American Attitudes toward the Middle East

A PUBLIC OPINION POLL BY SHIBLEY TELHAMI
**A survey of the**

**CRITICAL ISSUES POLL**

*The University of Maryland Critical Issues Poll probes domestic and international issues that are central to our policy
discourse and is led by Professors Shibley Telhami and Stella Rouse.*

Shibley Telhami, Director  
Stella Rouse, Associate Director

To view the questionnaire, please visit: go.umd.edu/UMCIPMiddleEast

Note: These questions were fielded as part of a larger poll on foreign and domestic issues. Participants in this study were provided by Nielsen from Nielsen’s sample of respondents.
Survey Methodology (September 2019)

The survey was carried out September 3-20, 2019 online from a nationally representative sample of Nielsen Scarborough's probability-based panel, originally recruited by mail and telephone using a random sample of adults. The poll was conducted among a national poll of 3,016 respondents, with a margin of error of +/- 1.78%. Overall, the sample was adjusted to reflect population estimates (Scarborough USA+/Gallup) for Americans. The survey variables balanced through weighting were: age, gender, race/ethnicity, household income, level of education, census regional division, and political party affiliation.
Survey Methodology
(October 2019)

The survey was carried out October 4-10, 2019 online from a nationally representative sample of Nielsen Scarborough's probability-based panel, originally recruited by mail and telephone using a random sample of adults. The poll was conducted among a national poll of 1,260 respondents (958 for the Syria question), with a margin of error of +/- 2.76%. Overall, the sample was adjusted to reflect population estimates (Scarborough USA+/Gallup) for Americans. The survey variables balanced through weighting were: age, gender, race/ethnicity, household income, level of education, census regional division, and political party affiliation.
American Attitudes toward Syria and Iran
As you may know, the United States has recently announced the withdrawal of its forces from northern Syria, ahead of a Turkish military campaign there. President Trump explained the move by saying: "it is time for us to get out of these ridiculous Endless Wars, many of them tribal, and bring our soldiers home." Critics have argued that it was the wrong move because it leaves our Kurdish allies in northern Syria vulnerable and gives the upper hand to Turkey which, although a member of NATO, is considered by some as a foe whose aims have been questioned.

Tell me how you feel about the move to withdraw U.S. forces from northern Syria:
As you may know, the United States has recently announced the withdrawal of its forces from northern Syria, ahead of a Turkish military campaign there. President Trump explained the move by saying: "it is time for us to get out of these ridiculous Endless Wars, many of them tribal, and bring our soldiers home." Critics have argued that it was the wrong move because it leaves our Kurdish allies in northern Syria vulnerable and gives the upper hand to Turkey which, although a member of NATO, is considered by some as a foe whose aims have been questioned.

Tell me how you feel about the move to withdraw U.S. forces from northern Syria:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I support it</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td></td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I oppose it</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td></td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm indifferent</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As you may know, the United States has recently announced the withdrawal of its forces from northern Syria, ahead of a Turkish military campaign there. President Trump explained the move by saying: "it is time for us to get out of these ridiculous Endless Wars, many of them tribal, and bring our soldiers home." Critics have argued that it was the wrong move because it leaves our Kurdish allies in northern Syria vulnerable and gives the upper hand to Turkey which, although a member of NATO, is considered by some as a foe whose aims have been questioned.

Tell me how you feel about the move to withdraw U.S. forces from northern Syria:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>October 7th/8th</th>
<th>October 9th/10th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I support it</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I oppose it</td>
<td></td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm indifferent</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. government is handling Iran?
Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. government is handling Iran?

- **Approve**
  - Before September 14, 2019: 44%
  - September 14, 2019 and after: 39%

- **Disapprove**
  - Before September 14, 2019: 51%
  - September 14, 2019 and after: 57%
Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. government is handling Iran?

- Before September 14th:
  - Approve: 78%
  - Disapprove: 79%

- September 14th and after:
  - Approve: 73%
  - Disapprove: 86%

The graph shows the percentage of approval and disapproval among Republicans, Democrats, Independents, and the total population for the two time periods.
Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. government is handling Iran?

**Approve**
- Republicans: 13%
- Democrats: 32%
- Independents: 40%
- Total: 71%

**Disapprove**
- Republicans: 24%
- Democrats: 59%
- Independents: 56%
- Total: 86%

October 2019
In comparison to three years ago, do you think the odds of the U.S. going to war with Iran are higher, lower, or the same?
In comparison to three years ago, do you think the odds of the U.S. going to war with Iran are higher, lower, or the same?

