

NEWS Release

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2007

# Increases in Optimism Mostly Limited to Republicans PETRAEUS' PROPOSALS FAVORED, BUT NO LIFT IN WAR SUPPORT

#### Also inside...

- Iraq in a word "mess" cited most frequently.
- Dems not challenging Bush enough on Iraq.
- Bush speech attracts little attention.
- Gradual troop withdrawal favored.

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# Increases in Optimism Mostly Limited to Republicans PETRAEUS' PROPOSALS FAVORED, BUT NO LIFT IN WAR SUPPORT

Last week's congressional testimony by General David Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan Crocker, followed by President Bush's address to the nation, has not changed bottom-line public attitudes toward the war in Iraq. However, there has been a modest increase in positive views about the U.S. military effort, accompanied by largely positive public reactions to General Petraeus' recommendations.

Most Americans (57%) who heard at least something about Petraeus' report say they approve of his recommendations for troop withdrawals, which President Bush has endorsed. However, just 16% say Petraeus' statements have made them more optimistic about the war, while 67% say their views were unchanged by the general's report.

The mostly stable opinions about the war and U.S. policies toward Iraq are consistent with this assessment. In the current survey, a 47% plurality says the United States will probably or definitely fail to achieve its goals in Iraq, which is largely unchanged from July (49%). Most important, opinions about whether to withdraw U.S. troops from Iraq have not changed at all over the past two months: 54% believe U.S. forces should be brought home as soon as possible while 39% say U.S. troops should remain in Iraq until the situation is stable.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Sept. 12-16 among 1,501 adults, finds there has been modest improvement in public perceptions of the U.S. military effort in Iraq. Currently, 41% say the U.S. military effort is going very or fairly well, up from 36% in July. In addition, 31% say that President Bush's troop increase is making things better in Iraq, which is somewhat higher than in

Positive Views of Petraeus' Proposals*				
View of Petraeus' recommendations Approve Disapprove Don't know		Sept <u>2007</u> % 57 28 <u>15</u> 100		
Petraeus' statements have made you More optimistic Less optimistic View has not changed Don't know		16 12 67 <u>5</u> 100		
But Little Ch in War Opir				
Military effort in Iraq is Going well Not going well Don't know  The U.S. should Keep troops in Bring troops home Don't know  The U.S. will Succeed	July 2007 36 59 5 100 39 54 7 100	Sept 2007 41 54 5 100 39 54 7 100		
Succeed Fail Don't know  Based on those who have "a little" about Petraeus'				

April (24%); however, as was the case in April, nearly half (46%) say the troop increase is having no effect. As is the case with several measures of opinion about Iraq, most of the increases in positive views regarding the surge have come among Republicans.

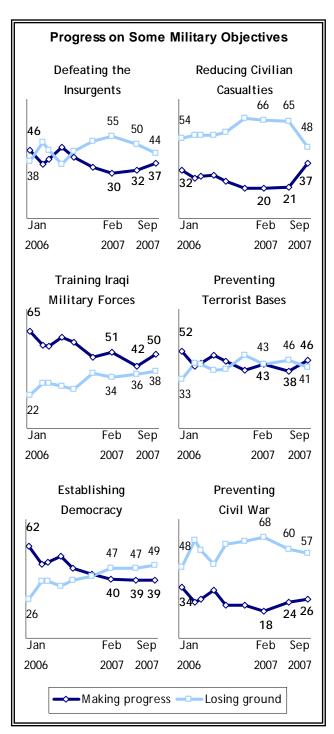
The public's outlook on several aspects of America's involvement in Iraq has improved over the summer, though the balance of opinion remains negative in most areas. The proportion saying progress is being made toward military goals, in particular, has edged upward since February, after a year of generally growing frustration throughout 2006.

Notably, the number saying the U.S. is making progress in reducing the number of civilian casualties rose from 21% in July to 37% today – the highest percentage measured since the question was first asked in December 2005. Nearly half of Americans (48%) still believe the United States is losing ground in reducing civilian casualties, though that represents a sharp decline since July (65%).

Relative to earlier in the year, more today say America is making progress in defeating the insurgents militarily, and preventing terrorists from establishing bases in Iraq from which they can attack elsewhere. And the proportion saying that the United States is making progress in preventing a civil war stands at 26%, up eight points since February.

But the public's outlook on the situation in Iraq is hardly rosy. In fact, the

balance of opinion is the most negative when it comes to preventing a civil war between religious and ethnic groups in Iraq – a 57% majority believes the United States is losing ground



on this front. In addition, roughly half say the U.S. is losing ground in establishing democracy in Iraq (49%). Regarding the goal of getting Iraqi leaders to cooperate, only about a third (35%) see progress being achieved while 49% say the U.S. is losing ground.

The public is most optimistic with regard to training Iraqi military forces, with 50% saying progress is being achieved. This is an improvement from July when just 42% saw progress in this area. But it is well below earlier marks; as recently as June 2006, 61% said the U.S. was making progress in training the Iraqi military.

