CRITICAL ISSUES POLL
With Nielsen Scarborough

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# The Middle East and Russia: American attitudes on Trump's foreign policy

### Survey Methodology

The survey was carried out November 1-6, 2017 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 national sample was 2,000, including a down-weighted oversample of 1,042 among 18-34 year olds. Responses were weighted by age, gender, income, education, race, and geographic region using benchmarks from the US Census. The survey was also weighted by partisan identification. The margin of error is 2.19%

For more information on Nielsen Scarborough's panel polling, please visit: https://criticalissues.umd.edu/sites/criticalissues.umd.edu/files/nielsen_scarborough_methodology.pdf

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.

Q6. Please name a national or world leader you dislike most [**Open-ended text box**]

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Donald Trump | 9% | 73% | 29% | 41% |
| 2. Kim Jong-un | 30 | 7 | 16 | 18 |
| 3. Vladimir Putin | 6 | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| 4. Hillary Clinton | 11 | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| 5. Barack Obama | 11 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Angela Merkel | 3 | <1 | 4 | 2 |
| 7. Nancy Pelosi | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 8. Adolf Hitler | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 9. Chuck Schumer | 2 | <1 | 0 | 1 |
| 10. Bashar al-Assad | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 11. Iranian Leadership | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 12. All | 1 | <1 | 2 | 1 |
| 13. Other | 8 | 4 | 9 | 6 |
| 14. None | 2 | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| 15. Refused/Don't Know | 11 | 7 | 21 | 10 |

**Questions on Russia**

Q49. Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?

**[RANDOMIZE ROWS]**

Q49a. The war on terrorism, especially on ISIS and Al Qaeda

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Not at all desirable | 5% | 14% | 14% | 10% |
| 2. Somewhat desirable | 27 | 36 | 32 | 32 |
| 3. Very desirable | 66 | 47 | 51 | 55 |
| Refused | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

Q49b. Dealing with North Korea issues

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Not at all desirable | 9% | 14% | 14% | 12% |
| 2. Somewhat desirable | 32 | 40 | 36 | 36 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. Very desirable | 57 | 42 | 45 | 49 |
| Refused | 2 | 3 | 5 | 3 |

Q49c. Dealing with Iran issues

| | **Rep** | **Dem** | **Ind** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Not at all desirable | 9% | 16% | 14% | 13% |
| 2. Somewhat desirable | 40 | 48 | 43 | 44 |
| 3. Very desirable | 47 | 31 | 37 | 39 |
| Refused | 3 | 5 | 7 | 5 |

Q49d. Pursuing Arab-Israeli peace

| | **Rep** | **Dem** | **Ind** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Not at all desirable | 16% | 22% | 22% | 19% |
| 2. Somewhat desirable | 44 | 46 | 39 | 45 |
| 3. Very desirable | 37 | 28 | 33 | 32 |
| Refused | 3 | 4 | 6 | 4 |

Q49e. Achieving stability in Syria

| | **Rep** | **Dem** | **Ind** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Not at all desirable | 11% | 16% | 16% | 14% |
| 2. Somewhat desirable | 43 | 44 | 41 | 43 |
| 3. Very desirable | 44 | 37 | 37 | 40 |
| Refused | 3 | 4 | 6 | 4 |

Q49f. Achieving stability in Libya

| | **Rep** | **Dem** | **Ind** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Not at all desirable | 12% | 19% | 20% | 16% |
| 2. Somewhat desirable | 49 | 47 | 44 | 48 |
| 3. Very desirable | 36 | 30 | 31 | 32 |
| Refused | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 |

Q50. Do you view Russia as an ally or foe?

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Ally | 14% | 7% | 15% | 11% |
| 2. Foe | 29 | 55 | 33 | 42 |
| 3. Neither | 56 | 37 | 50 | 47 |
| Refused | <1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

Q51. Do you believe Russia interfered in the recent presidential election, and if so, did it influence the outcome?

