

*Poll of Voters on Important Security Questions for 2005*  
*Prepared for: Results for America, A Project of Civil Society Institute*  
December 2-6, 2004

NOTE: PERCENTAGES MAY NOT ADD TO 100% DUE TO ROUNDING

\* INDICATES A RESPONSE OF LESS THAN 1%

BASE = 2,090 ADULTS 18 YEARS OLD OR OLDER

U1 Did you vote in the 2004 presidential election?

**75%** YES → CONTINUE

**24%** NO → CONTINUE

**1%** DON'T KNOW/REFUSED → SKIP TO NEXT SECTION

UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED, BASE = 1,608 ADULTS WHO VOTED IN 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

U2 Which candidate did you support in the 2004 election? [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]

**44%** George Bush

**40%** John Kerry

**1%** Ralph Nader

\* OTHER [SPECIFY]

**14%** DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

U3 How would you describe your political views? Would you say . . . [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]

**23%** Liberal

**39%** Conservative

**32%** Independent

**7%** DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

U4 The role of the U.S. in the world is now under much debate here at home and also abroad. Please tell me which of the following is the HIGHEST priority for U.S. foreign and military policy. And which is the second highest? Third? Fourth? [READ ENTIRE LIST BEFORE RECORDING ONE ANSWER FOR EACH. ROTATE]

Highest priority

**43%** Defense of U.S. borders and homeland security

**19%** Intelligence gathering and working to achieve international agreements that encourage the sharing of intelligence information

**17%** International aid and diplomacy, including lining up broad international support for military actions

**7%** Building democracies in other nations

**6%** The United States going it alone, footing all or most of the cost in terms of dollars and military casualties

**8%** DON'T KNOW/NONE OF THESE

Second highest priority

**28%** Intelligence gathering and working to achieve international agreements that encourage the sharing of intelligence information

**20%** Defense of U.S. borders and homeland security

**18%** International aid and diplomacy, including lining up broad international support for military actions

**13%** Building democracies in other nations

**6%** The United States going it alone, footing all or most of the cost in terms of dollars and military casualties

**14%** DON'T KNOW/NONE OF THESE

Third highest priority

**20%** Intelligence gathering and working to achieve international agreements that encourage the sharing of intelligence information

**19%** International aid and diplomacy, including lining up broad international support for military actions

**18%** Building democracies in other nations

**14%** Defense of U.S. borders and homeland security

**6%** The United States going it alone, footing all or most of the cost in terms of dollars and military casualties

**24%** DON'T KNOW/NONE OF THESE

Fourth highest priority

**24%** Building democracies in other nations

**17%** International aid and diplomacy, including lining up broad international support for military actions

**12%** The United States going it alone, footing all or most of the cost in terms of dollars and military casualties

**10%** Intelligence gathering and working to achieve international agreements that encourage the sharing of intelligence information

**7%** Defense of U.S. borders and homeland security

**30%** DON'T KNOW/NONE OF THESE

Lowest priority

**43%** The United States going it alone, footing all or most of the cost in terms of dollars and military casualties

**13%** Building democracies in other nations

**8%** International aid and diplomacy, including lining up broad international support for military actions

**4%** Intelligence gathering and working to achieve international agreements that encourage the sharing of intelligence information

**2%** Defense of U.S. borders and homeland security

**30%** DON'T KNOW/NONE OF THESE

- U5 Would you agree or disagree with the following statement: When the United States acts alone against terrorism, it makes itself a bigger target than when it cooperates with other nations in a coordinated crackdown on terrorism. Would you say you . . . [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]
- 44% Agree strongly
  - 27% Agree somewhat
  - 12% Disagree somewhat
  - 13% Disagree strongly
  
  - 3% DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE
- U6 How concerned are you about another 9/11-style attack by terrorists taking place on U.S. soil in the NEXT 12 MONTHS? Would you say . . . [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]
- 29% Very concerned
  - 47% Somewhat concerned
  - 17% Not very concerned
  - 7% Not concerned at all
  - 1% DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE
- U7 How important a role do you think continued access to Middle Eastern oil has played in U.S. decision making with regard to the Middle East, in general, and Iraq, in particular? Would you say . . . [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]
- 48% A major role
  - 33% Some role
  - 12% Not much of a role
  - 4% No role at all
  - 3% DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE
- U8 How likely do you think it is that the U.S. will succeed in making Iraq a Western style democracy? Would you say . . . [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]
- 11% Very likely
  - 36% Somewhat likely
  - 31% Not very likely
  - 19% Not likely at all
  - 3% DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE
- U9 Do you agree or disagree with the decision to invade Iraq? Would you say you . . . [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]
- 28% Agree strongly
  - 23% Agree somewhat
  - 19% Disagree somewhat
  - 27% Disagree strongly
  - 4% DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U10 Do you believe that the U.S. involvement in Iraq makes us more or less vulnerable to terrorism?  
Would you say . . . [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]

- 36%** Much more vulnerable
- 35%** Somewhat more vulnerable
- 14%** Somewhat less vulnerable
- 10%** Much less vulnerable
- 5%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U11 Do you believe that all possible steps have been taken to find and apprehend Osama bin Laden?