**Before September 14, 2019**
- Higher: 39%
- Lower: 11%
- The same: 28%
- Unsure/Don't know: 21%

**September 14, 2019 and after**
- Higher: 51%
- Lower: 6%
- The same: 25%
- Unsure/Don't know: 17%
In comparison to three years ago, do you think the odds of the U.S. going to war with Iran are higher, lower, or the same?

- **Republicans**
  - Higher: 22%
  - Lower: 4%
  - The same: 16%
  - Unsure/Don't know: 19%

- **Democrats**
  - Higher: 29%
  - Lower: 6%
  - The same: 16%
  - Unsure/Don't know: 22%

- **Independents**
  - Higher: 33%
  - Lower: 11%
  - The same: 12%
  - Unsure/Don't know: 28%

- **Total**
  - Higher: 39%
  - Lower: 17%
  - The same: 33%
  - Unsure/Don't know: 29%

**September 2019**

**Before September 14th**

**September 14th and after**
In comparison to three years ago, do you think the odds of the U.S. going to war with Iran are higher, lower, or the same?

- **Higher**
  - Republicans: 30%
  - Democrats: 6%
  - Independents: 33%
  - Total: 45%

- **Lower**
  - Republicans: 16%
  - Democrats: 7%
  - Independents: 5%
  - Total: 10%

- **The same**
  - Republicans: 16%
  - Democrats: 16%
  - Independents: 26%
  - Total: 27%

- **Unsure/Don't know**
  - Republicans: 16%
  - Democrats: 14%
  - Independents: 36%
  - Total: 17%

October 2019
What do you believe the Trump administration’s most important goal in its policy toward Iran is currently?
What do you believe the Trump administration’s most important goal in its policy toward Iran is currently?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Before September 14, 2019</th>
<th>September 14, 2019 and after</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Iranian behavior in the region</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change the regime</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undo Barack Obama's policy</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look tough at home</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please key Middle Eastern allies such as Israel and Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Don't know</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What do you believe the Trump administration’s most important goal in its policy toward Iran is currently?

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Before September 14th</th>
<th>September 14th and after</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Iranian behavior in the region</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change the regime</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undo Barack Obama's policy</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look tough at home</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please key Middle Eastern allies such as Israel and Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Don't know</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Democrats:
- Preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons: 2% (Before), 2% (After)
- Change Iranian behavior in the region: 4% (Before), 4% (After)
- Change the regime: 2% (Before), 2% (After)
- Undo Barack Obama's policy: 12% (Before), 14% (After)
- Look tough at home: 3% (Before), 8% (After)
- Please key Middle Eastern allies such as Israel and Saudi Arabia: 8% (Before), 8% (After)
- Other/Don't know: 14% (Before), 17% (After)

Independents:
- Preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons: 11% (Before), 17% (After)
- Change Iranian behavior in the region: 8% (Before), 7% (After)
- Change the regime: 3% (Before), 3% (After)
- Undo Barack Obama's policy: 14% (Before), 30% (After)
- Look tough at home: 2% (Before), 8% (After)
- Please key Middle Eastern allies such as Israel and Saudi Arabia: 3% (Before), 12% (After)
- Other/Don't know: 14% (Before), 17% (After)

Republicans:
- Preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons: 14% (Before), 18% (After)
- Change Iranian behavior in the region: 2% (Before), 4% (After)
- Change the regime: 3% (Before), 3% (After)
- Undo Barack Obama's policy: 14% (Before), 30% (After)
- Look tough at home: 3% (Before), 12% (After)
- Please key Middle Eastern allies such as Israel and Saudi Arabia: 3% (Before), 12% (After)
- Other/Don't know: 14% (Before), 17% (After)

Total:
- Preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons: 33% (Before), 28% (After)
- Change Iranian behavior in the region: 12% (Before), 15% (After)
- Change the regime: 2% (Before), 2% (After)
- Undo Barack Obama's policy: 27% (Before), 30% (After)
- Look tough at home: 10% (Before), 11% (After)
- Please key Middle Eastern allies such as Israel and Saudi Arabia: 6% (Before), 8% (After)
- Other/Don't know: 31% (Before), 40% (After)

September 2019
What do you believe the Trump administration’s most important goal in its policy toward Iran is currently?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Iranian behavior in the region</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change the regime</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undo Barack Obama's policy</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look tough at home</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please key Middle Eastern allies such as Israel and Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Don't know</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

October 2019
Which of the following is closer to your view?
To achieve its current goal vis-à-vis Iran, the U.S. should be prepared to go to war.