# **Growing Partisan Gap in Optimism**

In some cases, the rise in optimism since the start of the year is most apparent among Republicans. Two-thirds (67%) of Republicans today believe the U.S. is making progress in defeating the insurgents in Iraq, up from 53% in February. But very few Democrats (16%) or independents (31%) agree with this assessment, and views have remained unchanged throughout the year.

Similarly, Republicans have become substantially more optimistic about progress in preventing a civil war, while Democrats and independents remain generally gloomy. And while there has been an across-the-board rise in optimism about reducing the number of civilian casualties, the gains are far more substantial among Republicans. As a result of these differences, the partisan divide in outlook about the war is far larger now than at the start of the year.

Progress Has a Partisan Cast					
US is making progress Defeating the insurgents	Feb % <b>30</b>	<u>June</u> % <b>32</b>	Sept % 37	Feb-Sept <u>change</u> +7	
Republican Democrat Independent	53 18 29	61 16 30	67 16 31	+14 -2 +2	
R-D Gap	+35	+45	+51		
Reducing civil- ian casualties	20	21	37	+ 17	
Republican Democrat Independent	32 13 16	39 9 22	59 28 33	+27 +15 +17	
R-D Gap	+19	+30	+31		
Preventing civil war	18	24	26	+8	
Republican Democrat Independent	34 10 18	39 15 24	49 14 20	+ 15 + 4 + 2	
R-D Gap	+24	+24	+35		

# Still Skeptical About the Surge

There is a similar pattern in views of whether the troop increase President Bush approved earlier this year is improving the situation in Iraq. Overall, 31% of Americans say the troop surge is making things better in Iraq up slightly from 24% in April. But the prevailing view, held by 46%, is that the troop increases are having no effect, while 20% say it is making things worse.

The partisan divide in ratings of the surge is, if anything, larger today than in the spring. Currently, 59% of Republicans say the troop increases have improved the situation in Iraq, up from 47% in April. Just 11% of Democrats say the surge has made things better, up only slightly from 7% earlier in the year. Instead, most Democrats (60%) and roughly half of independents (49%) say the surge is having no effect on the situation in Iraq, views that have not shifted much since April.

The Surge Garners Greater GOP Support					
The surge is making things Better Worse No effect Don't know	Apr % 25 19 46 10	% 31 15 46 <u>8</u>	Apr-Sept <u>change</u> +6		
Republicans Better Worse No effect	47 10 30	59 7 28	+12		
Democrats Better Worse No effect	7 26 60	11 22 60	+4		
Independents Better Worse No effect	26 18 47	30 13 49	+4		

# Dem Leaders Not Going Far Enough

By nearly two-to-one, more say Democratic leaders in Congress are not going far enough, rather than too far, in challenging Bush's policies in Iraq (42% vs. 22%). A quarter of Americans believe that Democratic leaders are handling this about right.

Opinions about the Democrats' approach on Iraq have been largely stable since March. However, somewhat fewer Republicans say Democratic leaders are going too far than did so in July (50% today vs. 63% then). The current balance of opinion among Republicans is closer to where it stood in June and March.

Democrats Challenging Bush's Iraq Policies						
Democratic leaders are Going too far Not far enough About right Don't know	Mar % 23 40 30 <u>7</u> 100	June % 22 41 25 12	July % 29 38 24 9 100	Sept % 22 42 25 11 100		
Republicans Going too far Not far enough	52 18	54 20	62 13	50 19		
Democrats Going too far Not far enough	7 56	5 60	8 54	5 61		
Independents Going too far Not far enough	20 41	17 42	25 43	18 48		

Meanwhile, a 61% majority of Democrats think

Congress is not doing enough, up from 54% in July. And by a wide margin, independents also would like to see Congress do more to challenge Bush on Iraq. Currently, 48% of independents say Congress is not going far enough in challenging Bush's Iraq policies, up from 43% in July.

#### Reactions to Petraeus

Most Americans report having heard at least a little about Gen. Petraeus' report to Congress last week. Nearly a quarter (23%) say they heard a lot, while 43% had read or heard a little; 32% had heard nothing at all. Attention to the general's report was bipartisan: substantial majorities of Democrats, Republicans, and independents say they heard at least a little about Petraeus' report.

About three-quarters of Republicans (76%) and half of independents who heard about the report believe that Gen. Petraeus was accurately describing the current situation in Iraq. Reaction among Democrats is more skeptical. Just a third of Democrats say he accurately described the situation while 49% say he made things seem better than they really are.

Reaction to Petraeus' recommendation for troop withdrawals has been generally favorable. Among those who have heard about Petraeus' report, 57% approve of the plan; 28% disapprove. Republicans overwhelmingly approve of Petraeus' troop proposal (by 77%-10%), while independents also broadly approve of the general's recommendations (by 58%-27%). Democrats are divided over Petraeus' proposals, though 40% approve of the recommendations.