- 37%** YES
- 56%** NO
- 8%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U12 Do you think Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda have an agenda for the Arab world or do you think they are motivated primarily by hatred of America? Would you say . . . [READ ENTIRE LIST BEFORE RECORDING ONE ANSWER]

- 11%** They have an agenda for the Arab world
- 35%** They are primarily motivated by hatred
- 42%** They have an agenda and also are motivated by hatred
- 7%** They are motivated by some other factor
- 6%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U13 Would you support the United States invading Iran to stop its nuclear program?

- 42%** YES
- 47%** NO
- 11%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U14 Would you support the United States invading North Korea to stop its nuclear program?

- 39%** YES
- 50%** NO
- 11%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U15 Do you believe that U.S. support for Israel makes us more or less vulnerable to terrorism?  
Would you say . . . [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]

- 30%** Much more vulnerable
- 51%** Somewhat more vulnerable
- 9%** Somewhat less vulnerable
- 4%** Much less vulnerable
- 7%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U16 Do you think the United States should take the initiative in the wake of the death of Yasir Arafat to push for a Middle Eastern peace arrangement that includes a Palestinian homeland?

**65%** YES  
**22%** NO  
**13%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U17 Do you personally know of a member of the U.S. military who has died or been wounded in combat in Iraq or Afghanistan?

**21%** YES  
**78%** NO  
**1%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U18 Do you believe that the United States should continue to extend unquestioning support to Israel, even in those instances when doing so may undercut the interests of the U.S.?

**33%** YES  
**54%** NO  
**13%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U19 Should the United States continue to maintain a major military presence on the Arabian peninsula, that is, in such places as Saudi Arabia, as opposed to Afghanistan and Iraq, even if such a presence near Islamic holy sites may be seen as provocative to Muslims?

**44%** YES  
**39%** NO  
**17%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U20 Should the United States undertake major occupations, of, say, 10 years or more, in such places as Afghanistan and Iraq?

**25%** YES  
**65%** NO  
**10%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U21 Should the United States support, or not object to, the use of tactics up to and including torture, by such nations as India, China and Russia to crackdown on militant terrorists, even though some of the tactics could not be used legally in this nation?

**25%** YES  
**66%** NO  
**10%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U22 While the incidents of torture and abuse by the U.S. at Iraqi prisons have been thus far attributed to a few “bad apples”, do you believe that this kind of activity should ever be approved of formally or informally by U.S. political or military officials?

**17%** YES  
**75%** NO  
**8%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U23 Do you believe that the United States should continue to support undemocratic regimes in the Arab world, in such places as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, even as it is trying to promote democracy in Afghanistan and Iraq?

**45%** YES  
**40%** NO  
**15%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U24 The United States and Saudi Arabia have worked together to hold down oil prices. One side effect of this arrangement is that it has maintained the U.S. dependency on cheap Middle Eastern oil, while also bankrolling the Saudi Arabian kingdom and other non-elected Arab governments. Do you think that this strategy is in the long-term interests of the United States?

**36%** YES  
**51%** NO  
**13%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U25 Given how the war in Iraq has gone so far, are you now MORE or LESS likely to support a greater emphasis by the United States on diplomacy and multi-nation military action versus a “go it alone” approach? Would you say . . . [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]

**35%** Much more likely  
**30%** Somewhat more likely  
**15%** Somewhat less likely  
**12%** Much less likely  
**9%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U26 Have you changed, or considered changing, any of your plans to travel outside the United States in 2005 as a result of the 2004 election and international reaction to the outcome? [READ LIST. RECORD ONE ANSWER]

**9%** Yes, you have changed, or considered changing, your plans  
**47%** No, you have not changed, or considered changing, your plans  
**43%** Or, did you not have any plans to travel outside the U.S. in 2005  
**1%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

U27 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It matters a great deal whether people from around the world respect and admire our country. We need the rest of the world to fight on our side to fight an effective war against terrorism. Would you say you . . . [READ LIST.  
RECORD ONE ANSWER]

**49%** Agree strongly  
**31%** Agree somewhat  
**8%** Disagree somewhat  
**7%** Disagree strongly  
**4%** DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE