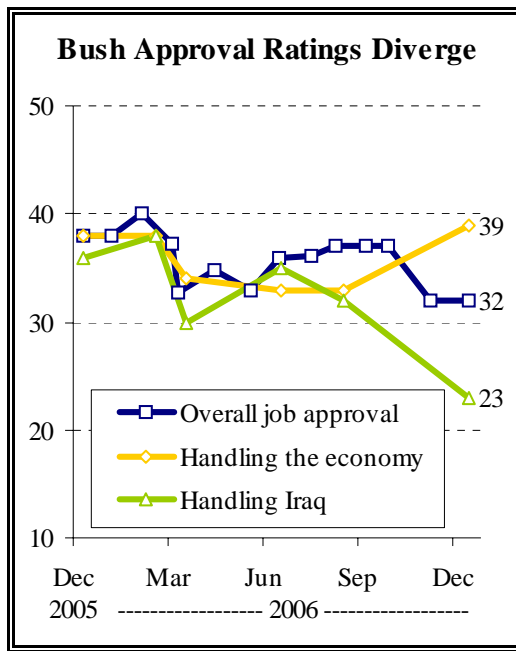
When respondents are asked whether the Iraqi people will be better or worse off in “the long run” than they were under Saddam Hussein’s rule, optimism increases significantly; 71% say Iraqis will be better off in the long run, while just 18% say they will be worse off. Even among those who say the decision to use military force in Iraq was a mistake, 55% think Iraqis will eventually be better off. And the partisan divide that shapes most

questions regarding Iraq is less stark here: large majorities of Republicans (86%), independents (67%), and Democrats (66%) feel things will ultimately be better for the Iraq people than they were under Saddam.

Bush Approval: Down on Iraq, Up on Economy

While George W. Bush’s job approval rating overall has held relatively steady in recent months, the public has become significantly more critical of his handling of Iraq. Currently, just 23% approve of how Bush is handling the situation in Iraq, down from 32% in August, and 36% a year ago in December 2005. Meanwhile, disapproval has spiked up to 71% from 61% in August and 58% last December.

The president’s own partisans have shifted the most in their evaluations of his handling of the Iraq situation. In August, Republicans approved of Bush’s Iraq performance by a margin of 69% to 24%. Today, just 53% of Republicans approve, while disapproval has risen 15 percentage points, to 39%.



At the same time, public approval of the president’s handling of the economy has risen modestly, from 33% in August to 39% today. This reflects a slight shift in the views of Republicans and Democrats, but a sizable change of opinion among independents. In August, just 24% of independents approved of Bush’s handling of the economy, compared with 39% today.

Situation	August		December		Change in approval
	App-rove %	Dis-app %	App-rove %	Dis-app %	
Situation in Iraq					
Total	32	61	23	71	-9
Republican	69	24	53	39	-16
Democrat	6	89	6	92	0
Independent	24	69	21	73	-3
The economy					
Total	33	59	39	53	+6
Republican	66	24	74	21	+8
Democrat	8	86	14	80	+6
Independent	24	67	39	52	+15

Monthly News Interest

About four-in-ten Americans (42%) say they followed news about the situation in Iraq very closely, which is little changed from November (44%). Somewhat fewer say they very closely tracked news about the incoming Democratic leaders in Congress and the rebuilding efforts in areas hit by Hurricane Katrina (29% each).

Just 16% say they paid very close attention to news of the death of a former Russian spy by radiation poisoning, while 13% tracked news about ethnic violence in the Darfur region in Sudan very closely.

As expected, far more Democrats (41%) than Republicans (24%) followed news about incoming Democratic congressional leaders. However, there also are partisan differences in attentiveness to news about rebuilding from Katrina and in ethnic violence in Darfur. Twice as many Democrats as Republicans say they paid very close attention to news about the violence in Sudan (18% vs. 9%).

Iraq Top News Story	
	Following <u>very closely</u> %
Situation in Iraq	42
News about Dem leaders	29
Post-Katrina rebuilding	29
Death of former Russian spy	16
Ethnic violence in Darfur	13

ABOUT THIS 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 December 6-10, 2006. 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=750) and Form 2 (N=752) the sampling error 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.

ABOUT THE CENTER

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

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

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

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
DECEMBER 2006 NEWS INTEREST INDEX
FINAL TOPLINE
December 6-10, 2006
N=1,502

ROTATE Q.1 AND Q.2

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush 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 George W. Bush is handling his job as president? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>App- rove</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>Don't know</u>		<u>App- rove</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
December, 2006	32	57	11=100	September, 2003	55	36	9=100
Mid-November, 2006	32	58	10=100	Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100
Early October, 2006	37	53	10=100	Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100
September, 2006	37	53	10=100	Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100
August, 2006	37	54	9=100	Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100
July, 2006	36	57	7=100	June, 2003	62	27	11=100
June, 2006	36	54	10=100	May, 2003	65	27	8=100
April, 2006	33	56	11=100	<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	72	22	6=100
Early April, 2006	35	55	10=100	<i>April 9, 2003</i>	74	20	6=100
March, 2006	33	57	10=100	<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	69	25	6=100
February, 2006	40	52	8=100	<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	71	23	6=100
January, 2006	38	54	8=100	<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	70	24	6=100
December, 2005	38	54	8=100	<i>March 20-24, 2003</i>	67	26	7=100
Early November, 2005	36	55	9=100	March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
Late October, 2005	40	52	8=100	February, 2003	54	36	10=100
Early October, 2005	38	56	6=100	January, 2003	58	32	10=100
September 8-11, 2005	40	52	8=100	December, 2002	61	28	11=100
September 6-7, 2005	40	52	8=100	Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
July, 2005	44	48	8=100	Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
June, 2005	42	49	9=100	Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Late May, 2005	42	48	10=100	Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
Mid-May, 2005	43	50	7=100	Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
Late March, 2005	49	46	5=100	August, 2002	67	21	12=100
Mid-March, 2005	45	46	9=100	Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
February, 2005	46	47	7=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
January, 2005	50	43	7=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
December, 2004	48	44	8=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
August, 2004	46	45	9=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
July, 2004	46	46	8=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
June, 2004	48	43	9=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
May, 2004	44	48	8=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100	Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100	Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100	Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100	August, 2001	50	32	18=100
February, 2004	48	44	8=100	July, 2001	51	32	17=100
Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100	June, 2001	50	33	17=100
Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100	May, 2001	53	32	15=100
December, 2003	57	34	9=100	April, 2001	56	27	17=100
November, 2003	50	40	10=100	March, 2001	55	25	20=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100	February, 2001	53	21	26=100

QUESTIONS 2-4 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

Q.5 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?
How about [NEXT ITEM]?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. The economy	39	53	8=100
August, 2006	33	59	8=100
June, 2006	33	57	10=100
March, 2006	34	57	9=100
February, 2006	38	55	7=100
December, 2005	38	55	7=100
Late October, 2005	36	56	8=100
Early September, 2005	33	60	7=100
July, 2005	38	53	9=100
Mid-May, 2005	35	57	8=100
February, 2005	43	50	7=100
January, 2005	45	50	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	38	55	7=100
Early September, 2004	44	49	7=100
August, 2004	42	52	6=100
July, 2004	42	52	6=100
June, 2004	43	50	7=100
Early April, 2004	39	53	8=100
Mid-January, 2004	47	47	6=100
September, 2003	43	48	9=100
February, 2003	43	48	9=100
January, 2003	47	45	8=100
Early October, 2002	49	40	11=100
June, 2002	53	36	11=100
January, 2002	60	28	12=100
Early September, 2001	47	44	9=100
February, 2001	50	22	28=100
b. The situation in Iraq	23	71	6=100
August, 2006	32	61	7=100
June, 2006	35	57	8=100
March, 2006	30	65	5=100
February, 2006	38	57	5=100
December, 2005	36	58	6=100
Late October, 2005	37	57	6=100
Early September, 2005	34	58	8=100
July, 2005	35	57	8=100
Mid-May, 2005	37	56	7=100
February, 2005	40	53	7=100
January, 2005	45	50	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	37	56	7=100
Early September, 2004	47	45	8=100
August, 2004	43	52	5=100
July, 2004	42	53	5=100
June, 2004	42	51	7=100
Late April, 2004	44	48	8=100
Early April, 2004	40	53	7=100
Mid-January, 2004	59	37	4=100

Q.5 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
September, 2003	52	40	8=100
April 10-16, 2003 ¹	77	17	6=100
April 8-9, 2003	71	23	6=100
--April 9, 2003	76	18	6=100
--April 8, 2003	65	28	7=100
April 2-7, 2003	73	21	6=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	26	5=100
March 25-27, 2003	73	23	4=100
March 23-24, 2003	72	22	6=100
March 20-22, 2003	70	23	7=100
February, 2003	56	37	7=100
January, 2003	56	36	8=100
Early October, 2002	56	34	10=100
c. Terrorist threats	48	44	8=100
August, 2006	50	39	11=100
June, 2006	47	41	12=100
March, 2006	42	49	9=100
February, 2006	53	40	7=100
December, 2005	49	44	7=100
Late October, 2005	52	40	8=100
Early September, 2005	49	41	10=100
July, 2005	49	40	11=100
Mid-May, 2005	57	35	8=100
February, 2005	59	34	7=100
January, 2005	62	33	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	49	40	11=100
Early September, 2004	62	32	6=100
August, 2004	58	37	5=100
July, 2004	54	40	6=100
June, 2004	56	35	9=100
Late April, 2004	55	36	9=100
Early April, 2004	53	38	9=100
<i>Gallup</i> : December, 2003	65	33	2=100
September, 2003	64	28	8=100
February, 2003	67	25	8=100
January, 2003	69	23	8=100
Early October, 2002	71	22	7=100
June, 2002	74	18	8=100
Mid-September, 2001 ²	85	6	9=100
Clinton : Early September, 1998	72	20	8=100
d. The nation's foreign policy	30	59	11=100
August, 2006	37	49	14=100
June, 2006	37	51	12=100
Late October, 2005	36	51	13=100

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

2 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.5 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
July, 2005	36	49	15=100
Mid-May, 2005	38	46	16=100
February, 2005	43	46	11=100
January, 2005	48	43	9=100
Mid-October, 2004	37	49	14=100
Early September, 2004	47	42	11=100
August, 2004	42	49	9=100
July, 2004	40	48	12=100
Mid-January, 2004	53	36	11=100
March, 2003	53	36	11=100
Early April, 2002	69	20	11=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 2001	81	14	5=100
Early September, 2001	46	34	20=100
August, 2001 ³	45	32	23=100
Clinton : September, 1997	54	34	12=100
Bush, Sr : May, 1990	58	30	12=100

Q.6 As I read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month, tell me if you happened to follow each news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. First, **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] [IF NECESSARY “Did you follow [ITEM] very closely, fairly closely, not too closely or not at all closely?”]**

	<u>Very closely</u>	<u>Fairly closely</u>	<u>Not too closely</u>	<u>Not at all closely</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. News about the current situation in Iraq	42	39	12	7	*=100
Mid-November, 2006	44	38	12	6	*=100
September, 2006	33	43	14	8	2=100
August, 2006	41	39	12	7	1=100
June, 2006	37	43	13	6	1=100
May, 2006	42	35	15	7	1=100
April, 2006	43	36	13	7	1=100
March, 2006	43	38	12	6	1=100
February, 2006	39	42	12	6	1=100
January, 2006	40	40	12	7	1=100
December, 2005	45	38	11	5	1=100
Early November, 2005	41	40	13	6	*=100
Early October, 2005	43	36	15	6	*=100
Early September, 2005	32	40	20	7	1=100
July, 2005	43	37	13	6	1=100
June, 2005	41	39	12	7	1=100
Mid-May, 2005	42	42	11	5	*=100
Mid-March, 2005	40	39	14	5	2=100
February, 2005	38	45	13	4	*=100
January, 2005	48	37	11	4	*=100
December, 2004	34	44	15	6	1=100
Mid-October, 2004	42	38	11	8	1=100
Early September, 2004	47	37	9	6	1=100
August, 2004	39	42	12	6	1=100
July, 2004	43	40	11	6	*=100

3 In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about 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.

Q.6 CONTINUED...

