

B | Center for
Middle East Policy
at BROOKINGS

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

A PUBLIC OPINION POLL BY SHIBLEY TELHAMI

A survey of the



CRITICAL ISSUES POLL

With Nielsen Scarborough

Shibley Telhami, Director
Stella Rouse, Associate Director

Valuable assistance was provided by Neil Schwartz, Scott Willoth, and Shalayne Cooke from Nielsen Scarborough. Brittany Kyser, Jared McDonald, Sean Rao, Kristen Belle-Isle, Anna Newby, George Burroughs, Jessica Pavone, Mark Hoelscher, Shawn Dhar, and Anne Peckham were particularly helpful.

*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.

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 details on the methodology, please visit:

https://criticalissues.umd.edu/sites/criticalissues.umd.edu/files/umcip_nov_2017_survey_methodology_final_version.pdf

And for further details on the Nielsen panel polling, please see:

https://criticalissues.umd.edu/sites/criticalissues.umd.edu/files/nielsen_scarborough_methodology.pdf

American Attitudes toward the Israeli- Palestinian Conflict

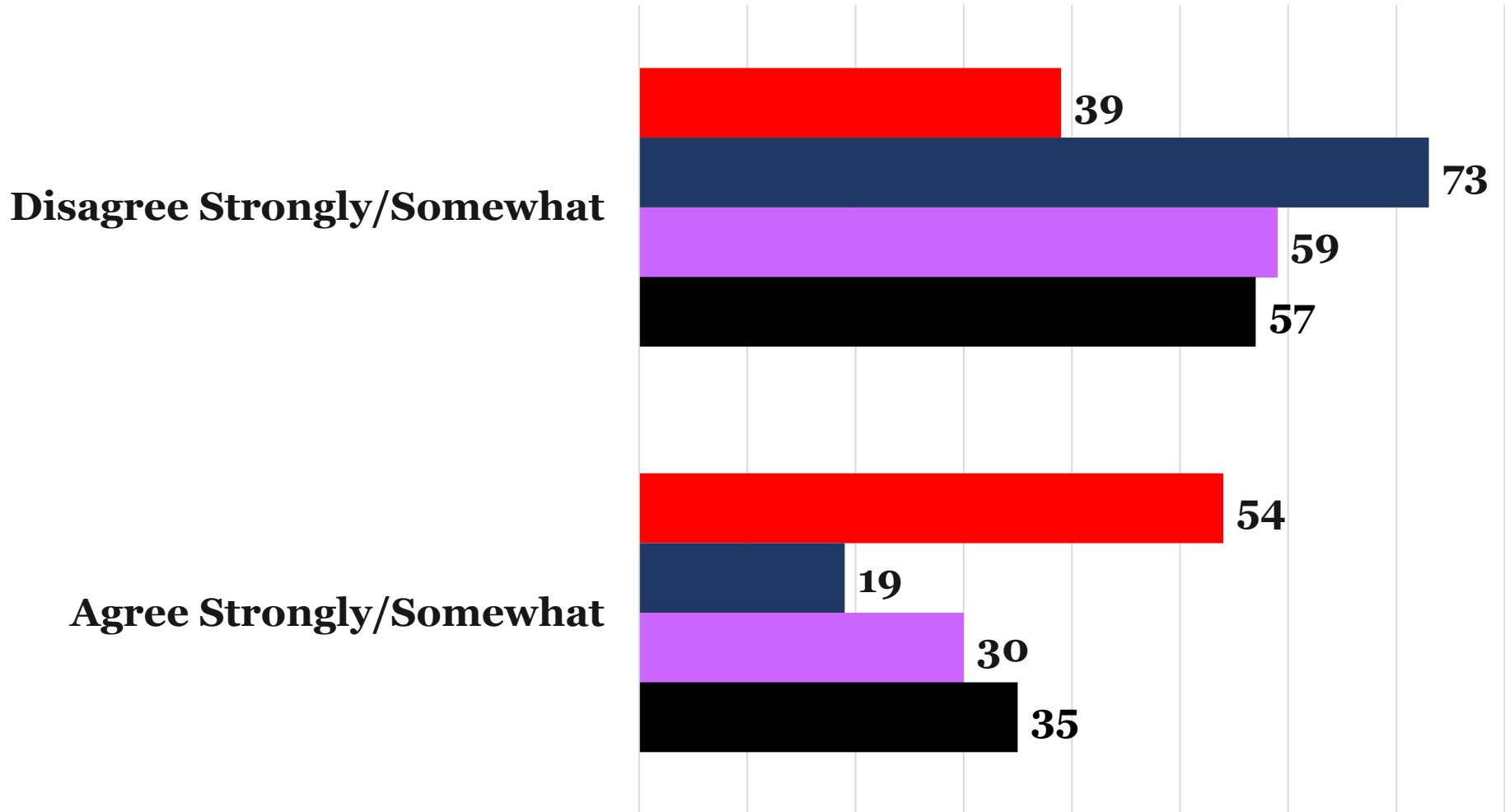
President Trump pledged during his 2016 presidential campaign to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel from its current location in Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. But, like previous presidents since Congress passed the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Act, he has renewed a waiver that will temporarily keep the U.S. Embassy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

[Options were randomized]

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.

The U.S. should immediately move its embassy to Jerusalem.

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



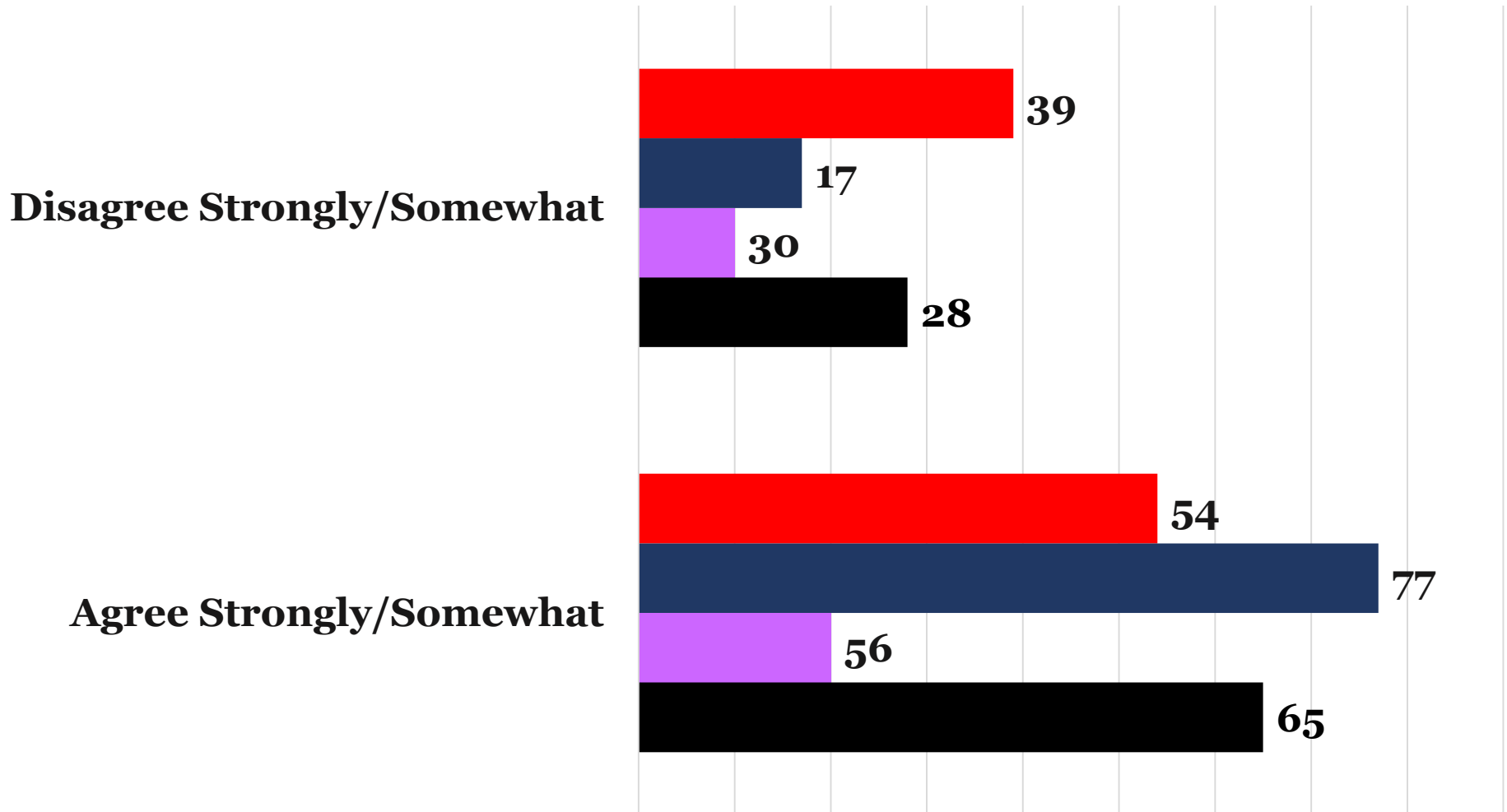
President Trump pledged during his 2016 presidential campaign to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel from its current location in Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. But, like previous presidents since Congress passed the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Act, he has renewed a waiver that will temporarily keep the U.S. Embassy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

[Options were randomized]

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.

The U.S. should not immediately move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem.

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total

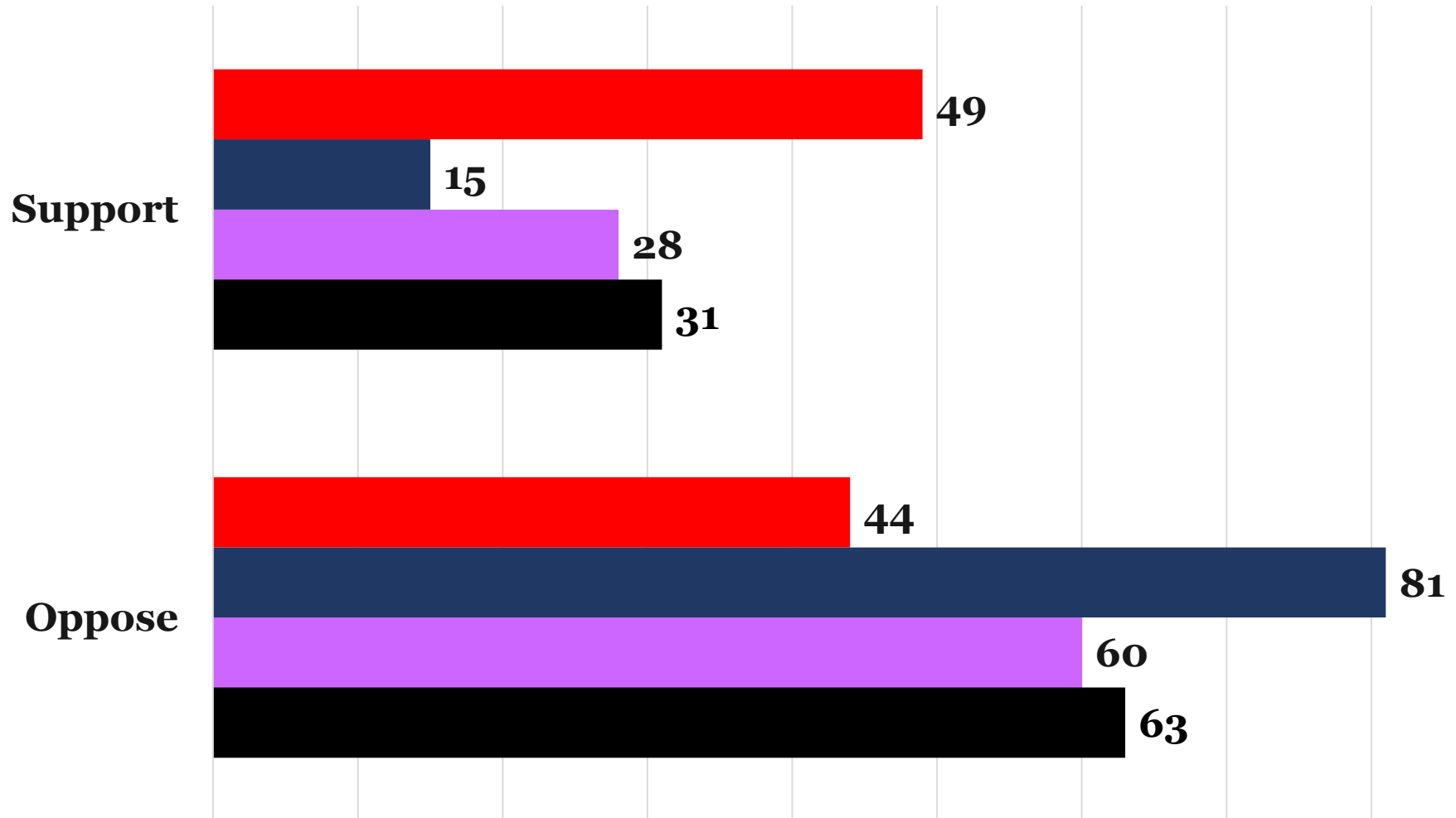


Having thought about it, do you support or oppose the United States immediately moving its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem?

