



# CRITICAL ISSUES POLL

*With Nielsen Scarborough*

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**Shibley Telhami, Director**  
**Stella Rouse, Associate Director**

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

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### **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 provided by Survey Sampling International. 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](https://criticalissues.umd.edu/sites/criticalissues.umd.edu/files/nielsen_scarborough_methodology.pdf)

Valuable assistance was provided by Neil Schwartz, Scott Willoth, and Shalayne Cooke from Nielsen Scarborough. Brittany Kyser, Jared McDonald, and Sean Rao were particularly helpful.

Note: Percentages may not always add to one-hundred due to rounding.

\*The November 2017 data is from a larger University of Maryland Critical Issues Poll with Shibley Telhami and Stella Rouse as principal investigators that will be analyzed and released in the coming weeks.

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

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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?

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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?

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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**]:

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
1. Lean toward Israel	58%	13%	25%	34%
2. Lean toward the Palestinians	2	9	5	6
3. Lean toward neither side [ <b>FIXED</b> ]	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]**

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
1. Leaning toward Israel	60%	57%	47%	57%
2. Leaning toward the Palestinians	3	5	1	4
3. Leaning toward neither side <b>[FIXED]</b>	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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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]

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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**]

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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]

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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]**

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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]

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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?

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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.

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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**]

	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Total</b>
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