	<u>Very closely</u>	<u>Fairly closely</u>	<u>Not too closely</u>	<u>Not at all closely</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>	
June, 2004	39	42	12	6	1=100	
April, 2004	54	33	8	5	*=100	
Mid-March, 2004	47	36	12	4	1=100	
Early February, 2004	47	38	10	4	1=100	
Mid-January, 2004	48	39	9	4	*=100	
December, 2003	44	38	11	6	1=100	
November, 2003	52	33	9	5	1=100	
October, 2003	38	40	14	7	1=100	
September, 2003	50	33	10	6	1=100	
Mid-August, 2003	45	39	10	5	1=100	
Early July, 2003	37	41	13	8	1=100	
June, 2003	46	35	13	6	*=100	
May, 2003	63	29	6	2	*=100	
April 11-16, 2003 ⁴	47	40	10	2	1=100	
April 2-7, 2003	54	34	9	2	1=100	
March 20-24, 2003	57	33	7	2	1=100	
March 13-16, 2003 ⁵	62	27	6	4	1=100	
February, 2003	62	25	8	4	1=100	
January, 2003	55	29	10	4	2=100	
December, 2002	51	32	10	6	1=100	
Late October, 2002	53	33	8	5	1=100	
Early October, 2002	60	28	6	5	1=100	
Early September, 2002	48	29	15	6	2=100	
b.	News about the incoming Democratic leaders in Congress	29	36	19	15	1=100
c.	Ethnic violence in the Darfur region of Sudan	13	23	29	34	1=100
	May, 2006	16	22	27	33	2=100
	July, 2004 ⁶	14	22	27	35	2=100
d.	The death of a former Russian spy from radiation poisoning	16	30	28	25	1=100
e.	Rebuilding efforts in areas affected by Hurricane Katrina	29	40	21	9	1=100
	March, 2006	36	42	14	7	1=100
	December, 2005	39	40	15	5	1=100
	Early October, 2005 <i>Impact of Katrina and Rita</i>	73	21	4	2	*=100
	Early September, 2005 <i>Impact of Katrina</i>	70	21	7	2	*=100

4 From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed as “News about the war in Iraq.”

5 From October 2002 to March 13-16, 2003 the story was listed as “Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq.” In Early September 2002 the story was listed as “Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will invade Iraq.”

6 In 2004, the item was worded as “Ethnic violence in Sudan.”

QUESTIONS 7-19 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

Turning to the subject of Iraq ...

Q.20 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
December, 2006	42	51	7=100
Mid-November, 2006	41	51	8=100
Late October, 2006	43	47	10=100
Early October, 2006	45	47	8=100
Early September, 2006	49	43	8=100
August, 2006	45	46	9=100
July, 2006	44	50	6=100
June, 2006	49	44	7=100
April, 2006	47	46	7=100
March, 2006	45	49	6=100
February, 2006	51	44	5=100
January, 2006	45	47	8=100
December, 2005	47	48	5=100
Late October, 2005	48	45	7=100
Early October, 2005	44	50	6=100
Mid-September, 2005	49	44	7=100
July, 2005	49	44	7=100
June, 2005	47	45	8=100
February, 2005	47	47	6=100
January, 2005	51	44	5=100
December, 2004	49	44	7=100
November, 2004 (RVs)	48	41	11=100
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12=100
Early October, 2004	50	39	11=100
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
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	74	19	7=100
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	74	19	7=100
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	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

Q.20 CONTINUED...

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
March 20-22, 2003	71	22	7=100
Late January, 1991	77	15	8=100

Q.21 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ IN ORDER]

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
December, 2006	4	28	37	27	4=100
Mid-November, 2006	6	26	34	30	4=100
Late October, 2006	5	30	34	25	6=100
Early October, 2006	8	29	33	25	5=100
Early September, 2006	8	39	28	20	5=100
August, 2006	8	33	32	23	4=100
June, 2006	16	37	25	18	4=100
April, 2006	13	34	29	21	3=100
March, 2006	9	34	30	21	6=100
February, 2006	13	38	29	17	3=100
January, 2006	12	39	27	17	5=100
December, 2005	14	37	29	17	3=100
Early October, 2005	9	35	31	22	3=100
Mid-September, 2005	12	41	26	18	3=100
July, 2005	14	38	27	17	4=100
June, 2005	9	41	27	19	4=100
February, 2005	14	40	25	17	4=100
January, 2005	9	39	29	20	3=100
December, 2004	10	40	28	18	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	13	38	26	17	6=100
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
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>March 25-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7=100</i>

Q.22 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 <u>in Iraq</u>	Bring troops <u>home</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
December, 2006	44	50	6=100
Mid-November, 2006	46	48	6=100
Late October, 2006	46	47	7=100
Early October, 2006	47	47	6=100
Early September, 2006	47	47	6=100
August, 2006	48	46	6=100
June, 2006	50	45	5=100
April, 2006	48	48	4=100
March, 2006	44	50	6=100
February, 2006	50	46	4=100
January, 2006	48	48	4=100
December, 2005	49	46	5=100
Early October, 2005	47	48	5=100
Mid-September, 2005	51	45	4=100
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 ⁷	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.22) ASK:

Q.23 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?