However, most people say that the general's testimony had no impact on their overall view of the situation in Iraq. Just 16% of those who heard something about his report said they are now more optimistic about the U.S. achieving its goals in Iraq. Two-thirds (67%) say their view has not changed; 12% say they are

Gen. Petraeus Co	Gen. Petraeus Comes to Town				
Read or heard about Gen. Petraeus' report A lot A little Nothing at all Don't know	AII % 23 43 32 2 100	Rep         Dem         Ind           %         %           27         24         23           45         45         43           27         29         32           1         2         2           100         100         100			
Petraeus made things seem. Better than they really are Worse than they really are About the way it really is Don't know	33 6 51 10 100	13 49 37 2 9 3 76 33 50 9 9 10 100 100 100			
Petraeus troop plan^ Approve Disapprove Don't know	57 28 <u>15</u> 100	77 40 58 10 45 27 13 15 15 100 100 100			
Does troop plan make you  More optimistic Less optimistic View has not changed Don't know	.^ 16 12 67 <u>5</u> 100	31 9 11 7 17 11 57 71 74 <u>5</u> <u>3</u> <u>4</u> 100 100 100			
Read or heard about Bush's Iraq speech^^ A lot A little Nothing at all Don't know	16 28 55 <u>1</u> 100	20 13 18 34 26 26 45 59 56 1 2 * 100 100 100			
^Based on those who heard a lo Petraeus' report ^^ Asked Sept. 14-16 only	ot or a	little about			

now less optimistic than before hearing the report. Even among Republicans, only 31% said they were encouraged by his report.

Compared with public attention to Gen. Petraeus' testimony before Congress, far fewer Americans took note of President Bush's Sept. 13 address to the nation on Iraq. Among those

interviewed Sept. 14-16, 55% say they had read or heard nothing at all about the speech; just 16% heard a lot, while 28% had heard a little. About half of Republicans (54%) say they heard a lot or a little about Bush's speech, compared with 44% of independents and 39% of Democrats.

Among those who had heard about Bush's speech, a plurality (49%) believes that the president should remove more troops from Iraq while 38% say the troop withdrawals go far enough. Similarly, 49% say the president's troop withdrawals do not represent a major step in the U.S getting out of Iraq, compared with 44% who believe this is a major step in that direction.

Reaction to Bush's proposals also are largely partisan, with nearly two-thirds of Republicans (64%) saying that the troop withdrawal goes far enough, while an even larger majority of Democrats (78%) expressing the view that the plan does not go far enough. Partisan disagreement on the significance of the plan is similarly divided, though 29% of Democrats describe it as a major step toward disengagement. Majorities of independents are critical of the plan on both measures.

# **Long-Term Trends Still Negative**

Overall, 41% say things are going at least somewhat well with the U.S. military effort in Iraq, up somewhat from 36% in July. Public views of the situation in Iraq reached a low point in February, when just 30% said things were going well. Despite the rise in positive views since then, fewer people see progress being achieved currently than did so a year ago (41% vs. 47%).

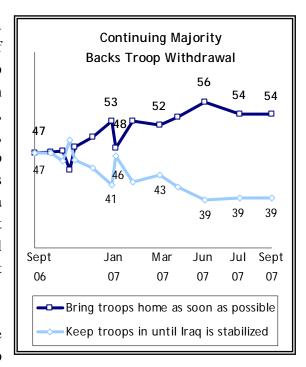
Moreover, just 42% of Americans believe that the United States will definitely or probably succeed in achieving its goals in Iraq; that is little

Iraq Trends Largely Unchanged							
Military effort in Iraq is Going well Not going well	Sept 2006 % 47 48		Feb 2007 % 30 67	56	April 2007 % 38 59	59	Sept 2007 % 41 54
Don't know  The U.S. will*	<u>5</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100
Succeed Fail Don't know	57 35 <u>8</u> 100	53 41 <u>6</u> 100	47 46 <u>7</u> 100	  	45 46 <u>9</u> 100	43 49 <u>8</u> 100	42 47 <u>11</u> 100
The war was the Right decision Wrong decision Don't know		41 51 <u>8</u> 100	40 54 <u>6</u> 100	43 49 <u>8</u> 100		41 53 <u>6</u> 100	42 50 <u>8</u> 100
* "in achieving its goals in Iraq."							

changed since the spring (45% in April) but 15 points lower than a year ago (57%).

# **Majority Favors Troop Pullout**

Opinion about whether to withdraw U.S. forces from Iraq has remained stable for most of this year. Currently, 54% support a troop withdrawal, which is virtually unchanged from measures dating back to February. In mid-January, following Bush's speech announcing the surge, there was a modest decline in support for a troop withdrawal; 48% supported bringing the troops home as soon as possible, down five points from a survey conducted earlier in the month (53%). But the proportion favoring a troop withdrawal rebounded to 53% in February. It has remained at about that level since then.



Yet opinion regarding what to do about the troops is complex. Of those who support a troop

withdrawal, most (34% of the public) say they should be brought home gradually over the next year or two rather than withdrawn immediately (18%). Among Democrats and independents, pluralities favor a gradual, rather than immediate, troop withdrawal.