[Options were randomized]

Having thought about it, do you support or oppose the United States moving its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem?

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



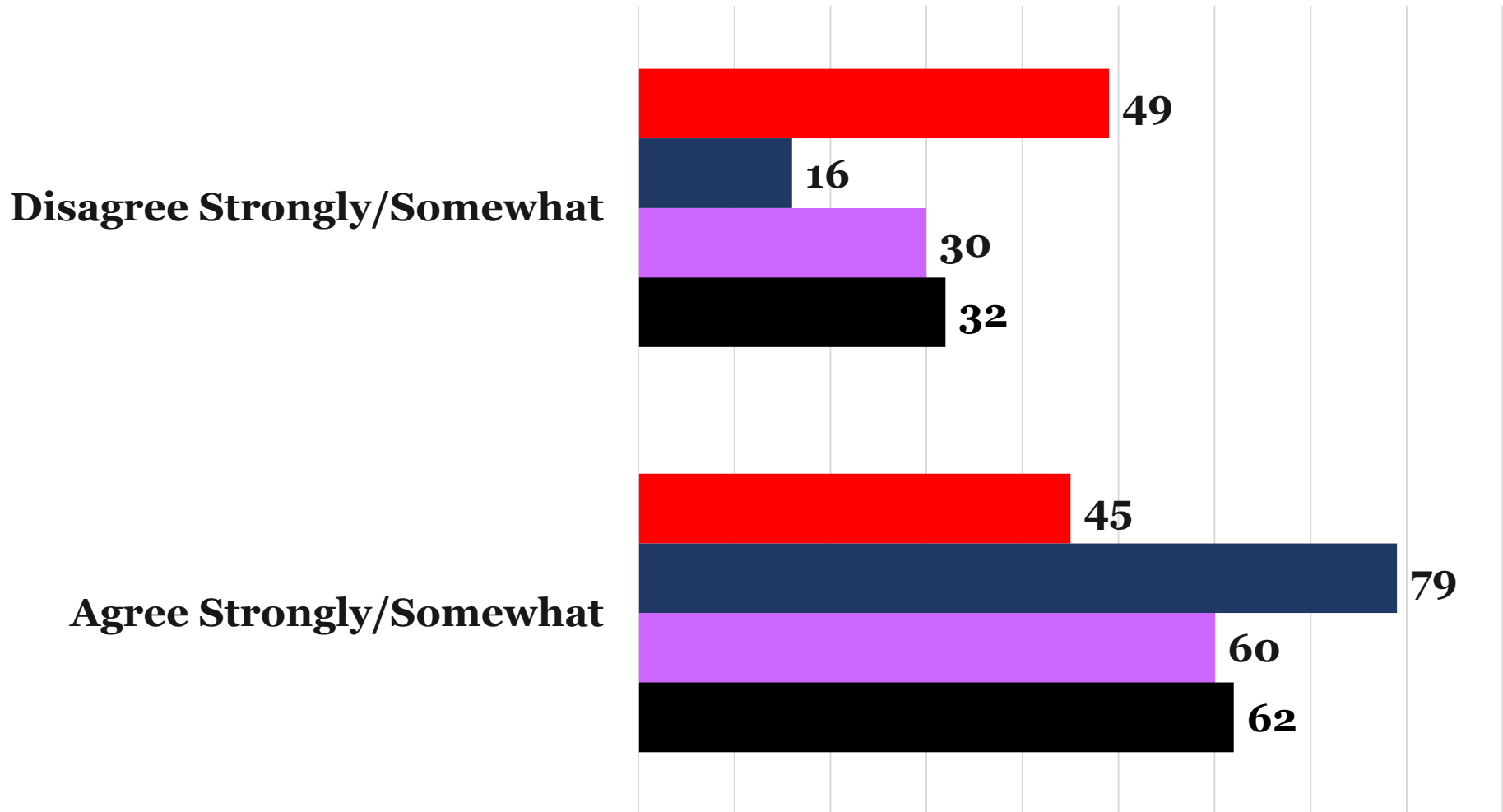
The United States has recently withdrawn from the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) accusing the organization of an anti-Israeli bias in its policies. Please tell me on a scale of 1-4 how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[Options were randomized]

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.

The U.S. participating in UNESCO is important even when the U.S. disagrees with some UNESCO policies.

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



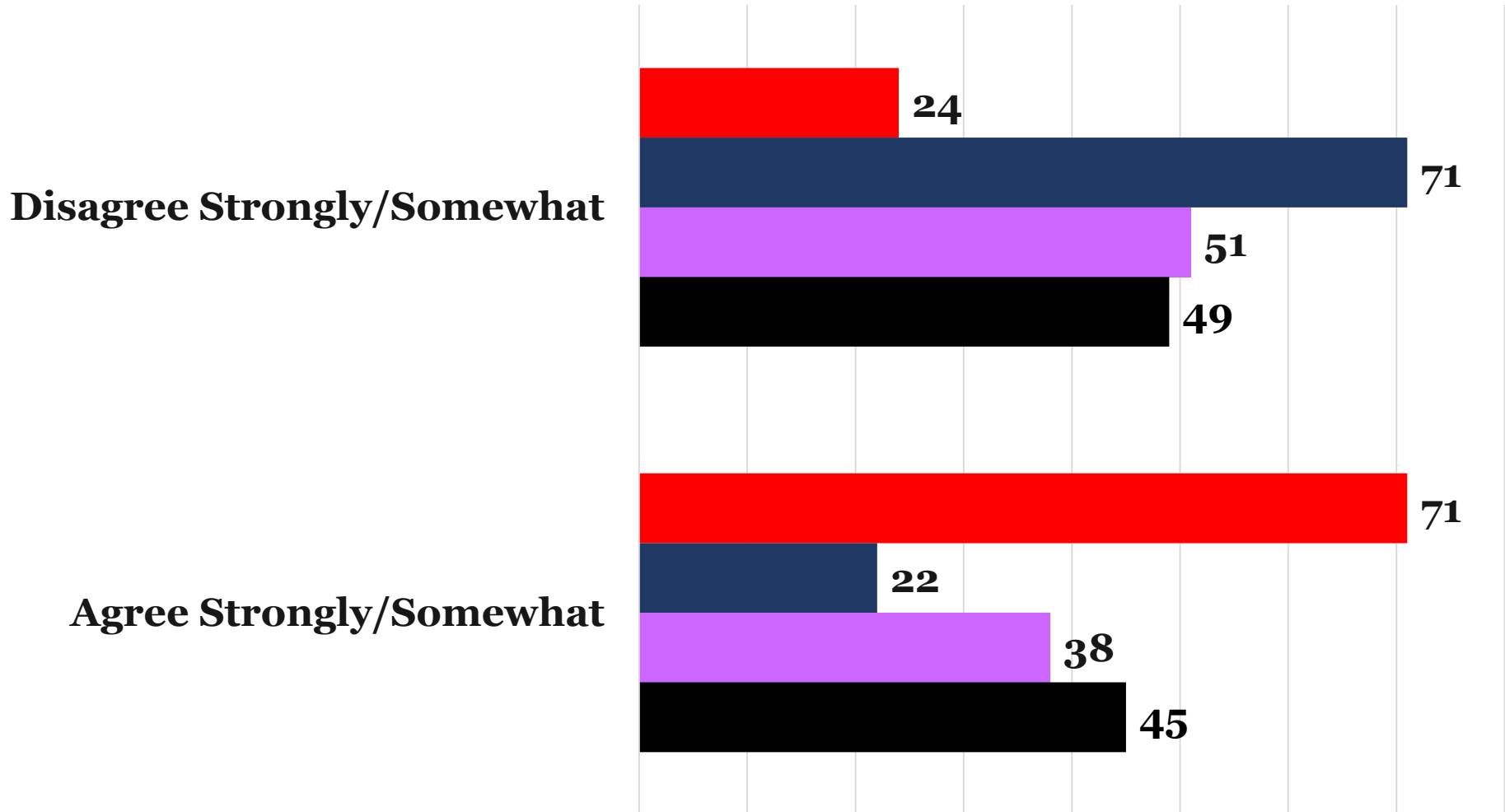
The United States has recently withdrawn from the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) accusing the organization of an anti-Israeli bias in its policies. Please tell me on a scale of 1-4 how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[Options were randomized]

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.

The U.S. cannot accept UNESCO's approach on Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



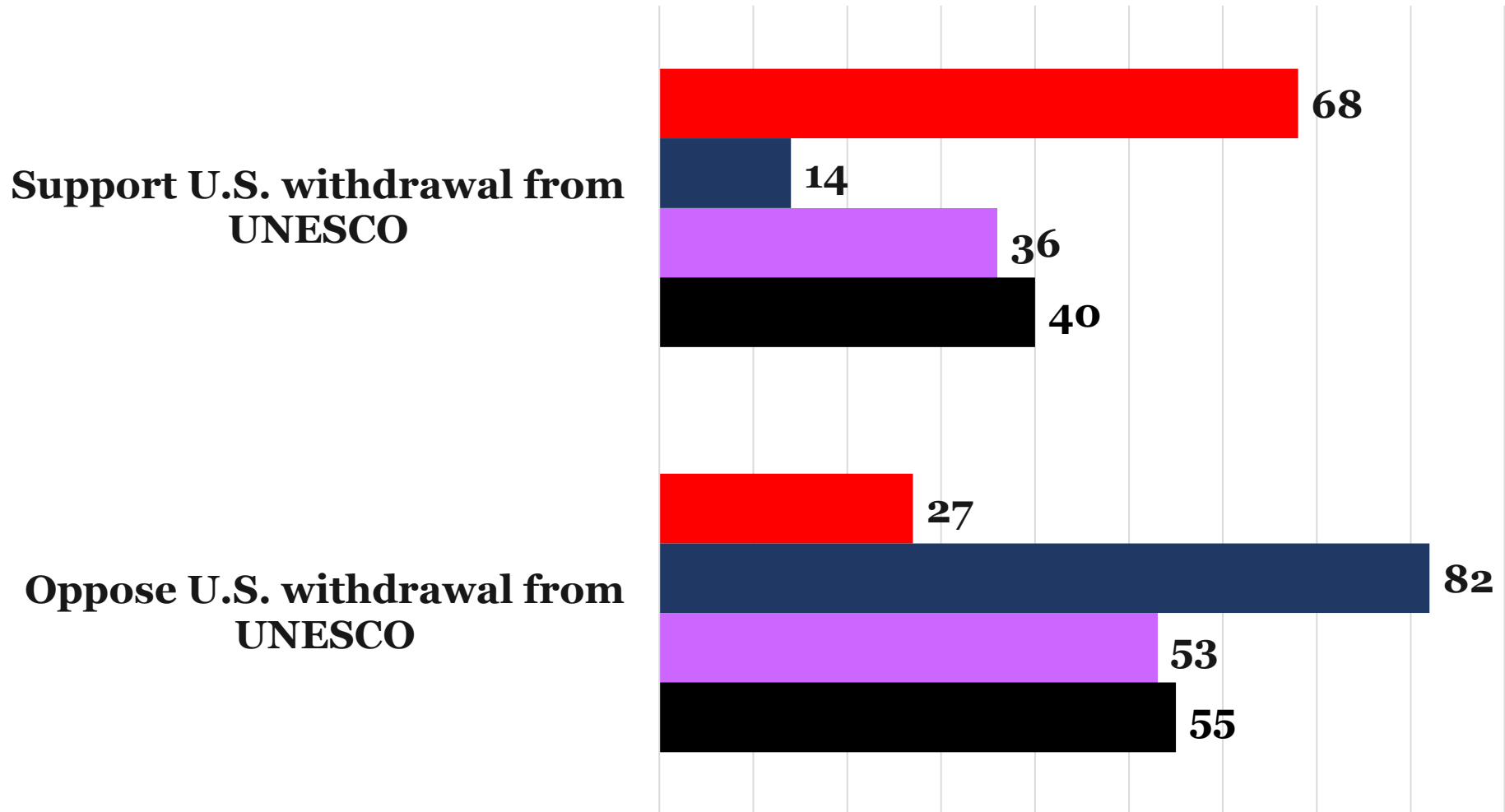
Nov. 2017

**Now tell me, do you
support or oppose U.S.
withdrawal from
UNESCO?**

[Options were randomized]

Now tell me, do you support or oppose U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO?

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



Now tell me, do you support or oppose U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO?

18-34

35+

Support U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO

35

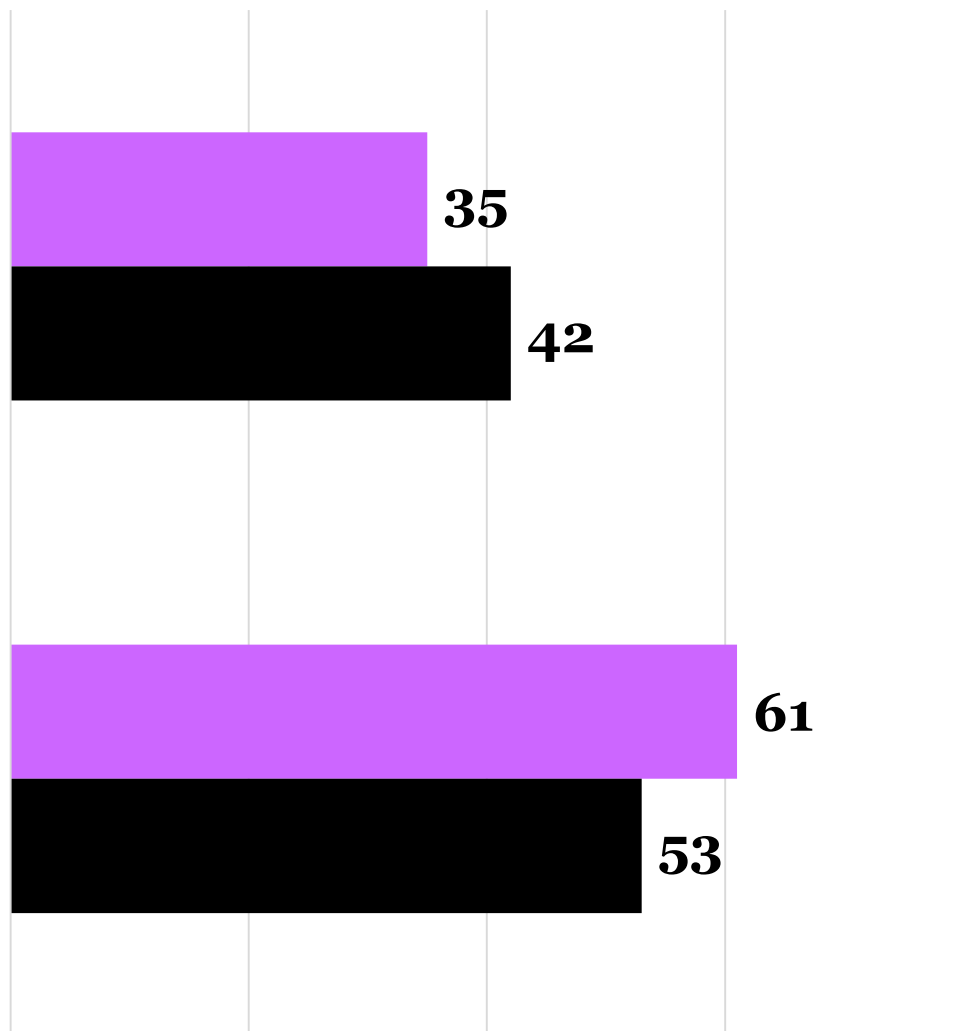
42

Oppose U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO

61

53

Nov. 2017



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.

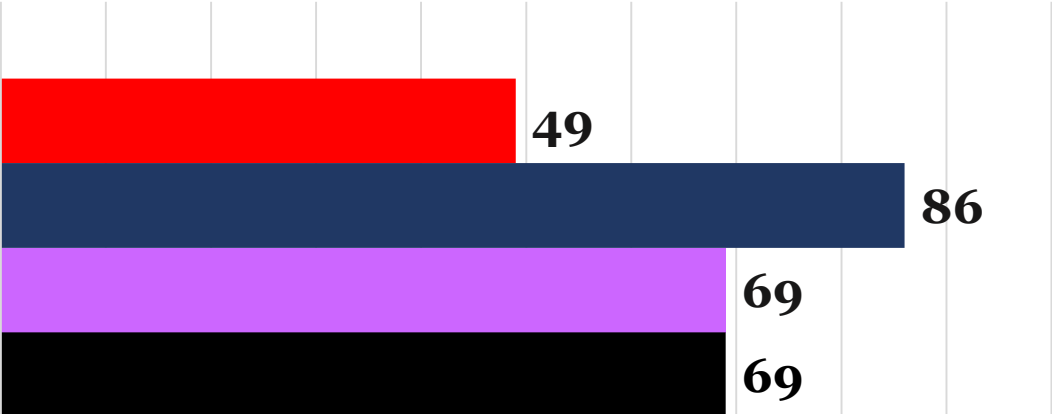
[Options were randomized]

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.

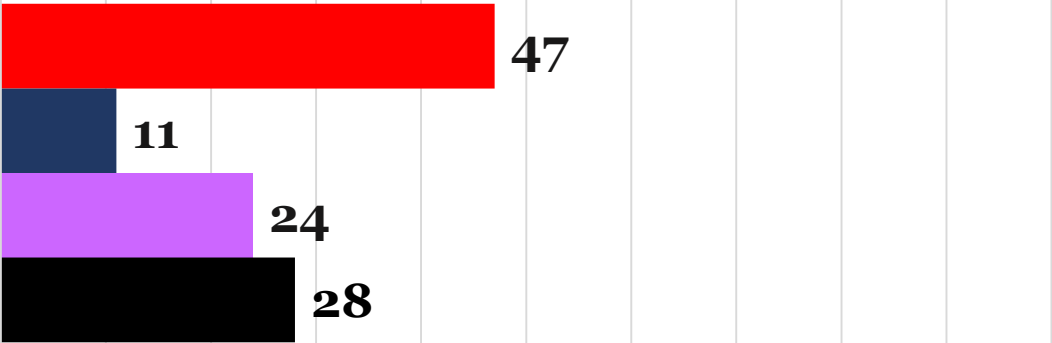
It is wise for presidents to rely on family members and people who are close to them in Middle East diplomacy as that increases the confidence of Middle East leaders in the President's efforts.

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total

Disagree Strongly/Somewhat



Agree Strongly/Somewhat



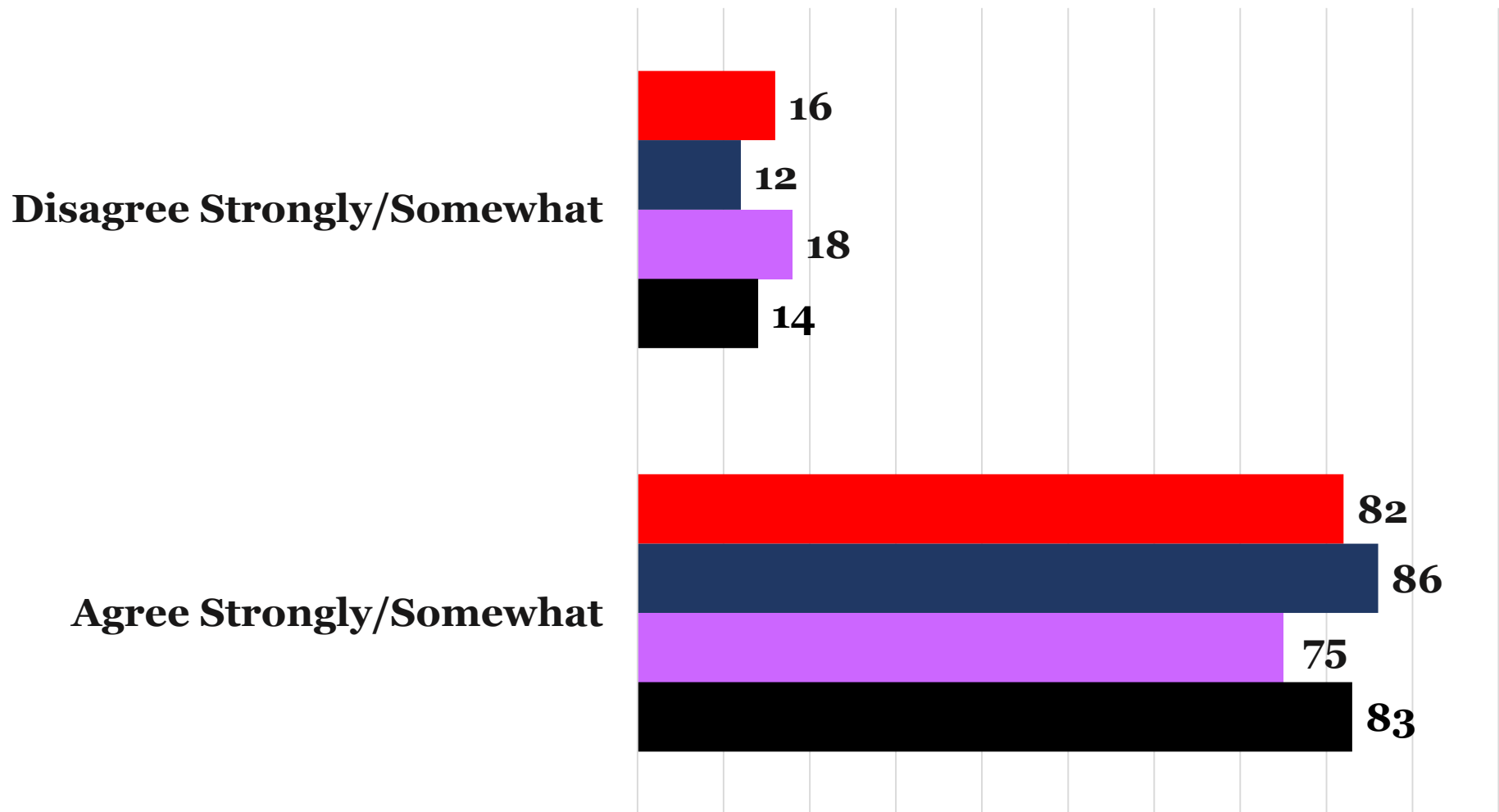
President Trump has commenced efforts to mediate the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. His effort has relied on active personal diplomacy involving his top advisor and son-in-law, Jared Kushner, and his former lawyer, Jason Greenblatt. Tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following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

[Options were randomized]

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.

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.

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



Nov. 2017

**Now tell me, which of
the following do you
agree with most?**

Now tell me, which of the following do you agree with most?

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total

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



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

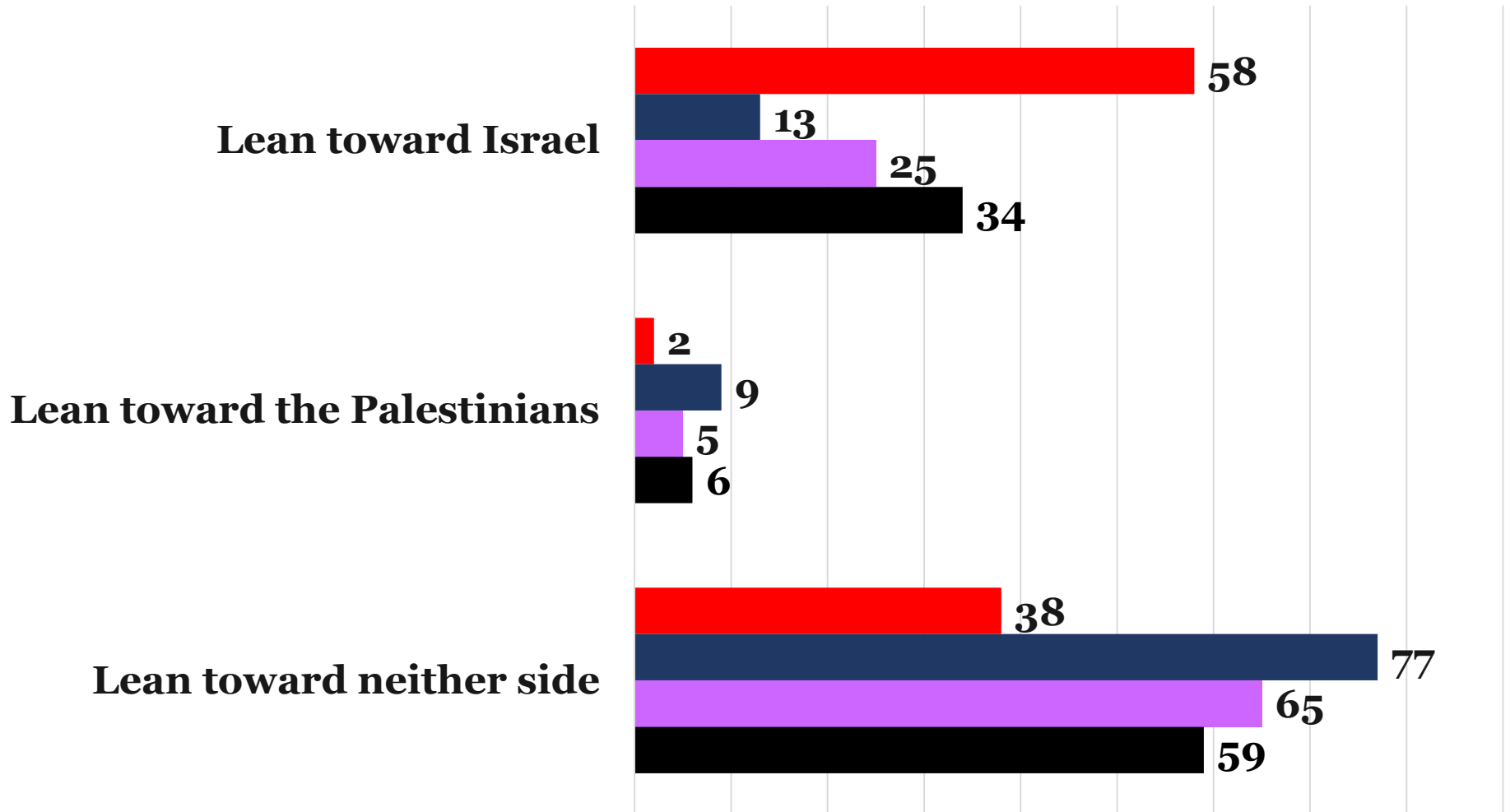


In general, what role do you want the new Trump administration to play in mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

[First two options were randomized]

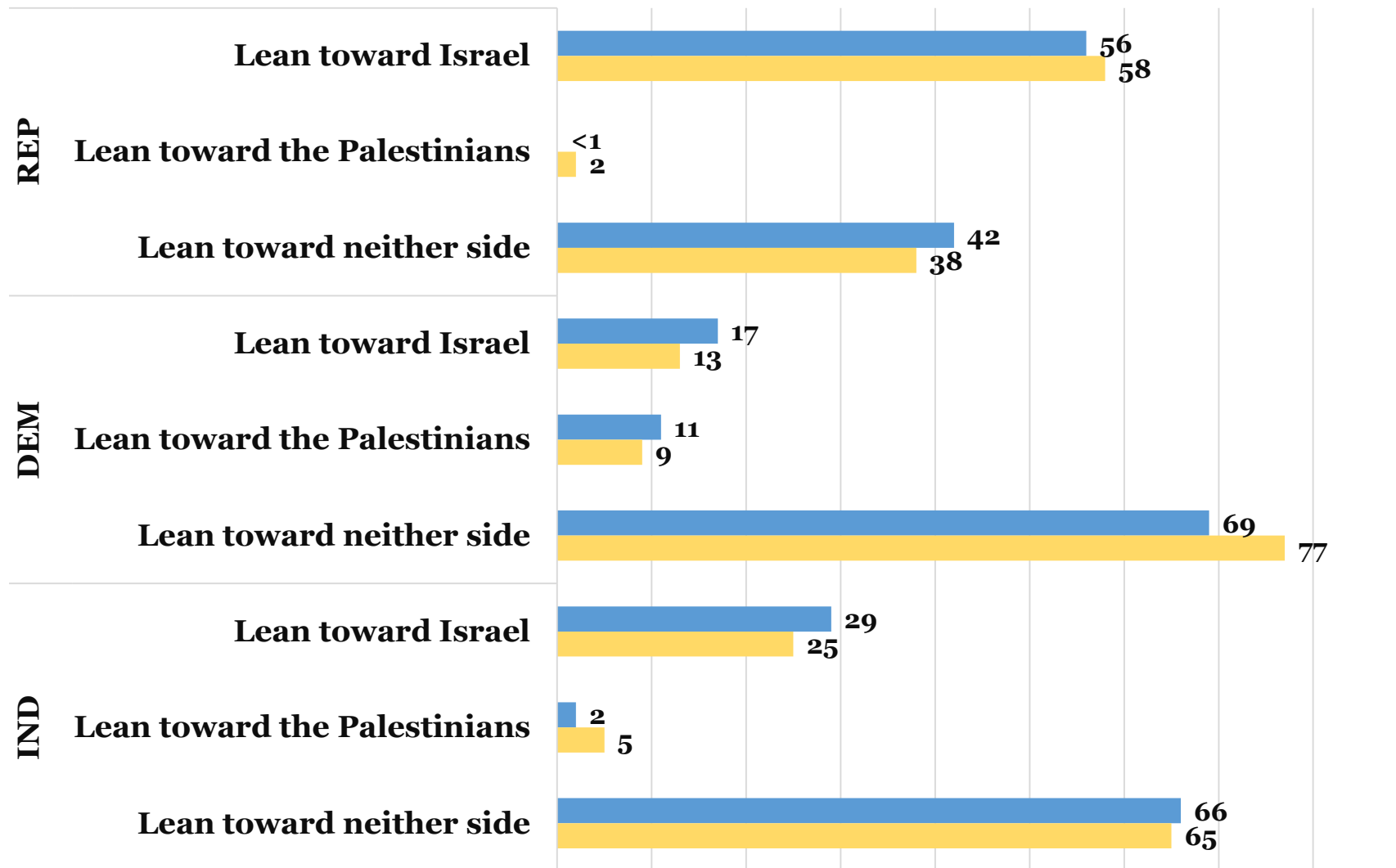
In general, what role do you want the new Trump administration to play in mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total

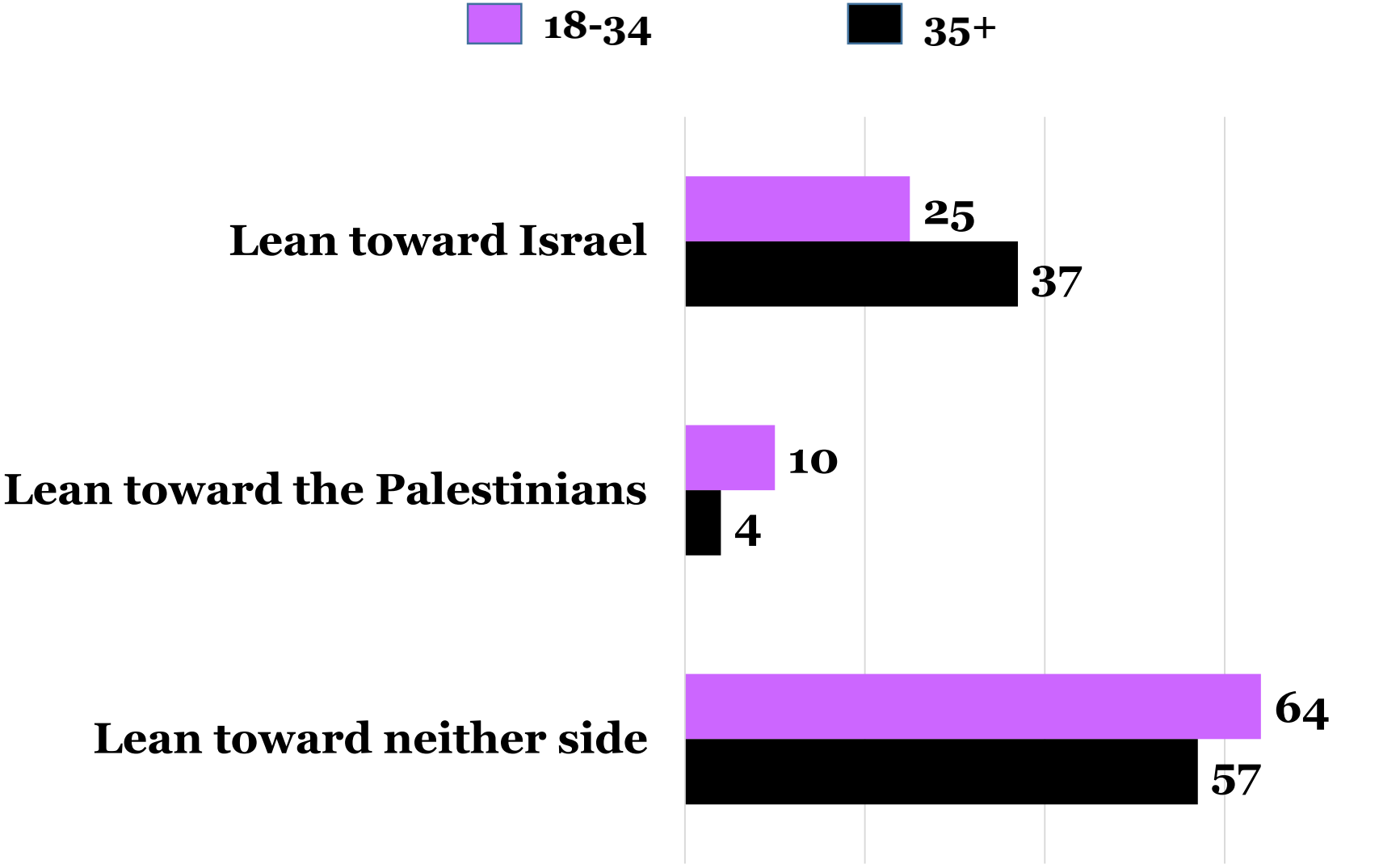


In general, what role do you want the new Trump administration to play in mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

■ Nov. 2016 ■ Nov. 2017

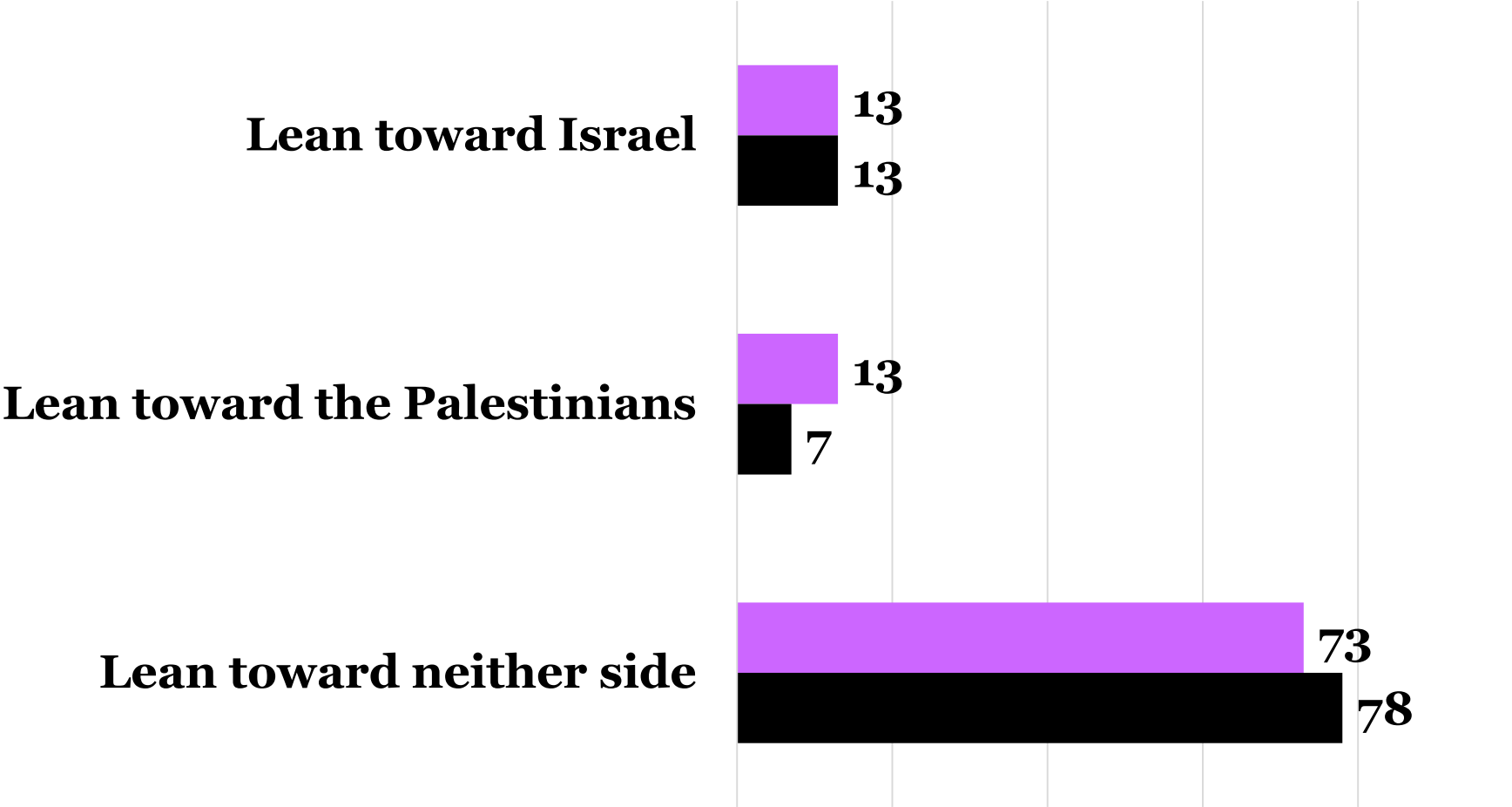


In general, what role do you want the new Trump administration to play in mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?