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. No, they did not interfere | 23% | 2% | 13% | 12% |
| 2. Yes, but it probably did not alter the outcome of the election | 59 | 16 | 27 | 36 |
| 3. Yes, and it probably did influence the outcome of the election | 8 | 74 | 29 | 41 |
| 4. Not sure | 11 | 8 | 29 | 11 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

**Middle East**

Q56a. In general, what role do you want the new Trump administration to play in mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Should the new Trump administration **[RANDOMIZE]**:

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Lean toward Israel | 58% | 13% | 25% | 34% |
| 2. Lean toward the Palestinians | 2 | 9 | 5 | 6 |
| 3. Lean toward neither side **[FIXED]** | 38 | 77 | 65 | 59 |
| Refused | 2 | 2 | 5 | 2 |

Q56b. Assessing the Trump administration's diplomacy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict so far, what best describes it? **[SHOW IN SAME ORDER AS Q56A]**

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Leaning toward Israel | 60% | 57% | 47% | 57% |
| 2. Leaning toward the Palestinians | 3 | 5 | 1 | 4 |
| 3. Leaning toward neither side **[FIXED]** | 33 | 33 | 46 | 34 |
| Refused | 4 | 6 | 7 | 5 |

Q57. As you may know, the United States has been acting as a mediator between the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority, with the aim of reaching an agreement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Whether or not these efforts succeed, there is a question about what kind of future for Israel and the Palestinians the U.S. should be supporting over the long term, and many analysts feel that time is running out for some options. Here are four possible approaches that are frequently discussed. Please select the one you think the U.S. should support.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. A two-state solution: Israel and a Palestinian state side by side. The Palestinian state would be established on the territories that Israel has occupied since 1967. | 32% | 51% | 35% | 41% |
| 2. A one-state solution: A single democratic state in which both Jews and Arabs are full and equal citizens, covering all of what is now Israel and the Palestinian Territories. | 26 | 30 | 36 | 29 |
| 3. Annexation without equal citizenship: Israel would annex the Palestinian territories, but keep a majority-Jewish state in the expanded territories by restricting citizenship rights of Palestinians. | 15 | 6 | 6 | 10 |
| 4. Maintain the occupation of both the territories Israel has captured in 1967 and the Palestinians inhabiting them indefinitely. | 21 | 7 | 13 | 13 |
| Refused | 6 | 6 | 11 | 7 |

Q58. If the approach you selected turns out over time to be impossible, which of the remaining three would you prefer? **[***Asked only of those who selected option 1 in Q57***]**

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. A one-state solution: A single democratic state in which both Jews and Arabs are full and equal citizens, covering all of what is now Israel and the Palestinian Territories. | 36% | 67% | 54% | 55% |
| 2. Annexation without equal citizenship: Israel would annex the Palestinian territories, but keep a majority-Jewish state in the expanded territories by restricting citizenship rights of Palestinians. | 17 | 5 | 13 | 10 |
| 3. Maintain the occupation of both the territories Israel has captured in 1967 and the Palestinians inhabiting them indefinitely. | 46 | 27 | 31 | 34 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

Q59. One of the issues of tension between the United States and Israel has been its construction of Israeli settlements in the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 war. These settlements are considered illegal by most of the international community and have been opposed by every U.S. administration, both Republican and Democratic. The Israeli government has continued to build settlements arguing that they have the right to do so, or that these are not obstacles to peace. How do you believe the U.S. should react to new settlements? **[RANDOMLY REVERSE]**

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Do nothing | 36% | 13% | 30% | 25% |
| 2. Limit U.S. opposition to words, but take no other action | 31 | 25 | 25 | 28 |
| 3. Impose some economic sanctions, either through the United Nations or unilaterally | 21 | 43 | 25 | 32 |
| 4. Take more serious action | 8 | 15 | 12 | 12 |
| Refused | 3 | 4 | 7 | 4 |

Q60. President Trump pledged during his 2016 presidential campaign to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel from its current location in Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. But, like previous presidents since Congress passed the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Act, he has renewed a waiver that will temporarily keep the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv, based on national security interests. Now tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**[RANDOMIZE ROWS]**

Q60a. The U.S. should not immediately move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem. The international community, including the UN and European allies have not accepted Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem, which was occupied in the 1967 War. The U.S. Government's position has been that the ultimate status of Jerusalem has to be agreed in negotiations between the Israelis and the Palestinians. If the U.S. were to move its embassy to Jerusalem, it would be violating international norms, harming important relationships worldwide, and generating anti-American sentiments among Arabs and Muslims globally.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Disagree strongly | 14% | 5% | 10% | 9% |
| 2. Disagree somewhat | 25 | 13 | 20 | 19 |
| 3. Agree somewhat | 45 | 43 | 34 | 43 |
| 4. Agree strongly | 9 | 34 | 22 | 22 |
| Refused | 7 | 6 | 14 | 7 |