Of those who support keeping U.S. troops in Iraq until the situation is stable, most (25%) reject setting a timetable on a troop withdrawal. Among Republicans, who strongly support maintaining troops in Iraq, 48% oppose setting a timetable for withdrawal while 20% favor this approach.

Few Support Immediate Withdrawal					
	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %	
Bring troops home	54	27	73	60	
Remove all troops immediately	18	6	27	19	
Gradually over next year or two	34	20	45	39	
Keep troops in Iraq	39	69	21	34	
Should set a timetable	13	20	12	10	
Should not set a timetable	<i>25</i>	48	8	23	
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	
	100	100	100	100	

# One-Word Descriptions of the Situation in Iraq

When asked for the word that best describes the situation in Iraq these days, the most frequently volunteered expressions are mess, bad, terrible, sad and horrible; each of these words was used by more than 25 individuals out of the 760 who were asked the question. These most frequently mentioned words largely mirror the words offered by respondents a year-and-a-half ago, when bad, mess, terrible and sad also topped the list. The main difference from March 2006 is the declining use of the word chaos, mentioned by 29 people in March 2006 and 12 this year. But at the same time, use the words horrible by 26 people, disappointing (10), disgusting (9), and unfortunate (9) has grown substantially relative to last March.

The only positive words that are used frequently are improving and necessary, mentioned by eight and seven people, respectively. Coincidentally, precisely the same number of people used the word unnecessary as offered the word necessary. Other positive words, such as progress, better, and good came up only a handful of times.

#### Iraq - In a Word\*

(N)

- 41 Mess
- 34 Bad
- 31 Terrible
- 31 Sad
- 26 Horrible
- 19 Disaster
- 16 Hopeless
- 12 Chaos
- 10 Confused
- 10 Disappointing
- 9 Bring troops home
- 9 Disgusting
- 9 Tragic
- 9 Unfortunate
- 8 Improving
- 8 Not good
- 8 Vietnam7 Death
- 7 Necessary
- 7 Unnecessary

Not surprisingly, these more upbeat words were offered primarily by those who see the overall military effort in Iraq going well. But even among those who say things are going very or fairly well for the U.S., words like mess, bad, and sad are used most often. Those words also are offered frequently by people who say the military situation is not going well.

<sup>\*</sup> Figures show the <u>number</u> of respondents, out of 760, using each word. The numbers are NOT percentages.

#### 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 1,501 adults, 18 years of age or older, from September 12-16, 2007. 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=760) or Form 2 (N=741), one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 4 percentage points. Results based on interviewing conducted Sept. 12-13 (N=799) or Sept 14-16 (N=702) the margin of 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 seven projects that make up the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

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

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

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# PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS SEPTEMBER 2007 POLITICAL SURVEY TOPLINE FOR RELEASE September 12-16, 2007

ptember 12-16, 2007 N=1501

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]

	App-	Dis-	Don't				
	rove	approve	<u>know</u>		App-	Dis-	Don't
September, 2007	31	59	10=100		rove	<u>approve</u>	know
August, 2007	31	59	10=100	June, 2004	48	43	9=100
July, 2007	29	61	10=100	May, 2004	44	48	8=100
June, 2007	29	61	10=100	Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100
April, 2007	35	57	8=100	Early April, 2004	43	47	10 = 100
March, 2007	33	58	9=100	Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100
February, 2007	33	56	11=100	Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100
Mid-January, 2007	33	59	8=100	February, 2004	48	44	8=100
Early January, 2007	33	57	10=100	Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100
December, 2006	32	57	11=100	Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100
Mid-November, 2006	32	58	10=100	December, 2003	57	34	9=100
Early October, 2006	37	53	10=100	November, 2003	50	40	10=100
September, 2006	37	53	10=100	October, 2003	50	42	8=100
August, 2006	37	54	9=100	September, 2003	55	36	9=100
July, 2006	36	57	7=100	Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100
June, 2006	36	54	10=100	Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100
April, 2006	33	56	11=100	Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100
Early April, 2006	35	55	10=100	Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100
March, 2006	33	57	10=100	June, 2003	62	27	11=100
February, 2006	40	52	8=100	May, 2003	65	27	8=100
January, 2006	38	54	8=100	April 10-16, 2003	72	22	6=100
December, 2005	38	54	8=100	April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100
Early November, 2005	36	55	9=100	April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100
Late October, 2005	40	52	8=100	March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100
Early October, 2005	38	56	6=100	March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100
September 8-11, 2005	40	52	8=100	March 20-24, 2003	67	26	7=100
September 6-7, 2005	40	52	8=100	March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
July, 2005	44	48	8=100	February, 2003	54	36	10=100
June, 2005	42	49	9=100	January, 2003	58	32	10=100
Late May, 2005	42	48	10=100	December, 2002	61	28	11=100
Mid-May, 2005	43	50	7=100	Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
Late March, 2005	49	46	5=100	Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Mid-March, 2005	45	46	9=100	Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
February, 2005	46	47	7=100	Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
January, 2005	50	43	7=100	Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
December, 2004	48	44	8=100	August, 2002	67	21	12=100
Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100	Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
August, 2004	46	45	9=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
July, 2004	46	46	8=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
				April, 2002	69	18	13=100

# Q.1 CONTINUED...

	App-	Dis-	Don't
	rove	approve	<u>know</u>
Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
February, 2002	78	13	9=100
January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
August, 2001	50	32	18=100
July, 2001	51	32	17=100
June, 2001	50	33	17=100
May, 2001	53	32	15=100
April, 2001	56	27	17=100
March, 2001	55	25	20=100
February, 2001	53	21	26=100

QUESTION 2 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE.

And a different kind of question...

## **ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=760]:**

Q.3F1 What one word best describes your impression of the situation in Iraq these days? Just the first word or thought that comes to mind? (OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE).\*

		March			March
41	Mana	2006 (N=695)	4	D -44 - ::	2006 (N=695)
41 34	Mess Bad	37 39	4 4	Better Good	8 7
31	Terrible	22	4	Mistake	0
31	Sad	18	4	Never-ending	5
26	Horrible	15	4	Problem	0
26 19	Disaster	15	4	Unstable	7
19 16	Hopeless	10	4	War	2
12	Chaos	29	4	vv ai	2
10	Confused	8			
10		8 2			
9	Disappointing	6			
9	Bring troops home Disgusting	1			
9		5			
9	Tragic Unfortunate	2			
8		12			
8	Improving	6			
8	Not good Vietnam	12			
8 7					
7	Death	3			
7	Necessary	5 5			
	Unnecessary	2			
6	Depressing	2 2			
6	Desperate				
6	Difficult	7			
6	Dismal	1			
6	Frustrated	5			
6	Long/Lengthy	1			
6	Quagmire	4			
6	Shouldn't be there	2			
6	Sucks	3			
5	Bullshit	3			
5	Dangerous	2			
5	Failure	0			
5	Get out	6			
5	Killing	5			
5	Pitiful	5			
5	Progress	3			
5	Ridiculous	1			
5	Scary	4			
5	Stupid	4			
5	Useless	0			

<sup>\*</sup> The numbers listed represented the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers <u>are not</u> percentages.

<sup>1</sup> In March 2006, the question did not include the words, "Just he first word or thought that comes to mind."

# QUESTIONS 4-21 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE.

## **ASK ALL:**

Thinking about Congress...

Q.22 Do you think Democratic leaders in Congress are going too far or not far enough in challenging George W. Bush's policies in Iraq, or are they handling this about right?

		July	June	March
		2007	<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>
22	Too far	29	22	23
42	Not far enough	38	41	40
25	About right	24	25	30
11	Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100

# **QUESTIONS 23-46 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

Now a few questions about Iraq...

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

	Right	Wrong	
	decision	decision	DK/ Ref
September, 2007	42	50	8=100
July, 2007	41	53	6=100
June, 2007	40	51	9=100
April, 2007	45	47	8=100
March, 2007	43	49	8=100
February, 2007	40	54	6=100
Mid-January, 2007	40	51	9=100
Early January, 2007	40	53	7=100
December, 2006	42	51	7=100
Mid-November, 2006	41	51	8=100
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

# Q.47 CONTINUED...

	Right	Wrong	
	decision	decision	DK/ Ref
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	8=100

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

	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	
	<u>well</u>	<u>well</u>	<u>well</u>	<u>well</u>	DK/ Ref
September, 2007	9	32	30	24	5=100
July, 2007	8	28	34	25	5=100
June, 2007	7	27	33	28	5=100
April, 2007	7	31	34	25	3=100
March, 2007	10	30	32	24	4=100
February, 2007	5	25	38	29	3=100
Mid-January, 2007	7	28	32	30	3=100
December, 2006	4	28	37	27	4=100
Mid-November, 2006	6	26	34	30	4=100
Late October, 2006	5	30	34	25	6=100
Early October, 2006	8	29	33	25	5=100

# Q.48 CONTINUED...

ONTINUED	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	
	<u>well</u>	<u>well</u>	<u>well</u>	<u>well</u>	DK/ Ref
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
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
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.49 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	
	<u>in Iraq</u>	<u>home</u>	DK/ Ref
September, 2007	39	54	7=100
July, 2007	39	54	7=100
June, 2007	39	56	5=100
April, 2007	41	53	6=100
March, 2007	43	52	5=100
February, 2007	42	53	5=100
Mid-January, 2007	46	48	6=100
Early January, 2007	41	53	6=100
December, 2006	44	50	6=100

# Q.49 CONTINUED...

	Keep troops	Bring troops	
	<u>in Iraq</u>	<u>home</u>	DK/ Ref
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 <sup>2</sup>	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.49) ASK [N=616]:

Q.50 Do you think the U.S. should or should not set a timetable for when troops will be withdrawn from Iraq?^

	Should	Should	
	set a	not set	DK/
	<u>timetable</u>	timetable	Refused
September, 2007	13	25	1=39%
June, 2007	13	25	1=39%
April, 2007	11	28	2=41%
March, 2007	14	27	2=43%
Mid-January, 2007	19	26	1=46%
December, 2006	17	25	2=44%
Mid-November, 2006	17	27	2=46%
Late October, 2006	15	29	2=46%
Early October, 2006	15	30	2=47%
Early September, 2006	13	32	2=47%
August, 2006	16	30	2=48%
June, 2006	16	32	1=50%
April, 2006	14	32	1=48%

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.50 CONTINUED...