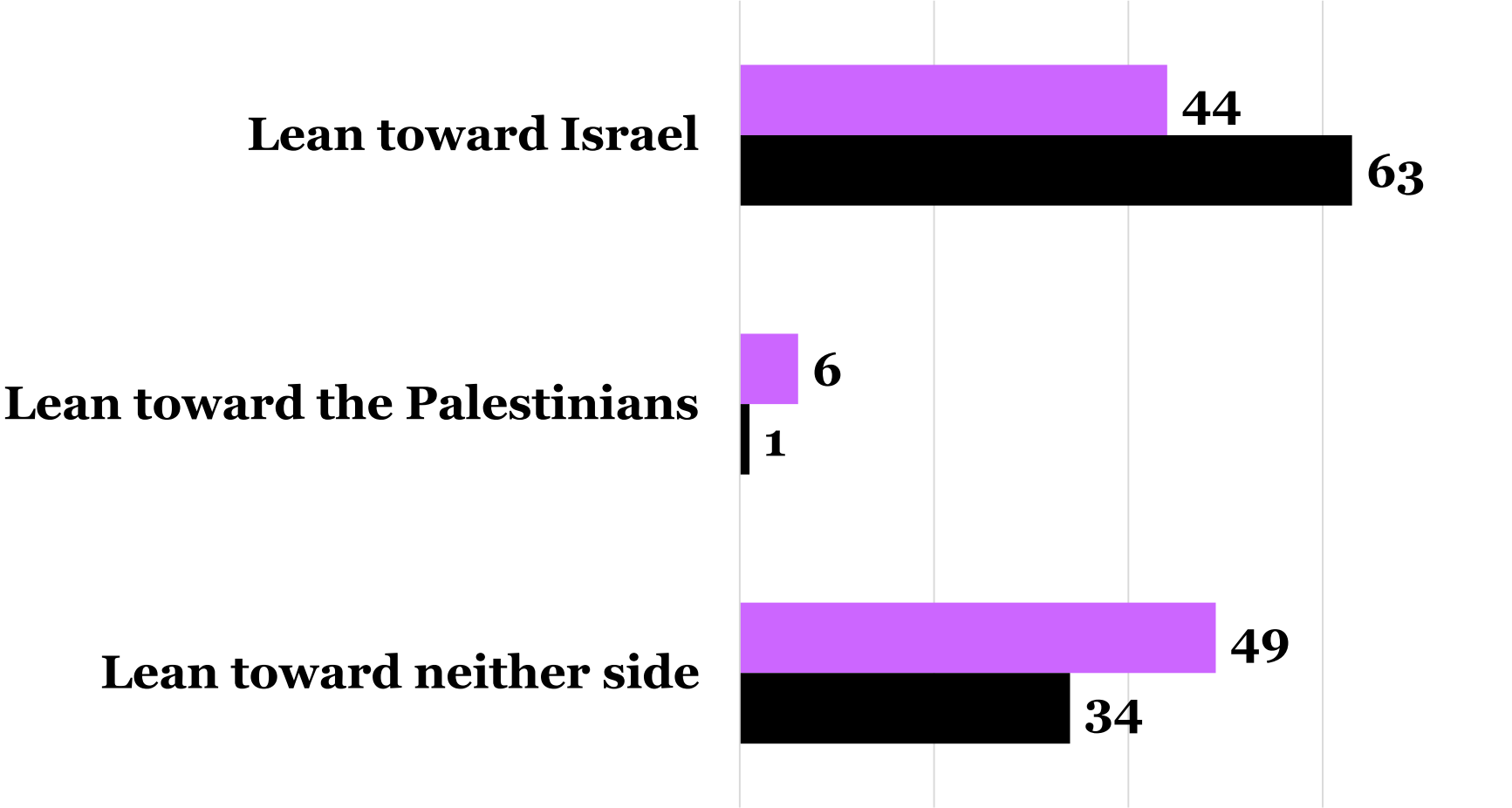
In general, what role do you want the new Trump administration to play in mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? (Among Democrats)

18-34 35+



In general, what role do you want the new Trump administration to play in mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? (Among Republicans)

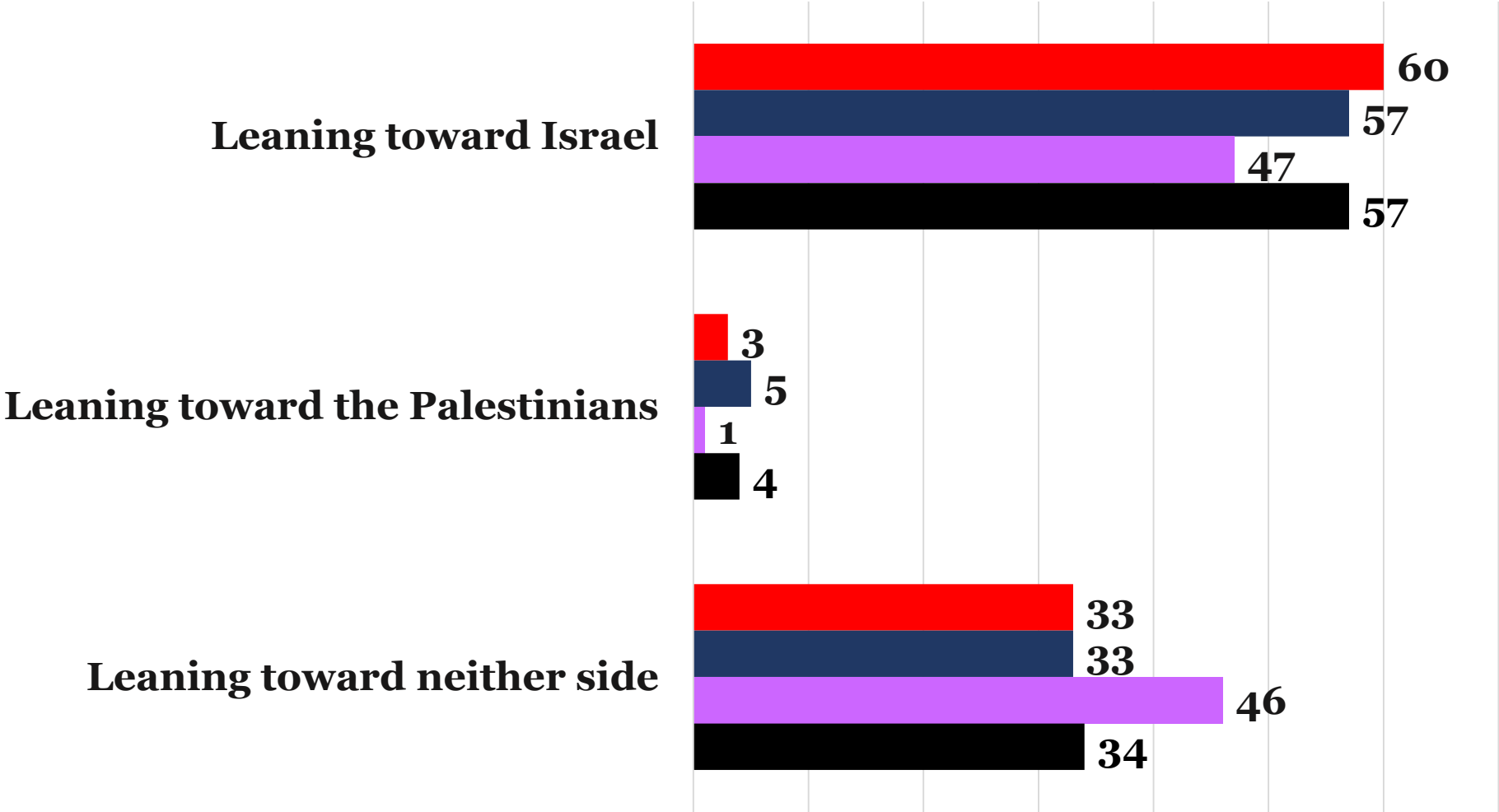
18-34 35+



**Assessing the Trump
administration's
diplomacy toward the
Israeli-Palestinian
conflict so far, what
best describes it?**

Assessing the Trump administration's diplomacy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict so far, what best describes it?

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



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.

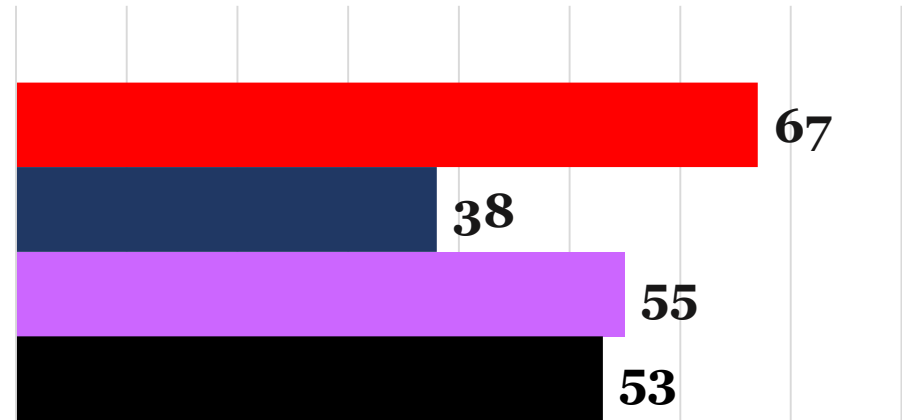
How do you believe the U.S. should react to new settlements?

[Options were randomized]

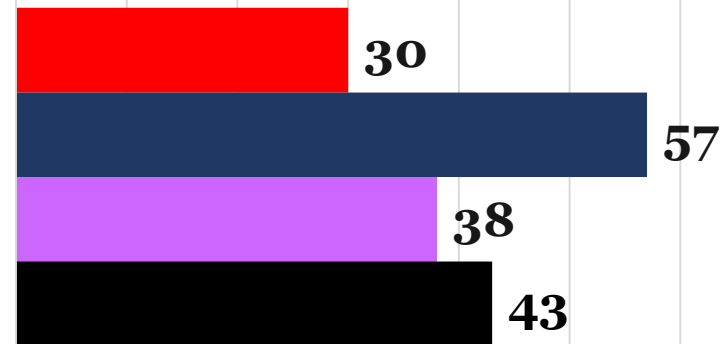
How do you believe the U.S. should react to new settlements?