The current goals of the U.S. policy do not warrant waging war. The U.S. must rely on other means short of war.

Which of the following is closer to your view?

- Before September 14, 2019: 20%
- September 14, 2019 and after: 21%
To achieve its current goal vis-à-vis Iran, the U.S. should be prepared to go to war.

The current goals of U.S. policy do not warrant waging war. The U.S. must rely on other means short of war.

Which of the following is closer to your view?

- Republicans
- Democrats
- Independents
- Total

Before September 14th

- To achieve its current goal vis-à-vis Iran, the U.S. should be prepared to go to war: 31% (Total)
- The current goals of U.S. policy do not warrant waging war. The U.S. must rely on other means short of war: 59% (Total)

September 14th and after

- To achieve its current goal vis-à-vis Iran, the U.S. should be prepared to go to war: 37% (Total)
- The current goals of U.S. policy do not warrant waging war. The U.S. must rely on other means short of war: 78% (Total)
To achieve its current goal vis-à-vis Iran, the U.S. should be prepared to go to war.

The current goals of the U.S. policy do not warrant waging war. The U.S. must rely on other means short of war.

Which of the following is closer to your view?

- Republicans
- Democrats
- Independents
- Total

October 2019
On September 14, an attack on Saudi Arabia’s oil fields cut Saudi oil production by half, accounting for 5% of the world’s oil supply, for several weeks. Yemen’s Houthi rebels, fighting Saudi Arabia, took responsibility for the attack, and the United States and some European countries blamed Iran.

Which one of the following is closest to your view about the evidence presented to the public so far about Iran’s responsibility?
On September 14, an attack on Saudi Arabia’s oil fields cut Saudi oil production by half, accounting for 5% of the world’s oil supply, for several weeks. Yemen’s Houthi rebels, fighting Saudi Arabia, took responsibility for the attack, and the United States and some European countries blamed Iran. Which one of the following is closest to your view about the evidence presented to the public so far about Iran’s responsibility?

- Republicans
- Democrats
- Independents
- Total

October 2019
If sufficient evidence emerges that Iran is responsible, should the U.S. consider a military action in response?
If sufficient evidence emerges that Iran is responsible, should the U.S. consider a military action in response?

- **Yes**:
  - Republicans: 45%
  - Democrats: 21%
  - Independents: 25%
  - Total: 32%

- **No**:
  - Republicans: 53%
  - Democrats: 77%
  - Independents: 70%
  - Total: 66%

October 2019
Tell me how important you think the following factors are in explaining the escalation in the Gulf region that has endangered the oil trade:

The nature of Iran’s regime
Tell me how important you think the following factors are in explaining the escalation in the Gulf region that has endangered the oil trade:

**The nature of Iran’s regime**

- **Not important at all**
  - Republicans: 2%
  - Democrats: 3%
  - Independents: 3%
  - Total: 2%

- **Neither important nor unimportant**
  - Republicans: 17%
  - Democrats: 34%
  - Independents: 28%
  - Total: 46%

- **Strongly approve**
  - Republicans: 37%
  - Democrats: 34%
  - Independents: 26%
  - Total: 34%
Tell me how important you think the following factors are in explaining the escalation in the Gulf region that has endangered the oil trade:

The war in Yemen
Tell me how important you think the following factors are in explaining the escalation in the Gulf region that has endangered the oil trade:

**The war in Yemen**

- **Not important at all**
  - Republicans: 6%
  - Democrats: 6%
  - Independents: 3%
  - Total: 6%

- **Neither important nor unimportant**
  - Republicans: 6%
  - Democrats: 7%
  - Independents: 16%
  - Total: 16%

- **Strongly approve**
  - Republicans: 8%
  - Democrats: 8%
  - Independents: 10%
  - Total: 8%

*October 2019*
Tell me how important you think the following factors are in explaining the escalation in the Gulf region that has endangered the oil trade:

The U.S. withdrawal from the 2015 Iran Nuclear Deal (the JCPOA)
Tell me how important you think the following factors are in explaining the escalation in the Gulf region that has endangered the oil trade:
The U.S. withdrawal from the 2015 Iran Nuclear Deal (the JCPOA)

- Not important at all
  - Republicans: 6%
  - Democrats: 4%
  - Independents: 6%
  - Total: 9%