	Mid- <u>Nov</u> <u>2006</u>	Aug <u>2006</u>	April <u>2006</u>	Early Oct <u>2005</u>	July <u>2005</u>	June <u>2004</u>	Early Jan <u>2004</u>	Oct <u>2003</u>	Sept <u>2003</u>
17 More troops needed	17	15	13	13	16	18	29	32	34
20 Have enough there to do the job	20	24	27	26	27	23	26	21	25
* Reduce number of troops (VOL.)	*	*	*	0	*	*	*	*	*
<u>7</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
44%	46%	48%	48%	47%	52%	51%	63%	58%	64%

7 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?”

IF “BRING TROOPS HOME” (2 IN Q.22) ASK:

Q.24 Should the U.S. remove all troops from Iraq immediately, or should the withdrawal of troops be gradual over the next year or two?

		Mid- Nov <u>2006</u>	Aug <u>2006</u>	April <u>2006</u>	Jan <u>2006</u>	Dec <u>2005</u>
18	Remove all troops immediately	16	15	18	14	17
32	Gradual withdrawal over the next year or two	31	30	29	32	28
*	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
50%		48%	46%	48%	48%	46%

ASK ALL:

Q.25 Some people are comparing Iraq to the war in Vietnam. Do you think Iraq will turn out to be another Vietnam, or do you think the U.S. will accomplish its goals in Iraq?⁸

		April <u>2006</u>	Mid- Sept <u>2005</u>	June <u>2005</u>	Early Sept <u>2004</u>	June <u>2004</u>	Late April <u>2004</u>
50	Will be another Vietnam	41	39	35	29	29	25
33	U.S. will accomplish its goals	43	48	47	54	55	54
5	Too early to tell (VOL.)	5	5	7	4	4	6
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.26 Do you think the U.S. should or should not set a timetable for when troops will be withdrawn from Iraq?

		Mid- Nov <u>2006</u>	Late Oct <u>2006</u>	Early Oct <u>2006</u>	Early Sept <u>2006</u>	Aug <u>2006</u>	June <u>2006</u>	April <u>2006</u>	March <u>2006</u>	Jan <u>2006</u>	Dec <u>2005</u>	Early Oct <u>2005</u>	Mid- Sept <u>2005</u>	July <u>2005</u>
58	Should set a timetable	56	54	53	47	52	52	53	55	50	56	52	57	49
34	Should not set a timetable	36	37	39	45	41	42	40	39	42	38	43	37	45
2	Should get out now (VOL)	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	*
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.27 From what you've read and heard, how would you describe the current violence in Iraq, is it... [READ AND ROTATE]?

		Sept <u>2006</u>	March <u>2006</u>	Dec <u>2005</u>
52	Mostly a civil war between competing factions in Iraq OR	50	42	30
33	Mostly an insurgency aimed against the U.S. and its allies	37	45	58
<u>15</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100	100

8 In Mid-September 2005 and earlier, the question was worded: "...comparing Iraq to the war in Vietnam thirty years ago..."

Q.28 Since the start of military action in Iraq, about how many U.S. soldiers have been killed? To the best of your knowledge, have there been around 1,000, around 2,000, around 3,000, or around 4,000 military deaths in Iraq?

		April <u>2006</u>		Oct <u>2005</u>		June <u>2005</u>	April <u>2004</u>	
6	Around 1,000	4	Around 500	5	Around 500	4	28	Under 500
24	Around 2,000	16	Around 1,500	23	Around 1,000	13	55	500 to 1,000
47	Around 3,000	53	Around 2,500	48	Around 2,000	54	6	1,000 to 2,000
16	Around 4,000	19	Around 3,500	19	Around 3,000	24	4	More than 2,000
1	Other (VOL.)	1	Other (VOL.)	1	Other (VOL.)	--	--	Other (VOL.)
<u>6</u>	DK/Ref (VOL.)	<u>7</u>	DK/Ref (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	DK/Ref (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	DK/Ref (VOL.)
100		100		100		100	100	

Correct answers for each trend highlighted in bold

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:

Q.29F1 Do you think the people of Iraq are now better off or worse off than they were when Saddam Hussein was in power?

57	Better off
30	Worse off
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.30F2 In the long run, do you think the people of Iraq will be better off or worse off than they were when Saddam Hussein was in power?

71	Better off
18	Worse off
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Do you think the people of Iraq will be better off or worse off in the long run than they were now that Saddam Hussein has been removed from power by the U.S. and its allies?

	April <u>2006</u>	Feb <u>2004</u>	May <u>2003</u>	March <u>2003⁹</u>
Better off	78	84	87	79
Worse off	13	9	6	8
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	7	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100

9 In March 2003 the question was worded: "If Iraq is disarmed and Saddam Hussein is removed from power by the U.S. and its allies, do you think the people of Iraq will be better off or worse off in the long run than they are now?"