	Should	Should	
	set a	not set	DK/
	<u>timetable</u>	<u>timetable</u>	Refused
March, 2006	14	29	1=44%
January, 2006	16	30	2=48%
December, 2005	17	30	2=49%
Early October, 2005	15	31	1=47%
Mid-September, 2005	19	30	2=51%
July, 2005	16	34	2=52%

<sup>^</sup> Trend note: Question previously asked of all respondents. Results shown here are limited to those who said we should "keep troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized." The small number who volunteered that the U.S. should "get out now" in previous surveys have been grouped with supporters of a timetable.

# IF "BRING TROOPS HOME" (2 IN Q.49) ASK [N=776]:

Q.51 Should the U.S. remove all troops from Iraq immediately, or should the withdrawal of troops be gradual over the next year or two?

	Remove		(VOL)
	all troops	Gradual	DK/
	<u>immediately</u>	withdrawal	Refused
September, 2007	18	34	2=54%
July, 2007	21	31	2=54%
June, 2007	20	35	1=56%
April, 2007	17	34	2=53%
March, 2007	18	33	1=52%
February, 2007	16	35	2=53%
Mid-January, 2007	16	30	2=48%
December, 2006	18	32	*=50%
Mid-November, 2006	16	31	1=48%
August, 2006	15	30	1=46%
April, 2006	18	29	1=48%
January, 2006	14	32	2=48%
December, 2005	17	28	1=46%

## **ASK ALL:**

Q.52 Regardless of what you'd like to see happen, how much longer do you think a significant number of U.S. troops will be in Iraq – for less than a year, one to two years, two to five years, or will U.S. troops be in Iraq for longer than five years?

-----TREND FOR COMPARISON-----How much longer do you think United States troops
will have to remain in Iraq...

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

Q.53 Regardless of what you think about the original decision to use military force in Iraq, do you now believe that the United States will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in achieving its goals in Iraq?

					Mid-			
		July	April	Feb	Nov	Sept	Aug	July
		2007	2007	2007	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	2005
8	Definitely succeed	9	9	7	12	13	14	17
34	Probably succeed	34	36	40	41	44	40	43
32	Probably fail	32	30	34	28	26	28	25
15	Definitely fail	17	16	12	13	9	12	8
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.54 As you may know, George W. Bush sent more U.S. troops to Iraq earlier this year. So far, do you think the troop increase is making things better in Iraq, is making things worse, or not having any effect?

		April <sup>3</sup>	March
		<u>2007</u>	2007
31	Is making things in Iraq better	24	27
15	Is making things in Iraq worse	20	19
46	Not having any effect	46	44
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100

## **NO QUESTIONS 55-57**

In March and April 2007, this question was preceded by: "How much, if anything, have you read or heard about George W. Bush's decision earlier this year to send more U.S. troops to Iraq?" The question assessing the impact of the troop increase was worded: "So far, do you think the troop increase is making things better in Iraq, is making things worse, or not having any effect?"

Q.58 As I read a few specific things about Iraq, tell me if you think we are making progress or losing ground in each area. First, are we making progress or losing ground in [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]? How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Do you think we are making progress or losing ground in this area?]

	ground in this area?			(VOI)	
		37.11		(VOL)	DIZ/
		Making	_	No	DK/
	TEMS a THRU d OF FORM 1 ONLY [N=760]:	progress	ground	<u>change</u>	<u>Ref</u>
a.F1	Training Iraqi security forces so they		• •	_	
	can replace U.S. troops	50	38	2	10=100
	June, 2007	42	36	2	20 = 100
	February, 2007	51	34	2	13=100
	November, 2006	48	37	1	14 = 100
	August, 2006	58	26	2	14 = 100
	June, 2006	61	28	2	9=100
	April, 2006	55	30	1	14 = 100
	March, 2006	56	30	1	13=100
	January, 2006	65	22	1	12 = 100
	December, 2005	61	27	1	11=100
b.F1	Reducing the number of civilian casualties there	37	48	2	13=100
	June, 2007	21	65	2	12=100
	February, 2007	20	66	2	12=100
	November, 2006	20	67	2	11=100
	August, 2006	25	58	3	14=100
	June, 2006	29	56	3	12=100
	April, 2006	28	56	3	13=100
	March, 2006	27	56	3	14=100
	January, 2006	32	54	3	11=100
	December, 2005	35	53	3	9=100
c.F1	Preventing terrorists from using Iraq as a base				
	for attacks against the U.S. and its allies	46	41	2	11=100
	June, 2007	38	46	3	13=100
	February, 2007	43	43	3	11=100
	November, 2006	39	49	2	10=100
	August, 2006	45	40	2	13=100
	June, 2006	49	39	2	10=100
	April, 2006	44	43	3	10=100
	March, 2006	42	44	2	12=100
	January, 2006	52	33	2	13=100
	December, 2005	48	41	2	9=100
d.F1	Establishing democracy in Iraq	39	49	4	8=100
	June, 2007	39	47	3	11=100
	February, 2007	40	47	3	10=100
	November, 2006	43	42	2	13=100
	August, 2006	47	39	3	11=100
	June, 2006	55	35	2	8=100
	April, 2006	51	38	3	8=100
	March, 2006	50	38	2	10=100
	January, 2006	62	26	2	10=100
	December, 2005	58	32	2	8=100
	December, 2005	50	24	_	0-100

# Q.58 CONTINUED... ASK ITEMS e THRU h OF FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:

ASK I	TEMS e THRU II OF FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:			~a-\	
			<b>.</b> .	(VOL)	
		Making	_	No	DK/
		progress		<u>change</u>	Ref
e.F2	Defeating the insurgents militarily	37	44	4	15=100
	June, 2007	32	50	3	15=100
	February, 2007	30	55	3	12=100
	November, 2006	34	52	2	12=100
	August, 2006	41	45	3	11=100
	June, 2006	48	36	2	14=100
	April, 2006	40	46	2	12=100
	March, 2006	36	51	1	12=100
	January, 2006	46	38	3	13=100
	December, 2005	44	41	3	12=100
f.F2	Preventing a civil war between various				
	religious and ethnic groups	26	57	4	13=100
	June, 2007	24	60	3	13=100
	February, 2007	18	68	4	10 = 100
	November, 2006	22	65	2	11=100
	August, 2006	22	63	4	11 = 100
	June, 2006	32	50	4	14 = 100
	April, 2006	26	59	3	12 = 100
	March, 2006	24	66	2	8=100
	January, 2006	34	48	4	14 = 100
	December, 2005	36	49	3	12=100
g.F2	Rebuilding roads, power plants and				
	other services in Iraq	39	34	2	25=100
	June, 2007	36	39	1	24 = 100
	February, 2007	40	36	2	22 = 100
	November, 2006	43	36	1	20 = 100
	August, 2006	46	34	1	19=100
	June, 2006	52	23	1	24 = 100
	April, 2006	55	26	1	18=100
	March, 2006	53	29	1	17=100
	January, 2006	59	22	1	18=100
h.F2	Getting Iraqi political leaders to work together	35	49	3	13=100

# ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=760]:

Q.59F1 If the U.S. were to withdraw its troops from Iraq soon, do you think terrorist organizations there will become stronger, will become weaker, or would they not be affected as a result of the withdrawal?

		March	Dec
		<u>2006</u>	2005
58	Stronger	57	58
11	Weaker	9	13
23	Would not be affected	23	22
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100

## **ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:**

Q.60F2 If the U.S. continues to keep troops in Iraq, do you think terrorist organizations there will become stronger, will become weaker, or would they not be affected as a result of America's continued presence there?

		March	Dec
		<u>2006</u>	<u>2005</u>
33	Stronger	32	30
27	Weaker	30	36
30	Would not be affected	30	29
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

## **NO QUESTIONS 61-63**

#### **ASK ALL:**

Q.64 As you may know, General David Petraeus recently reported to Congress about the situation in Iraq. How much, if anything, have you read or heard about this? [READ]

#### ----TREND FOR COMPARISON-----

How much, if anything, have you read or heard about George W. Bush's plan that will send an additional 21,000 U.S. troops to Iraq...

		Jan
		<u>2007</u>
23	A lot	43
43	A little	43
32	Nothing at all	13
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>
$1\overline{00}$		$1\overline{00}$

## IF 'A LOT' OR 'A LITTLE' (1,2 IN Q.64) ASK [N=1081]:

- Q.65 General Petraeus made recommendations about troop withdrawals that President Bush has endorsed. From what you've read or heard, do you approve or disapprove of these plans?
  - 57 Approve
  - 28 Disapprove
  - 15 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

100

## IF 'A LOT' OR 'A LITTLE' (1,2 IN Q.64) ASK [N=1081]:

- Q.66 In describing the current situation in Iraq, do you think General Petraeus made things seem BETTER than they really are, or WORSE than they really are, or is he presenting the situation about the way it really is?
  - 33 Better
  - 6 Worse
  - About the way it really is
  - 10 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

100

## IF 'A LOT' OR 'A LITTLE' (1,2 IN Q.64) ASK [N=1081]:

- Q.67 Did General Petraeus's statements make you any more optimistic or less optimistic about the U.S. achieving its goals in Iraq, or has your view of the situation not changed?
  - 16 More optimistic
  - 12 Less optimistic
  - 67 View has not changed
  - 5 Don't know/Refused (**VOL**.)