- Neither important nor unimportant
  - Republicans: 21%
  - Democrats: 26%
  - Independents: 27%
  - Total: 24%

- Strongly approve
  - Republicans: 24%
  - Democrats: 24%
  - Independents: 11%
  - Total: 27%

Source: October 2019
Tell me how important you think the following factors are in explaining the escalation in the Gulf region that has endangered the oil trade:

U.S. imposition of new sanctions on Iran, including on its oil exports
Tell me how important you think the following factors are in explaining the escalation in the Gulf region that has endangered the oil trade:

**U.S. imposition of new sanctions on Iran, including on its oil exports**

- **Not important at all**
  - Republicans: 3%
  - Democrats: 2%
  - Independents: 1%
  - Total: 3%

- **Neither important nor unimportant**
  - Republicans: 5%
  - Democrats: 5%
  - Independents: 6%
  - Total: 5%

- **Strongly approve**
  - Republicans: 21%
  - Democrats: 25%
  - Independents: 35%
  - Total: 32%

*October 2019*
Now tell me, which one of the above do you think is most important?
The nature of Iran's regime
- Republicans: 14%
- Democrats: 23%
- Independents: 22%
- Total: 31%

The war in Yemen
- Republicans: 4%
- Democrats: 5%
- Independents: 6%
- Total: 5%

The U.S. withdrawal from the 2015 Iran Nuclear Deal (the JCPOA)
- Republicans: 20%
- Democrats: 24%
- Independents: 24%
- Total: 35%

U.S. imposition of new sanctions on Iran, including on its oil exports
- Republicans: 26%
- Democrats: 40%
- Independents: 34%
- Total: 41%

Now tell me, which one of the above do you think is most important?
American Attitudes toward BDS
How much have you heard about BDS, or the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement aimed at Israel?
How much have you heard about BDS, or the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement aimed at Israel?

- A great deal
  - Republicans: 4%
  - Democrats: 12%
  - Independents: 6%
  - Total: 6%

- A good amount
  - Republicans: 17%
  - Democrats: 17%
  - Independents: 11%
  - Total: 14%

- A little
  - Republicans: 28%
  - Democrats: 33%
  - Independents: 17%
  - Total: 29%

- I have not heard about it
  - Republicans: 42%
  - Democrats: 55%
  - Independents: 51%
  - Total: 64%

October 2019
Among those who have heard of BDS

Based on what you have heard, do you support or oppose BDS, or the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement?
[Among those who have heard of BDS]
Based on what you have heard, do you support or oppose BDS, or the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement?

- **Support strongly**
  - Republicans: 2%
  - Democrats: 14%
  - Independents: 10%
  - Total: 8%

- **Support somewhat**
  - Republicans: 6%
  - Democrats: 34%
  - Independents: 15%
  - Total: 18%

- **Neither support nor oppose**
  - Republicans: 15%
  - Democrats: 26%
  - Independents: 37%
  - Total: 40%

- **Oppose somewhat**
  - Republicans: 9%
  - Democrats: 11%
  - Independents: 4%
  - Total: 9%

- **Oppose strongly**
  - Republicans: 4%
  - Democrats: 31%
  - Independents: 38%
  - Total: 67%

October 2019
Among those who have heard of BDS,
Based on what you have heard, do you support or oppose BDS, or the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement?

- **Support strongly/somewhat**
  - Republicans: 8%
  - Democrats: 27%
  - Independents: 26%
  - Total: 48%

- **Neither support nor oppose**
  - Republicans: 15%
  - Democrats: 37%
  - Independents: 39%
  - Total: 76%

- **Oppose strongly/somewhat**
  - Republicans: 15%
  - Democrats: 35%
  - Independents: 47%
  - Total: 76%

October 2019
Tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:

BDS is a legitimate, peaceful way of opposing Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. Inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement, BDS urges action to pressure Israel to comply with international law. Opposing Israeli policy does not equal anti-Semitism.
BDS is a legitimate, peaceful way of opposing Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. Inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement, BDS urges action to pressure Israel to comply with international law. Opposing Israeli policy does not equal anti-Semitism.
Among those who have heard of BDS
Tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:

BDS is a legitimate, peaceful way of opposing Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. Inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement, BDS urges action to pressure Israel to comply with international law. Opposing Israeli policy does not equal anti-Semitism

- **Strongly/Somewhat disagree**: 69%
  - Republicans: 14%
  - Democrats: 17%
  - Independents: 33%
  - Total: 43%