Q60b. The U.S. should immediately move its embassy to Jerusalem. The Embassy should be located in Jerusalem to fulfill the president's pledge, and there is no national security reason to file an exception to the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Act. Such an act would serve to demonstrate the commitment of the U.S. to the State of Israel and to its control over a unified Jerusalem as its capital.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Disagree strongly | 9% | 44% | 23% | 27% |
| 2. Disagree somewhat | 30 | 29 | 36 | 30 |
| 3. Agree somewhat | 37 | 15 | 20 | 25 |
| 4. Agree strongly | 17 | 4 | 10 | 10 |
| Refused | 8 | 8 | 12 | 8 |

Q61. Having thought about it, do you support or oppose the United States immediately moving its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem? **[RANDOMLY REVERSE]**

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Support | 49% | 15% | 28% | 31% |
| 2. Oppose | 44 | 81 | 60 | 63 |
| Refused | 7 | 4 | 12 | 6 |

Q62. The United States has recently withdrawn from the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) accusing the organization of an anti-Israeli bias in its policies. Please tell me on a scale of 1-4 how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**[RANDOMIZE ROWS]**

Q62a. The U.S. participating in UNESCO is important even when the U.S. disagrees with some UNESCO policies. It demonstrates engagement in the international community and ensures the health of UNESCO's literacy and education programs that are so central to the UNESCO mission. It also provides the U.S. an important voice at the table.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Disagree strongly | 23% | 4% | 11% | 13% |
| 2. Disagree somewhat | 27 | 12 | 19 | 19 |
| 3. Agree somewhat | 35 | 37 | 40 | 37 |
| 4. Agree strongly | 10 | 42 | 19 | 26 |
| Refused | 5 | 5 | 10 | 6 |

Q62b. The U.S. cannot accept UNESCO's approach on Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. UNESCO's disregard for Israeli positions justify U.S. withdrawal from membership in the organization.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Disagree strongly | 4% | 37% | 15% | 20% |
| 2. Disagree somewhat | 20 | 34 | 36 | 28 |
| 3. Agree somewhat | 36 | 18 | 27 | 27 |
| 4. Agree strongly | 34 | 4 | 12 | 18 |
| Refused | 6 | 7 | 11 | 7 |

Q63. Now tell me, do you support or oppose U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO? **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Support U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO | 68% | 14% | 36% | 40% |
| 2. Oppose U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO | 27 | 82 | 53 | 55 |
| Refused | 4 | 4 | 11 | 5 |

Q64. President Trump has commenced efforts to mediate the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. His effort has relied on active personal diplomacy involving his top advisor and son-in-law, Jared Kushner, and his former lawyer, Jason Greenblatt. Tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

**[RANDOMIZE ROWS]**

Q64a. It is wise for presidents to rely on family members and people who are close to them in Middle East diplomacy as that increases the confidence of Middle East leaders in the President's efforts.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Disagree strongly | 15% | 68% | 43% | 42% |
| 2. Disagree somewhat | 34 | 19 | 27 | 26 |
| 3. Agree somewhat | 38 | 9 | 20 | 23 |
| 4. Agree strongly | 9 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Refused | 4 | 3 | 7 | 4 |

Q64b. In complex diplomatic efforts, such as the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, it is best for presidents to rely principally on experts who have knowledge and experience of both parties in the conflict.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Disagree strongly | 2% | 4% | 7% | 3% |
| 2. Disagree somewhat | 14 | 8 | 11 | 11 |
| 3. Agree somewhat | 47 | 17 | 30 | 31 |
| 4. Agree strongly | 35 | 69 | 44 | 52 |
| Refused | 2 | 2 | 8 | 3 |

Q65. Now tell me, which of the following do you agree with most? **[SHOW IN SAME ORDER AS Q64]**

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. It is wise for presidents to rely on family members and people who are close to them in Middle East diplomacy as that increases the confidence of Middle East leaders in the president's efforts. | 24% | 7% | 14% | 15% |
| 2. In complex diplomatic efforts, such as the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, it is best for presidents to rely principally on experts who have knowledge and experience of both parties in the conflict. | 71 | 91 | 77 | 81 |
| Refused | 5 | 2 | 9 | 4 |

**Questions on Iran**

Q69. President Obama certified, and President Trump also certified, the 2015 Iran Nuclear Deal (The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action or JCPOA) earlier this year. But on October 13, 2017, President Trump decided not to certify Iran's compliance with the JCPOA. In your opinion, do you approve or disapprove of President Trump's action to not certify Iran's compliance?