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total

Do nothing/Limit U.S. opposition to words, but take no other action

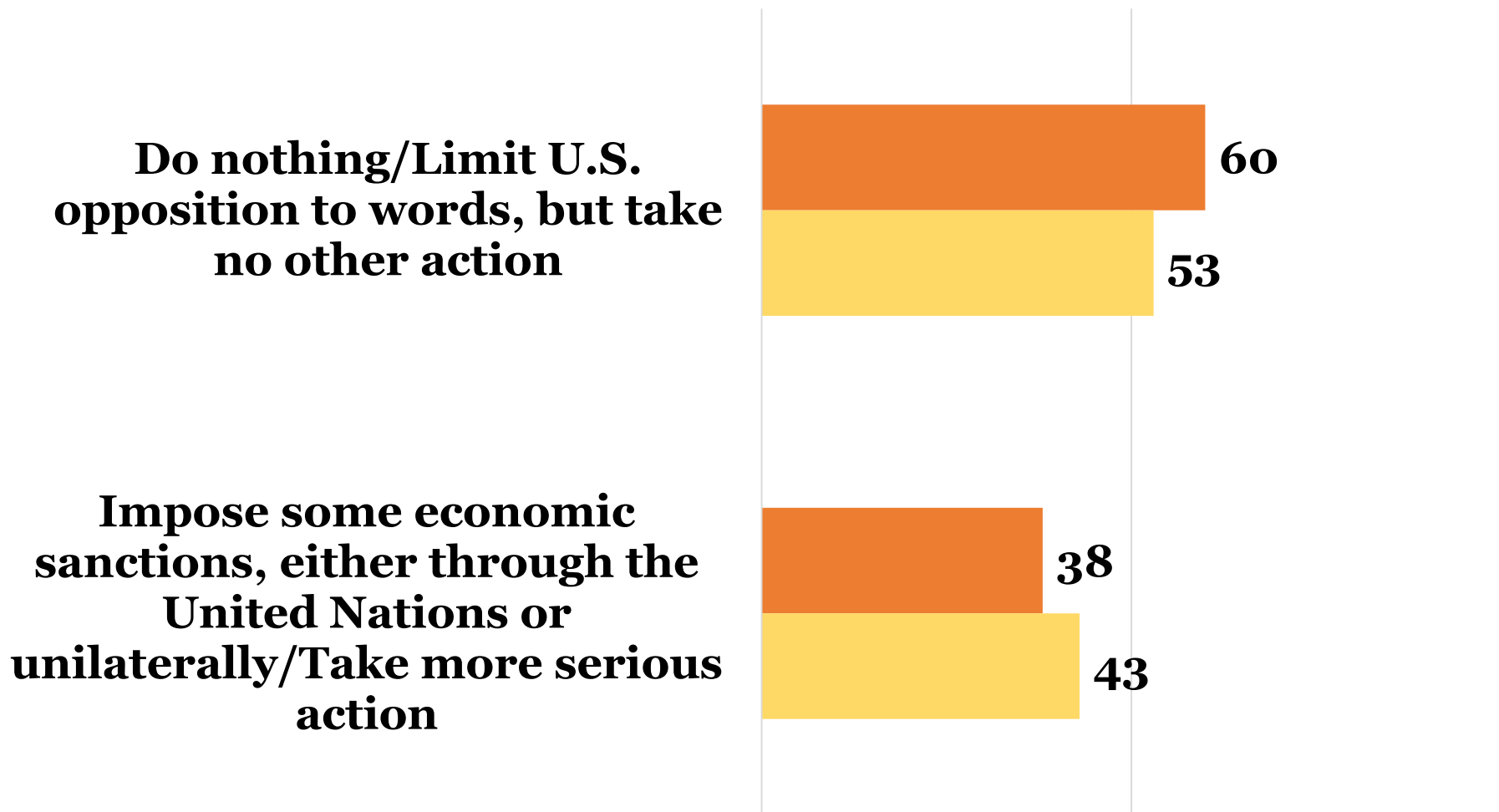


Impose some economic sanctions, either through the United Nations or unilaterally/Take more serious action



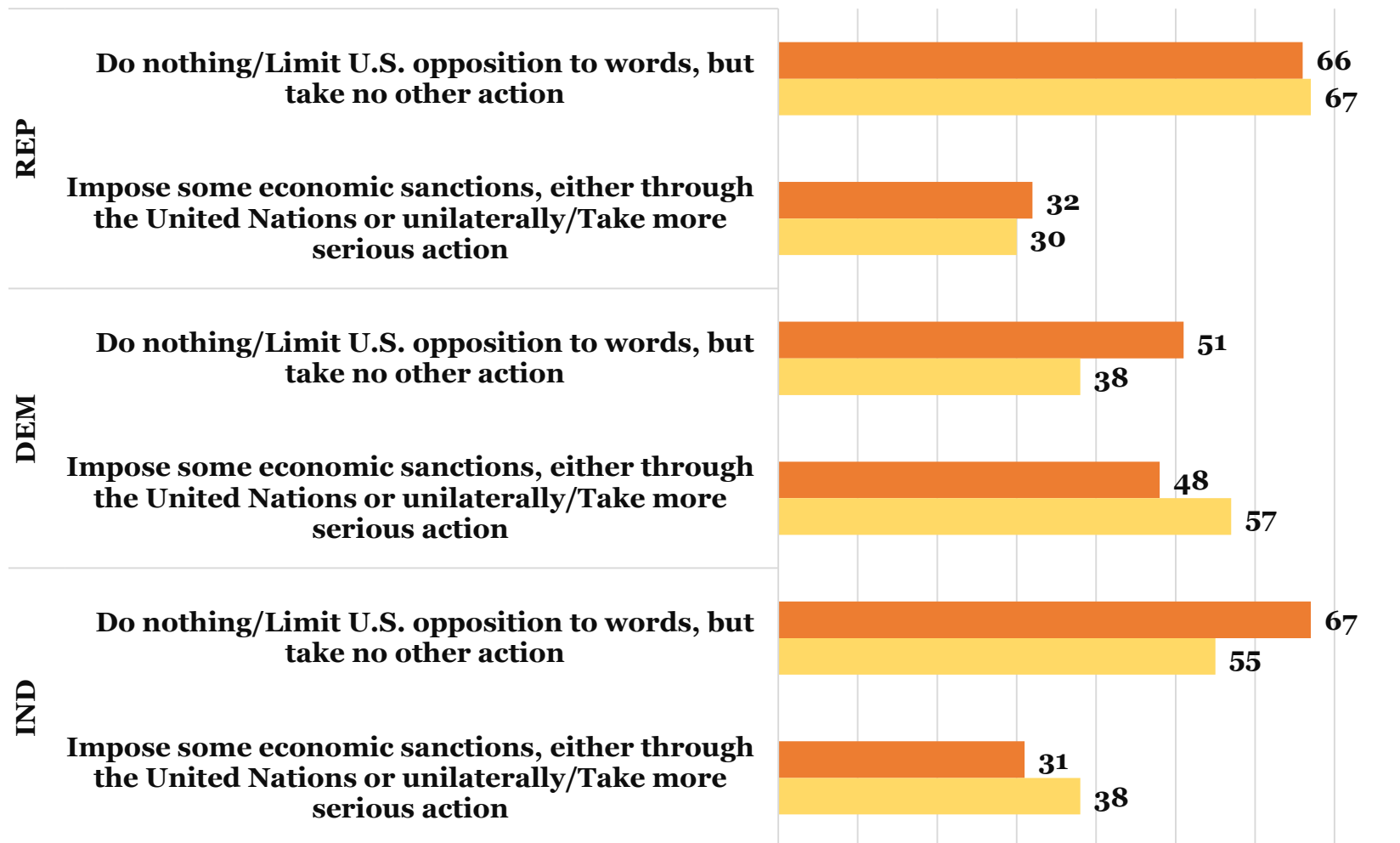
How do you believe the U.S. should react to new settlements?

Nov. 2014 Nov. 2017



How do you believe the U.S. should react to new settlements?

Nov. 2014 Nov. 2017



**American
Attitudes
toward Iran**

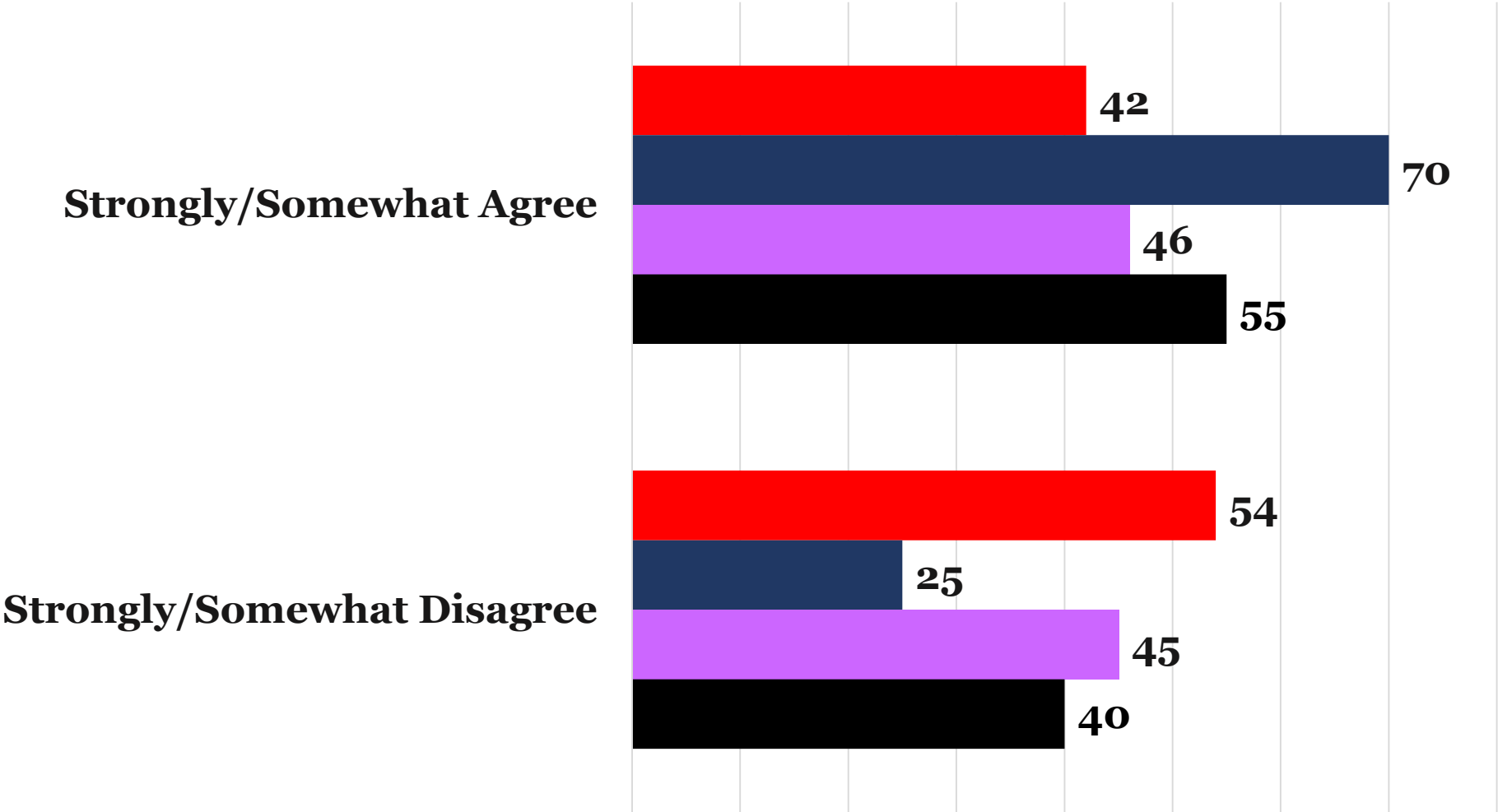
Assuming both the United States and Iran fully comply with the Iran Nuclear Deal as it stands, tell me the extent to which you agree with the following about maintaining the nuclear deal:

[Options were randomized]

It reduces the chance that Iran will develop nuclear weapons

It reduces the chance that Iran will develop nuclear weapons

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



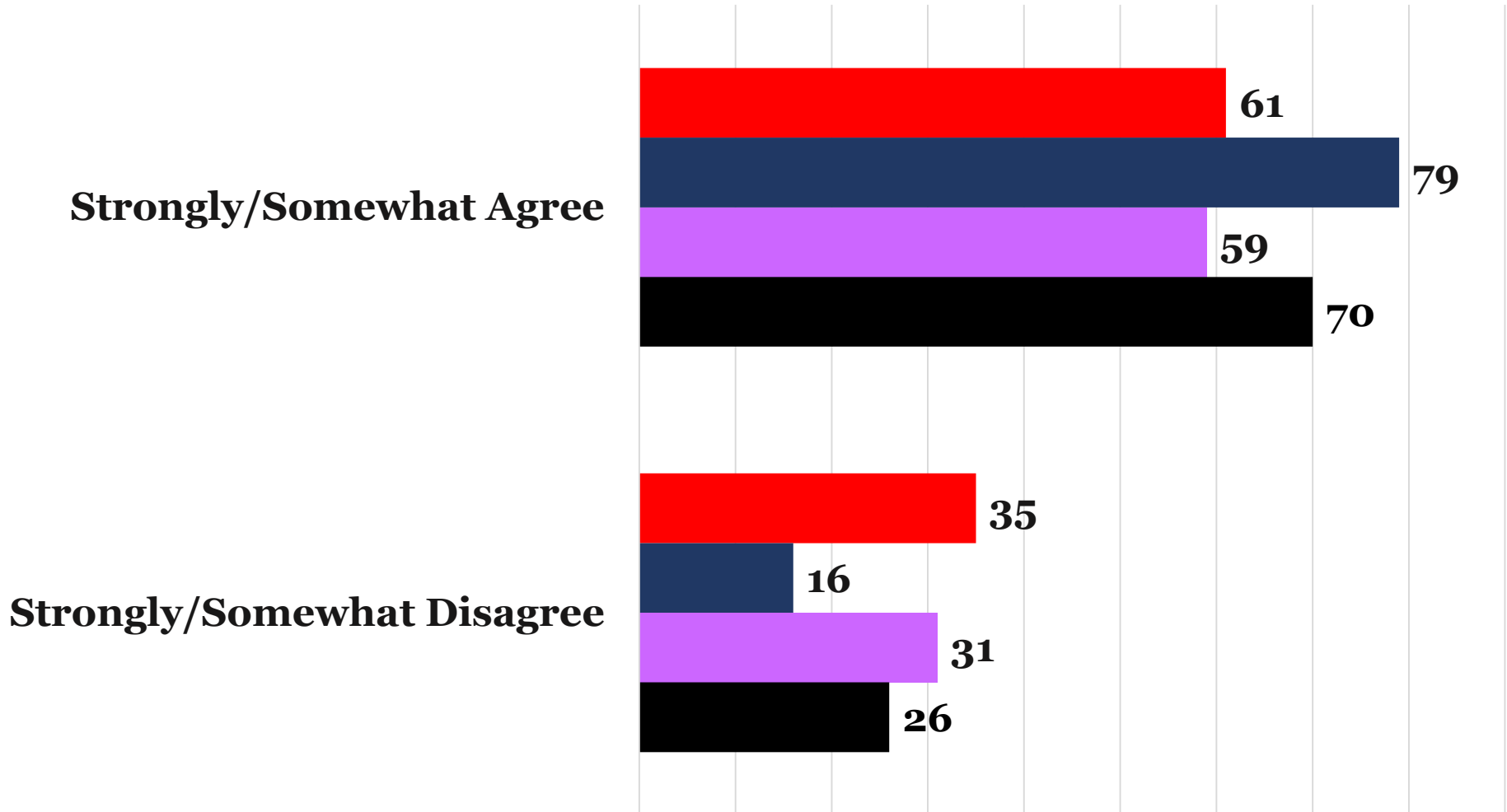
Assuming both the United States and Iran fully comply with the Iran Nuclear Deal as it stands, tell me the extent to which you agree with the following about maintaining the nuclear deal:

[Options were randomized]

It serves the national security interests of the United States

It serves the national security interests of the United States

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



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.