- **Neither agree nor disagree**: 27%
  - Republicans: 22%
  - Democrats: 22%
  - Independents: 27%
  - Total: 20%

- **Strongly/somewhat agree**: 63%
  - Republicans: 13%
  - Democrats: 36%
  - Independents: 41%
  - Total: 36%

*October 2019*
[Among those who have heard of BDS]

Tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:

Regardless of how BDS defines itself, it is an anti-Israel organization attempting to weaken Israel and to undermine its legitimacy. Some of its supporters are opponents of Israel’s very existence and may even be anti-Semitic.
Regardless of how BDS defines itself, it is an anti-Israel organization attempting to weaken Israel and to undermine its legitimacy. Some of its supporters are opponents of Israel’s very existence and may even be anti-Semitic.

[Among those who have heard of BDS]
Tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:
[Among those who have heard of BDS] Tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:

Regardless of how BDS defines itself, it is an anti-Israel organization attempting to weaken Israel and to undermine its legitimacy. Some of its supporters are opponents of Israel’s very existence and may even be anti-Semitic.

- **Strongly/Somewhat disagree**
  - Republicans: 7%
  - Democrats: 26%
  - Independents: 25%
  - Total: 49%

- **Neither agree nor disagree**
  - Republicans: 16%
  - Democrats: 29%
  - Independents: 35%
  - Total: 40%

- **Strongly/Somewhat agree**
  - Republicans: 75%
  - Democrats: 49%
  - Independents: 40%
  - Total: 75%

October 2019
[Among those who have heard of BDS]

Now tell me, which of the following is closer to your view?
Regardless of how BDS defines itself, it is an anti-Israel organization attempting to weaken Israel and to undermine its legitimacy. Some of its supporters are opponents of Israel’s very existence and may even be anti-Semitic.

BDS is a legitimate, peaceful way of opposing Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. Inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement, BDS urges action to pressure Israel to comply with international law. Opposing Israeli policy does not equal anti-Semitism.

[Among those who have heard of BDS]
Now tell me, which of the following is closer to your view?

- Republicans
- Democrats
- Independents
- Total

October 2019
Which of the following is closer to your view?
We should SUPPORT laws that penalize people who boycott Israel because these laws help protect Israel.

We should OPPOSE laws that penalize people who boycott Israel because these laws infringe on the Constitutional right to free speech and peaceful protest.

Which of the following is closer to your view?

- Republicans
- Democrats
- Independents
- Total

October 2019
American Attitudes toward Afghanistan
If you had to guess, which would you say is the longest war in American history?
If you had to guess, which would you say is the longest war in American history?

**Republicans**

- Afghanistan/Taliban: 39%
- Vietnam: 11%
- Civil War/War Between the States: 7%
- World War II: 5%
- War on Terror, Terrorism (unless specified other country): 6%
- Iraq: 3%
- Middle East: 3%

**Democrats**

- Afghanistan/Taliban: 35%
- Vietnam: 11%
- Civil War/War Between the States: 2%
- World War II: 1%
- War on Terror, Terrorism (unless specified other country): 1%
- Iraq: 3%
- Middle East: 3%

**Independents**

- Afghanistan/Taliban: 39%
- Vietnam: 11%
- Civil War/War Between the States: 7%
- World War II: 5%
- War on Terror, Terrorism (unless specified other country): 6%
- Iraq: 3%
- Middle East: 3%

**Total**

- Afghanistan/Taliban: 39%
- Vietnam: 11%
- Civil War/War Between the States: 7%
- World War II: 5%
- War on Terror, Terrorism (unless specified other country): 6%
- Iraq: 3%
- Middle East: 3%
As far as you know, which of the following best describes the role of the Taliban in Afghanistan currently?
As far as you know, which of the following best describes the role of the Taliban in Afghanistan currently?

- They control the Afghan government.
- They are part of the Afghan government.
- They are rebels fighting the Afghan government.
- They are just a key party in Afghanistan which is not part of the government.

October 2019
Do you think the U.S. should increase troops, maintain current troop levels, decrease troops, or remove all troops from Afghanistan in the next year?
Do you think the U.S. should increase troops, maintain current troop levels, decrease troops, or remove all troops from Afghanistan in the next year?