100

#### ASK SEPTEMBER 12-13 ONLY [N=799]:

#### **ROTATE Q.68 AND Q.69**

- Q.68 Going forward, how much of a difference do you think the U.S. can make in terms of reducing the amount of violence in Iraq? [READ]
  - 12 A lot
  - 34 Some
  - 31 Not much [OR]
  - 13 None
  - Don't know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ]

100

#### ASK SEPTEMBER 12-13 ONLY [N=799]:

- Q.69 Going forward, how much of a difference do you think the U.S. can make in terms of getting Iraq's political leaders to work together? [READ]
  - 10 A lot
  - 39 Some
  - Not much [OR]
  - None None
  - 10 Don't know/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ]

100

# ASK SEPTEMBER 14-16 ONLY [N=702]:

- Q.70 On Thursday night, George W. Bush gave a televised speech about Iraq. How much, if anything, have you read or heard about his speech? [**READ**]
  - 16 A lot
  - 28 A little
  - Nothing at all
  - 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

100

#### **ASK SEPTEMBER 14-16 ONLY:**

#### IF 'A LOT' OR 'A LITTLE' (1,2 IN Q.70) ASK [N=344]:

- Q.71 Do you think the troop withdrawals announced by President Bush go far enough, or should his plans call for removing more troops?
  - 38 Go far enough
  - 49 Should remove more troops
  - 13 Don't know/Refused

100

# **ASK SEPTEMBER 14-16 ONLY:**

# IF 'A LOT' OR 'A LITTLE' (1,2 IN Q.70) ASK [N=344]:

Q.72 Do you think the troop withdrawals announced by President Bush are a major step in the U.S. getting out of Iraq, or don't you think it is a major step in that direction?

- 44 Major step
- 49 Not a major step
- 7 Don't know/Refused

100

**ASK ALL:** 

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

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

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

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)			
				No	Other	DK/	Lean	Lean
	Republican	<b>Democrat</b>	Independent	<u>Preference</u>	<b>Party</b>	Ref	$\underline{Rep}$	<u>Dem</u>
September, 2007	27	32	32	6	*	3=100	8	16
August, 2007	26	32	32	5	1	4=100	10	16
July, 2007	27	32	34	4	*	3=100	11	17
June, 2007	25	34	32	6	*	3=100	10	17
April, 2007	25	28	40	5	*	2 = 100	13	17
March, 2007	25	36	33	3	*	3=100	12	16
February, 2007	25	34	34	4	*	3=100	10	18
Mid-January, 2007	24	35	34	3	*	4=100	12	18
Early-January, 2007	23	31	39	4	*	3=100	12	18
December, 2006	25	35	32	5	*	3=100	11	17
Mid-November, 2006	6 25	36	32	4	*	3=100	9	18
Late October, 2006	26	32	33	5	1	3=100	10	16
Early October, 2006	27	34	33	3	*	3=100	12	15
Early September, 200	06 30	34	30	3	*	3=100	10	14
August, 2006	30	33	30	4	*	3=100	12	14
July, 2006	29	33	31	4	1	2 = 100	11	14
June, 2006	29	34	31	4	*	2 = 100	11	16
April, 2006	29	32	30	5	*	4=100	10	14
Early April, 2006	29	32	33	3	*	3=100	12	16
March, 2006	28	34	30	4	*	4=100	11	15
February, 2006	30	33	31	3	*	3=100	11	16
January, 2006	28	32	32	5	*	3=100	10	15
·								
Yearly Totals								
2006	27.6	32.8	30.3	5.0	.4	3.9=100	10.2	14.5
2005	29.2	32.8	30.3	4.5	.3	2.8 = 100	10.2	14.9
2004	29.5	33.1	30.0	4.0	.4	3.0 = 100	11.8	13.6
2003	29.8	31.4	31.2	4.7	.5	2.5 = 100	12.1	13.0
2002	30.3	31.2	30.1	5.1	.7	2.7 = 100	12.6	11.6
2001	29.2	33.6	28.9	5.1	.5	2.7 = 100	11.7	11.4
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6=100	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28.2	34.6	29.5	5.0	.5	2.1=100	11.7	12.5
2000	27.5	32.5	29.5	5.9	.5	4.0 = 100	11.6	11.6
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9=100	13.0	14.5
1998	27.5	33.2	31.9	4.6	.4	2.4 = 100	11.8	13.5
1997	28.2	33.3	31.9	4.0	.4	2.3 = 100	12.3	13.8

# PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)			
				No	Other	DK/	Lean	Lean
	Republican	<b>Democrat</b>	Independent	<b>Preference</b>	<b>Party</b>	<u>Ref</u>	$\underline{Rep}$	<u>Dem</u>
1996	29.2	32.7	33.0	5.2 = 100			12.7	15.6
1995	31.4	29.7	33.4	5.4=100			14.4	12.9
1994	29.8	31.8	33.8	4.6 = 100			14.3	12.6
1993	27.4	33.8	34.0	4.8 = 100			11.8	14.7
1992	27.7	32.7	35.7	3.9=100			13.8	15.8
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	4.5 = 100			14.6	10.8
1990	31.0	33.1	29.1	6.8 = 100			12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34=100					
1987	26	35	39=100					