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Approve | 68% | 7% | 27% | 35% |
| 2. Disapprove | 7 | 65 | 31 | 37 |
| 3. Don't Know | 24 | 27 | 41 | 27 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

Q71. Assuming both the United States and Iran fully comply with the Iran Nuclear Deal as it stands, tell me the extent to which you agree with the following about maintaining the nuclear deal:

**[RANDOMIZE ROWS]**

Q71a. It reduces the chance that Iran will develop nuclear weapons

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Strongly agree | 8% | 21% | 13% | 15% |
| 2. Somewhat agree | 34 | 49 | 33 | 41 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. Somewhat disagree | 26 | 18 | 26 | 22 |
| 4. Strongly disagree | 29 | 7 | 19 | 17 |
| Refused | 4 | 5 | 10 | 5 |

Q71b. It serves the national security interests of the United States

| | **Rep** | **Dem** | **Ind** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Strongly agree | 18% | 31% | 22% | 24% |
| 2. Somewhat agree | 44 | 49 | 37 | 46 |
| 3. Somewhat disagree | 19 | 11 | 20 | 15 |
| 4. Strongly disagree | 16 | 5 | 11 | 11 |
| Refused | 4 | 5 | 10 | 5 |

Q72. On issues not related to the nuclear deal, such as Iran's conventional weapons and regional policies, Congress is not limited by the Iran Nuclear Deal from imposing Iran sanctions. In fact, such sanctions are already in place. However, Congress will likely consider in the coming weeks imposing nuclear-related sanctions that would violate the Iran nuclear deal.

On a scale of 1-4, which of the following should Congress consider the most when deciding whether or not to impose nuclear-related sanctions on Iran?

**[RANDOMIZE ROWS]**

Q72a. If U.S. national security agencies (Pentagon, the CIA, State Department) find evidence that Iran is not complying with the nuclear deal.

| | **Rep** | **Dem** | **Ind** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Do not consider | 2% | 6% | 8% | 5% |
| 2. Possibly consider | 11 | 22 | 19 | 17 |
| 3. Somewhat consider | 20 | 24 | 21 | 22 |
| 4. Strongly consider | 63 | 43 | 42 | 51 |
| Refused | 4 | 6 | 10 | 6 |

Q72b. If U.S. national security agencies (Pentagon, CIA, State Department) determine that imposing sanctions is in U.S. national security interests.

| | **Rep** | **Dem** | **Ind** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Do not consider | 2% | 7% | 13% | 6% |
| 2. Possibly consider | 14 | 27 | 23 | 21 |
| 3. Somewhat consider | 26 | 28 | 25 | 27 |
| 4. Strongly consider | 54 | 31 | 28 | 41 |
| Refused | 4 | 7 | 11 | 6 |

Q72c. If other deal signatories (the United Kingdom, Russia, France, China, and Germany) also agree with imposing sanctions.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Do not consider | 6% | 6% | 11% | 7% |
| 2. Possibly consider | 22 | 25 | 25 | 24 |
| 3. Somewhat consider | 36 | 30 | 26 | 32 |
| 4. Strongly consider | 32 | 33 | 28 | 32 |
| Refused | 4 | 6 | 11 | 6 |

Q72d. If imposing such sanctions helps make Israel more secure.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Do not consider | 4% | 16% | 19% | 11% |
| 2. Possibly consider | 20 | 37 | 25 | 28 |
| 3. Somewhat consider | 30 | 29 | 28 | 29 |
| 4. Strongly consider | 41 | 11 | 18 | 25 |
| Refused | 4 | 7 | 10 | 6 |

Q72e. If imposing such sanctions helps make Iran's Arab neighbors more secure.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Do not consider | 5% | 10% | 13% | 8% |
| 2. Possibly consider | 24 | 34 | 30 | 29 |
| 3. Somewhat consider | 33 | 33 | 26 | 32 |
| 4. Strongly consider | 34 | 17 | 20 | 25 |
| Refused | 4 | 6 | 11 | 6 |

Q73. Now tell me, which of these four is in your opinion most important? **[SHOW IN SAME ORDER AS Q72]**

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. If U.S. national security agencies (Pentagon, CIA, State Department) find evidence that Iran is not complying with the nuclear deal. | 27% | 31% | 31% | 29% |
| 2. If U.S. national security agencies (Pentagon, CIA, State Department) determine that imposing sanctions is in U.S. national security interests. | 36 | 24 | 25 | 29 |
| 3. If other deal signatories (the United Kingdom, Russia, France, China, and Germany) also agree with imposing sanctions. | 17 | 32 | 22 | 24 |
| 4. If imposing such sanctions helps make Israel more secure. | 12 | 3 | 6 | 7 |
| 5. If imposing such sanctions helps make Iran's Arab neighbors more secure. | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 |
| Refused | 4 | 6 | 11 | 5 |