- **Increase troops.**
  - Republicans: 34%
  - Democrats: 38%
  - Independents: 22%
  - Total: 33%

- **Maintain current troop levels**
  - Republicans: 22%
  - Democrats: 23%
  - Independents: 26%
  - Total: 23%

- **Decrease troops.**
  - Republicans: 23%
  - Democrats: 23%
  - Independents: 28%
  - Total: 23%

- **Remove all troops by the end of the year.**
  - Republicans: 19%
  - Democrats: 22%
  - Independents: 28%
  - Total: 22%

- **Don't know.**
  - Republicans: 18%
  - Democrats: 18%
  - Independents: 23%
  - Total: 18%

October 2019
As you may know, the U.S. has started the reduction of military presence in Afghanistan, with about half of the approximately 14,000 U.S. troops there set to begin returning home in the near future. Based on what you know, do you support or oppose this action?
As you may know, the U.S. has started the reduction of military presence in Afghanistan, with about half of the approximately 14,000 U.S. troops there set to begin returning home in the near future. Based on what you know, do you support or oppose this action?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly support</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat support</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat oppose</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/No opinion</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As you may know, the U.S. has started the reduction of military presence in Afghanistan, with about half of the approximately 14,000 U.S. troops there set to begin returning home in the near future. Based on what you know, do you support or oppose this action?

- **Strongly/Somewhat support**
  - Republicans: 71%
  - Democrats: 53%
  - Independents: 57%
  - Total: 61%

- **Strongly/Somewhat oppose**
  - Republicans: 22%
  - Democrats: 33%
  - Independents: 18%
  - Total: 26%

- **Don't know/No opinion**
  - Republicans: 8%
  - Democrats: 14%
  - Independents: 23%
  - Total: 23%

October 2019
Looking back, do you think it was a mistake or the correct choice to send U.S. troops to Afghanistan in 2001?
Looking back, do you think it was a mistake or the correct choice to send U.S. troops to Afghanistan in 2001?

- **Mistake**
  - **Republicans**: 27%
  - **Democrats**: 47%
  - **Independents**: 29%
  - **Total**: 36%

- **Correct choice**
  - **Republicans**: 29%
  - **Democrats**: 49%
  - **Independents**: 31%
  - **Total**: 38%

- **Not sure**
  - **Republicans**: 24%
  - **Democrats**: 24%
  - **Independents**: 24%
  - **Total**: 26%

*October 2019*
Do you think America’s military involvement in Afghanistan has been successful or unsuccessful in obtaining America’s strategic objectives?
Do you think America’s involvement in Afghanistan has been successful or unsuccessful in obtaining America’s strategic objectives?

- **Very successful**:
  - Republicans: 3%
  - Democrats: 4%
  - Independents: 4%
  - Total: 3%

- **Successful**: 24%
  - Republicans: 11%
  - Democrats: 7%
  - Independents: 16%
  - Total: 16%

- **Neither successful nor unsuccessful**: 41%
  - Republicans: 38%
  - Democrats: 38%
  - Independents: 41%
  - Total: 38%

- **Unsuccessful**: 28%
  - Republicans: 19%
  - Democrats: 18%
  - Independents: 23%
  - Total: 23%

- **Very unsuccessful**: 13%
  - Republicans: 6%
  - Democrats: 13%
  - Independents: 13%
  - Total: 13%

- **Don't know**: 17%
  - Republicans: 6%
  - Democrats: 9%
  - Independents: 17%
  - Total: 9%

October 2019
Do you think America’s military involvement in Afghanistan has been successful or unsuccessful in obtaining America’s strategic objectives?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very successful/Successful</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td></td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither successful nor unsuccessful</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unsuccessful/Unsuccessful</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td></td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

October 2019
Among those who think America’s military involvement in Afghanistan has been unsuccessful:

Which of the following factors do you think is MOST important in explaining the reason for failure in Afghanistan?
It was futile to send troops to fight the war on terrorism under any circumstances.

The threat of terrorism from al-Qaeda requires principally non-military means.

The threat posed by al-Qaeda did not require an all-out war on Afghanistan.

The intervention in Iraq, which reduced the American ability to fight in Afghanistan effectively.

Our inability to build effective alternative structures to the existing political and social order in Afghanistan.

The U.S. should have never stayed this long and should have left immediately after the collapse of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

[Among those who think America’s military involvement in Afghanistan has been unsuccessful]

Which of the following factors do you think is MOST important in explaining the reason for failure in Afghanistan?

- Republicans
- Democrats
- Independents
- Total

October 2019
Regardless of whether our intervention in Afghanistan was justified or not, do you believe that the U.S. has an obligation towards the Afghan government and the many segments of society who were impacted by that intervention?
Regardless of whether our intervention in Afghanistan was justified or not, do you believe that the U.S. has an obligation towards the Afghan government and the many segments of society who were impacted by that intervention?

- **Yes**: 30% Republicans, 36% Democrats, 60% Independents, 44% Total
- **No**: 18% Republicans, 36% Democrats, 30% Independents, 36% Total
- **Not sure**: 27% Republicans, 23% Democrats, 28% Independents, 25% Total

October 2019
Among those who believe the U.S. has an obligation towards the Afghan government and the many segments of society who were impacted by the intervention

What form should our responsibility take?
Among those who believe the U.S. has an obligation towards the Afghan government and the many segments of society who were impacted by the intervention:

**What form should our responsibility take?**

- **A limited military role**
  - Republicans: 28%
  - Democrats: 27%
  - Independents: 27%
  - Total: 30%

- **Using our leverage in the negotiations to protect the interests of affected parties in Afghanistan**
  - Republicans: 46%
  - Democrats: 43%
  - Independents: 45%
  - Total: 44%

- **Continued financial support**
  - Republicans: 6%
  - Democrats: 13%
  - Independents: 15%
  - Total: 10%

- **Other/don't know**
  - Republicans: 6%
  - Democrats: 15%
  - Independents: 15%
  - Total: 22%

October 2019
Do you think the U.S. military should be responsible for ensuring that Afghanistan has a liberal democratic government, one that protects things like fair and open elections for all citizens, equal rights for women, and equal access to education for all?
Do you think the U.S. military should be responsible for ensuring that Afghanistan has a liberal democratic government, one that protects things like fair and open elections for all citizens, equal rights for women, and equal access to education for all?

- **Yes**: 22% Republicans, 14% Democrats, 14% Independents, 26% Total
- **No**: 40% Republicans, 49% Democrats, 40% Independents, 51% Total
- **Not sure**: 14% Republicans, 26% Democrats, 26% Independents, 35% Total

October 2019
If the central government of Afghanistan in Kabul, the capital, does not have control over all of the territory of Afghanistan, does that pose a threat to the safety of the United States?
If the central government of Afghanistan in Kabul, the capital, does not have control over all of the territory of Afghanistan, does that pose a threat to the safety of the United States?

- Yes, it does pose a threat: 46%
  - Republicans: 41%
  - Democrats: 42%
  - Independents: 28%
  - Total: 42%

- No, it does not pose a threat: 24%
  - Republicans: 24%
  - Democrats: 28%
  - Independents: 23%
  - Total: 26%

- Not sure: 29%
  - Republicans: 29%
  - Democrats: 29%
  - Independents: 29%
  - Total: 31%

October 2019
How strongly do you agree or disagree with the opinion that the U.S. should negotiate with the Taliban to end the war in Afghanistan?
How strongly do you agree or disagree with the opinion that the U.S. should negotiate with the Taliban to end the war in Afghanistan?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree.</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree.</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat disagree.</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree.</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure.</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How strongly do you agree or disagree with the opinion that the U.S. should negotiate with the Taliban to end the war in Afghanistan?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly/Somewhat agree.</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly/Somewhat disagree.</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure.</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

October 2019
[Among those who agree that the U.S. should negotiate with the Taliban to end the war in Afghanistan]

On a scale of 1-5, do you support the following forms of relations with the Taliban? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly oppose” and 5 indicating “strongly support.”

A full peace agreement and normal relations
[Among those who agree that the U.S. should negotiate with the Taliban to end the war in Afghanistan]

On a scale of 1-5, do you support the following forms of relations with the Taliban? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly oppose” and 5 indicating “strongly support.”

* A full peace agreement and normal relations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strongly oppose</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
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<td>10%</td>
<td>23%</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly support</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among those who agree that the U.S. should negotiate with the Taliban to end the war in Afghanistan

On a scale of 1-5, do you support the following forms of relations with the Taliban? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly oppose” and 5 indicating “strongly support.”

Inviting the Taliban to the United States
Among those who agree that the U.S. should negotiate with the Taliban to end the war in Afghanistan, on a scale of 1-5, do you support the following forms of relations with the Taliban? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly oppose” and 5 indicating “strongly support.”