ASK ALL:

Q.31 A number of suggestions have been made about how the U.S. might change its policies in Iraq. As I read a few, tell me if you would favor or oppose each. First, would you favor or oppose [**READ AND RANDOMIZE**]

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Starting talks with Iran and Syria to encourage their cooperation in the Iraq effort	69	22	9=100
b. Trying harder to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict	59	31	10=100
c. Shifting the primary mission of U.S. troops from fighting insurgents to supporting the Iraqi Army	62	25	13=100
d. Ending our support of the Iraqi government if they fail to make substantial progress	52	38	10=100

Q.32 As you may know, the Iraq Study Group, a bipartisan panel headed by James Baker and Lee Hamilton, delivered its report on Wednesday. How much, if anything, have you heard or read about the Iraq Study Group's report? [**READ**]

16	A lot
36	A little
47	Nothing at all
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
100	

IF HEARD "A LOT" OR "A LITTLE" (1,2 IN Q.32) ASK [N=887]:

Q.33 From what you've heard, do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with the recommendations in this report?

60	Mostly agree
17	Mostly disagree
<u>23</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

Q.34 Do you think the Bush administration will follow the major recommendations of this report, or not?

28	Yes, will follow the recommendations
57	No, will not
<u>15</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

NO QUESTIONS 35-36

QUESTIONS 37-42 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

And just two last questions about U.S. policies...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:

Q.43F1 As far as you know, is the U.S. military still involved in Afghanistan, or has the U.S. pulled out of Afghanistan?

		<u>Jan</u> <u>2006</u>
83	Still involved	<u>77</u>
4	Pulled out	8
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>15</u>
100		100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.44F2 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?

		Jan <u>2006</u>
61	Right decision	69
29	Wrong decision	20
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>11</u>
100		100

ASK ALL:

Q.45 Do you think the war against terrorist organizations in Afghanistan has been mostly a success or mostly a failure?

		Jan <u>2006</u>
45	Mostly a success	52
42	Mostly a failure	30
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>18</u>
100		100

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

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.) No <u>Preference</u>	(VOL.) Other <u>Party</u>	DK/ <u>Ref</u>
December, 2006	25	35	32	5	*	3=100
Mid-November, 2006	25	36	32	4	*	3=100
Late October, 2006	26	32	33	5	1	3=100
Early October, 2006	27	34	33	3	*	3=100
Early September, 2006	30	34	30	3	*	3=100
August, 2006	30	33	30	4	*	3=100
July, 2006	29	33	31	4	1	2=100
June, 2006	29	34	31	4	*	2=100
April, 2006	29	32	33	3	*	3=100
March, 2006	28	34	30	4	*	4=100
February, 2006	30	33	31	3	*	3=100
January, 2006	28	32	32	5	*	3=100
December, 2005	29	34	31	4	*	2=100
Late November, 2005	27	34	29	5	1	4=100
Early November, 2005	28	34	31	5	*	2=100
Late October, 2005	29	33	31	5	*	2=100
Early October, 2005	26	34	34	4	*	2=100
September 8-11, 2005	31	32	33	3	*	1=100
September 6-7, 2005	27	33	33	4	1	3=100
July, 2005	31	34	29	4	*	2=100
June, 2005	30	32	32	4	*	2=100
Yearly Totals						
2005	30	33	31	4	*	2=100
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

PARTY CONTINUED...

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.) No <u>Preference</u>	(VOL.) Other <u>Party</u>	DK/ <u>Ref</u>
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/ <u>Other/DK</u>		
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		
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

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	Refused <u>to lean</u>
December, 2006	11	17	12=40%
Mid-November, 2006	9	18	12= 39%
Late October, 2006	10	17	15=42%
Early October, 2006	12	15	12=39%
September, 2006	10	15	11=36%
August, 2006	12	14	11=37%
July, 2006	11	14	13=38%
June, 2006	10	16	11=37%
April, 2006	12	17	10=39%
March, 2006	11	14	13=38%
February, 2006	11	16	10=37%
January, 2006	10	16	14=40%
December, 2005	10	16	11=37%
Late November, 2005	9	13	17=39%
Early November, 2005	11	14	13=38%
Late October, 2005	11	15	12=38%
Early October, 2005	11	18	11=40%
September 8-11, 2005	10	18	9=37%
September 8-11, 2005	10	18	9=37%
September 6-7, 2005	10	15	15=40%
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%