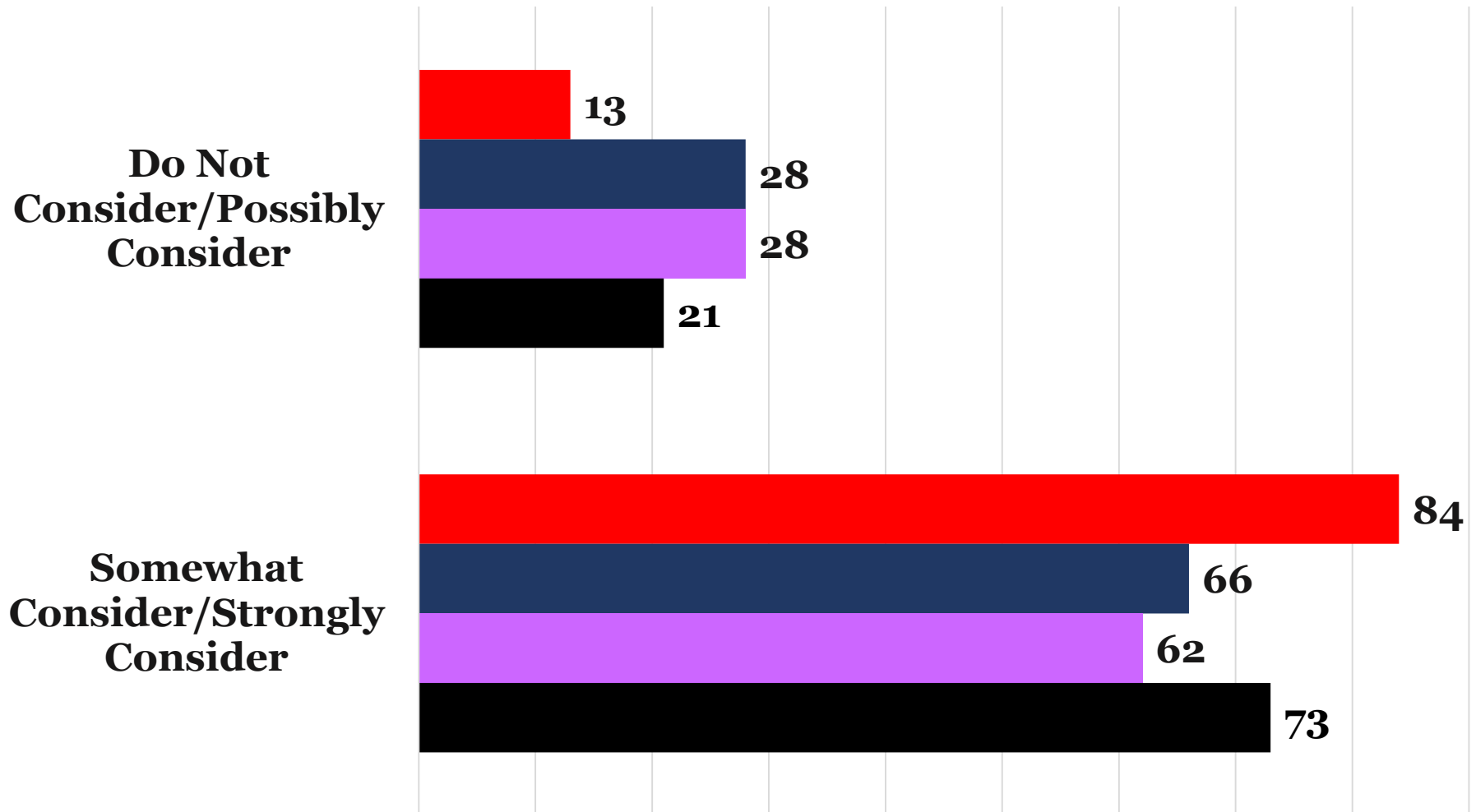
On a scale of 1-4, which of the following should Congress consider the most when deciding whether or not to impose nuclear-related sanctions on Iran?

[Options were randomized]

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

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

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



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.

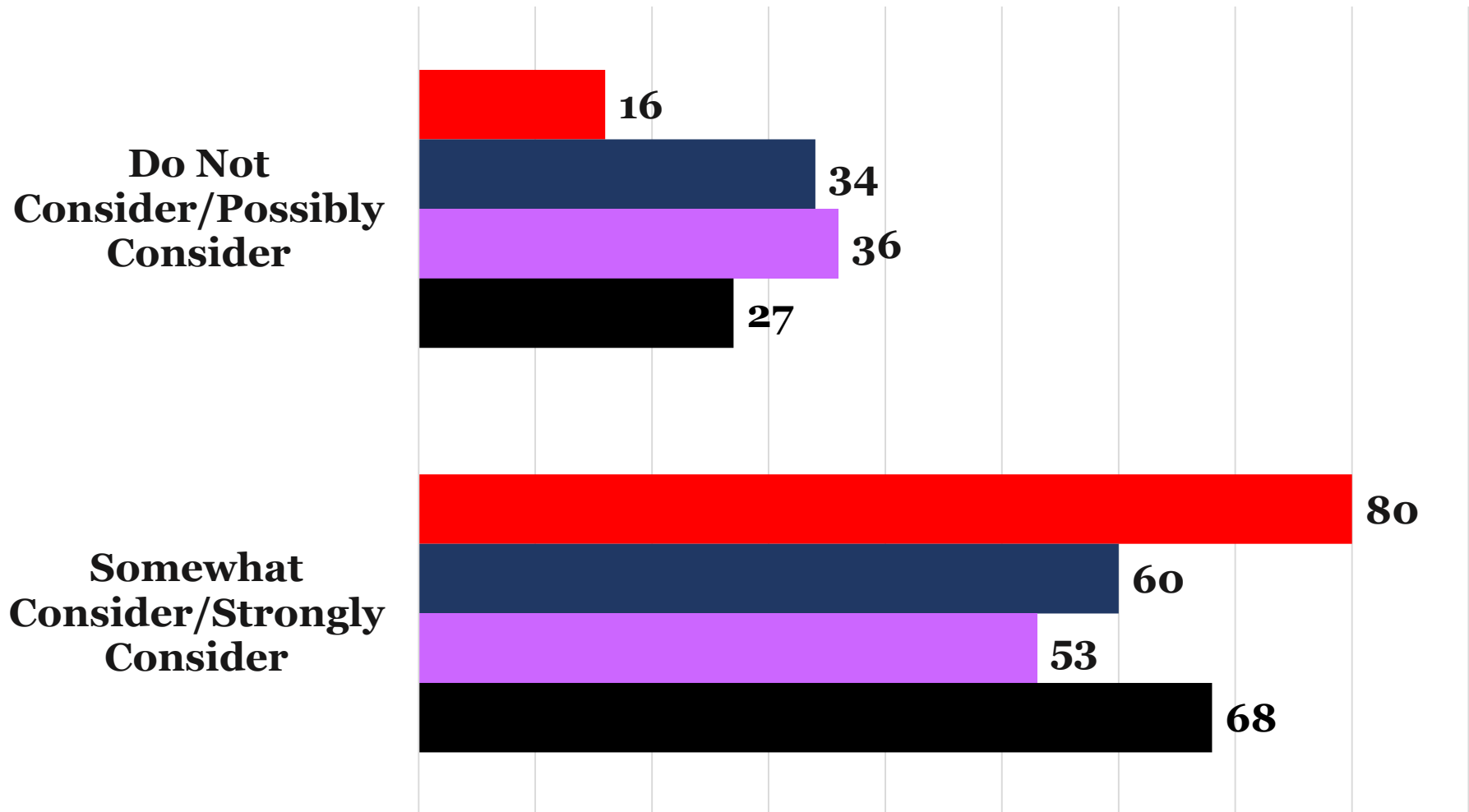
On a scale of 1-4, which of the following should Congress consider the most when deciding whether or not to impose nuclear-related sanctions on Iran?

[Options were randomized]

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

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

■ **Republicans** ■ **Democrats** ■ **Independents** ■ **Total**



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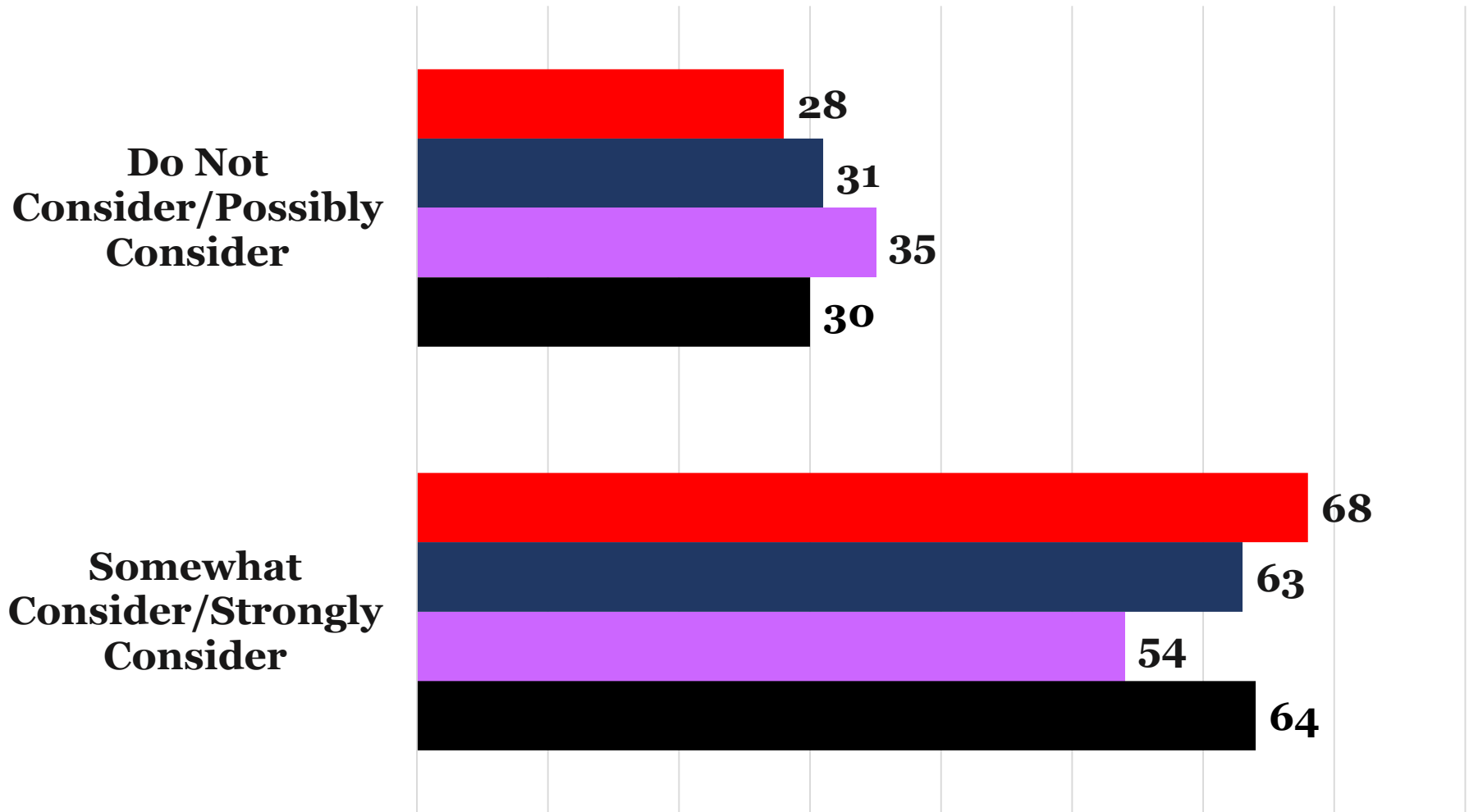
On a scale of 1-4, which of the following should Congress consider the most when deciding whether or not to impose nuclear-related sanctions on Iran?