**Inviting the Taliban to the United States.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
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<tr>
<td>56%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>51%</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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</table>

October 2019
Among those who agree that the U.S. should negotiate with the Taliban to end the war in Afghanistan]

On a scale of 1-5, do you support the following forms of relations with the Taliban? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly oppose” and 5 indicating “strongly support.”

Being prepared to provide financial assistance to Afghanistan even with the Taliban being part of the government.
[Among those who agree that the U.S. should negotiate with the Taliban to end the war in Afghanistan] On a scale of 1-5, do you support the following forms of relations with the Taliban? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly oppose” and 5 indicating “strongly support.”

Being prepared to provide financial assistance to Afghanistan even with the Taliban being part of the government.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>46%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>21%</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
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</table>

Strongly support

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

October 2019
It was recently revealed that a meeting had been planned at Camp David between senior Taliban representatives, Afghan government officials, and the U.S. President and his staff, to occur on September 8, 2019 (later canceled).

Which of the following comes closest to your initial reaction:
It was recently revealed that a meeting had been planned at Camp David between senior Taliban representatives, Afghan government officials, and the U.S. President and his staff, to occur on September 8, 2019 (later canceled).

Which of the following comes closest to your initial reaction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I support an agreement with the Taliban if possible but do not support the Taliban being honored on American soil given their role in hosting al-Qaeda.</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am opposed to an agreement with the Taliban whether or not they come to the U.S.</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am open to the Taliban coming to the U.S. if that’s what it takes to reach an agreement but object to the timing so close to the anniversary of 9/11.</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am open to the Taliban coming to the U.S. if that’s what it takes to reach an agreement, and have no problem with the timing.</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

October 2019
Assume that a peace agreement between the U.S. and the Taliban is reached, and the U.S. withdraws all troops from Afghanistan. If the Taliban continues their war with the Afghan government and emerge victorious, capturing Kabul and other major cities, how much do you support the following actions? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly disapprove” and 5 indicating “strongly approve.”

Military action.
Assume that a peace agreement between the U.S. and the Taliban is reached, and the U.S. withdraws all troops from Afghanistan. If the Taliban continues their war with the Afghan government and emerge victorious, capturing Kabul and other major cities, how much do you support the following actions? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly disapprove” and 5 indicating “strongly approve.”

### Military action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disapprove</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>16%</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>18%</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
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</table>

### Strongly approve

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
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<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>38%</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

October 2019
Assume that a peace agreement between the U.S. and the Taliban is reached, and the U.S. withdraws all troops from Afghanistan. If the Taliban continues their war with the Afghan government and emerge victorious, capturing Kabul and other major cities, how much do you support the following actions? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly disapprove” and 5 indicating “strongly approve.”

Impose economic sanctions on the Taliban.
Assume that a peace agreement between the U.S. and the Taliban is reached, and the U.S. withdraws all troops from Afghanistan. If the Taliban continues their war with the Afghan government and emerge victorious, capturing Kabul and other major cities, how much do you support the following actions? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly disapprove” and 5 indicating “strongly approve.”

Impose economic sanctions on the Taliban.
Assume that a peace agreement between the U.S. and the Taliban is reached, and the U.S. withdraws all troops from Afghanistan. If the Taliban continues their war with the Afghan government and emerge victorious, capturing Kabul and other major cities, how much do you support the following actions? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly disapprove” and 5 indicating “strongly approve.”

Engage in international diplomatic efforts
Assume that a peace agreement between the U.S. and the Taliban is reached, and the U.S. withdraws all troops from Afghanistan. If the Taliban continues their war with the Afghan government and emerge victorious, capturing Kabul and other major cities, how much do you support the following actions? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly disapprove” and 5 indicating “strongly approve.”

Engage in international diplomatic efforts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supporting Action</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disapprove</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly approve</td>
<td></td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

October 2019
Assume that a peace agreement between the U.S. and the Taliban is reached, and the U.S. withdraws all troops from Afghanistan. If the Taliban continues their war with the Afghan government and emerge victorious, capturing Kabul and other major cities, how much do you support the following actions? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly disapprove” and 5 indicating “strongly approve.”

Do nothing.
Assume that a peace agreement between the U.S. and the Taliban is reached, and the U.S. withdraws all troops from Afghanistan. If the Taliban continues their war with the Afghan government and emerge victorious, capturing Kabul and other major cities, how much do you support the following actions? Indicate your support below, with 1 indicating “strongly disapprove” and 5 indicating “strongly approve.”

Do nothing.

Strongly disapprove

2

3

4

Strongly approve

October 2019