[Options were randomized]

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

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

■ **Republicans** ■ **Democrats** ■ **Independents** ■ **Total**



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.

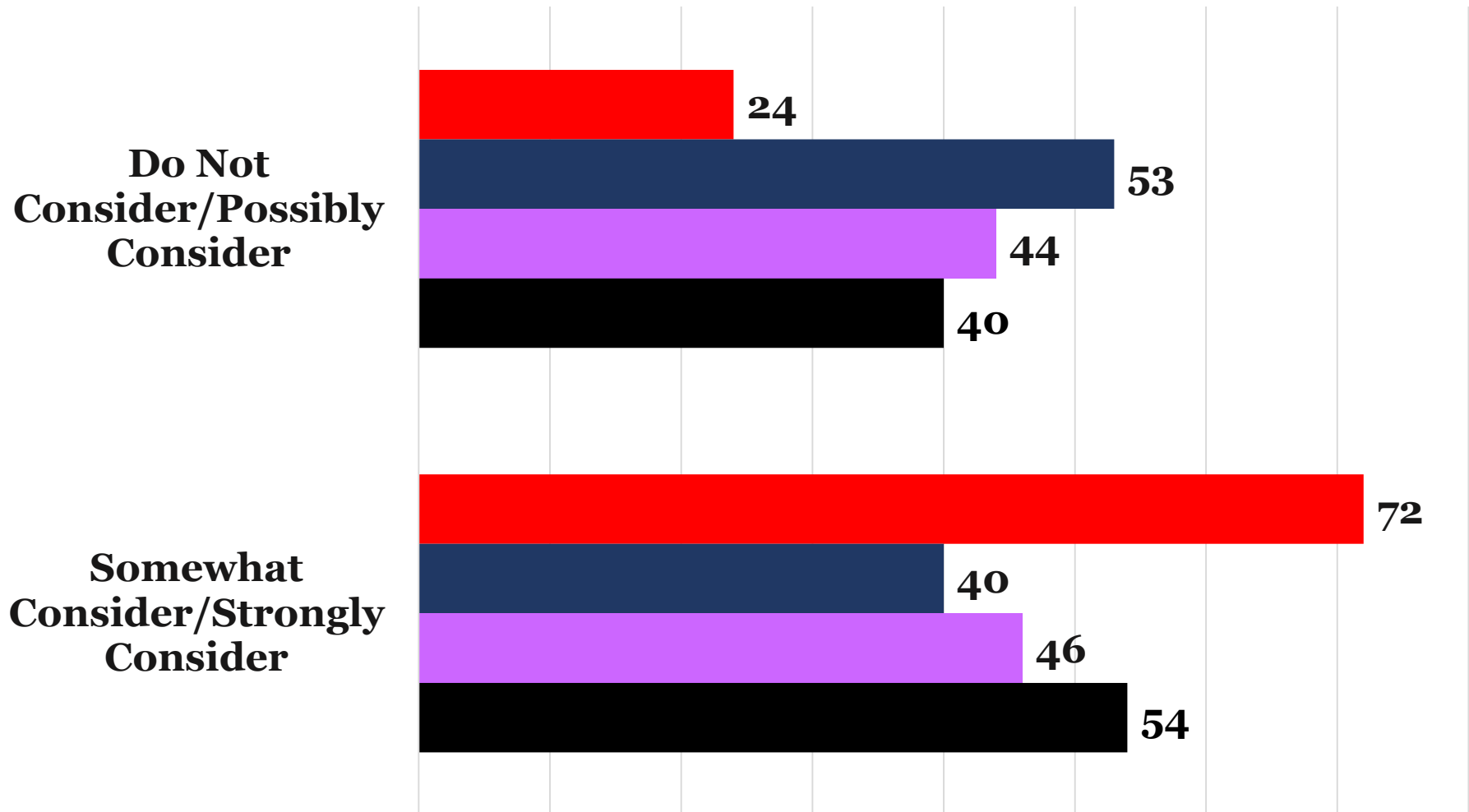
On a scale of 1-4, which of the following should Congress consider the most when deciding whether or not to impose nuclear-related sanctions on Iran?

[Options were randomized]

If imposing such sanctions helps make Israel more secure.

If imposing such sanctions helps make Israel more secure

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



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.

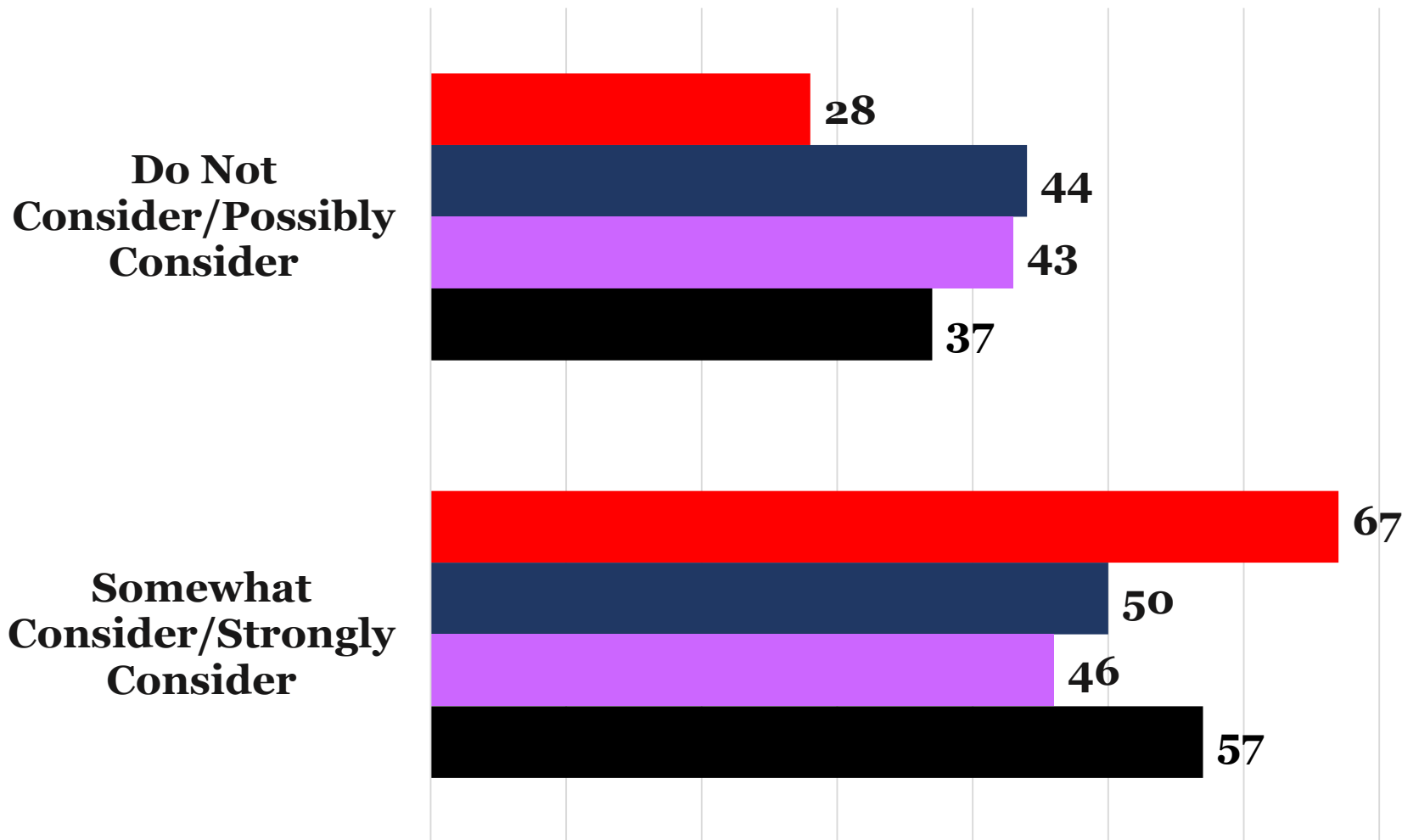
On a scale of 1-4, which of the following should Congress consider the most when deciding whether or not to impose nuclear-related sanctions on Iran?

[Options were randomized]

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

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

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total

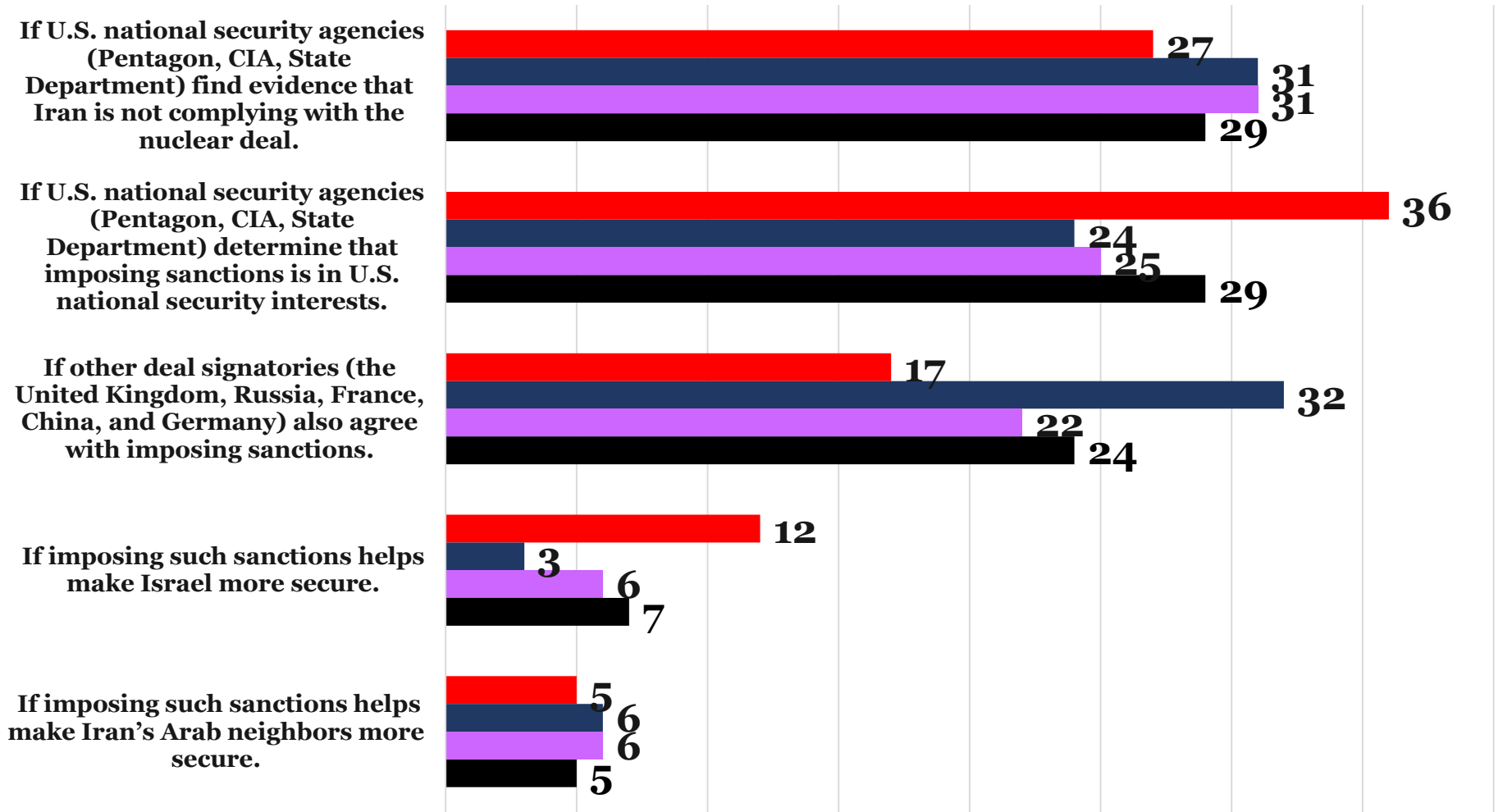


Nov. 2017

**Now tell me, which of these
five is in your opinion most
important?**

Now tell me, which of these five is in your opinion most important?

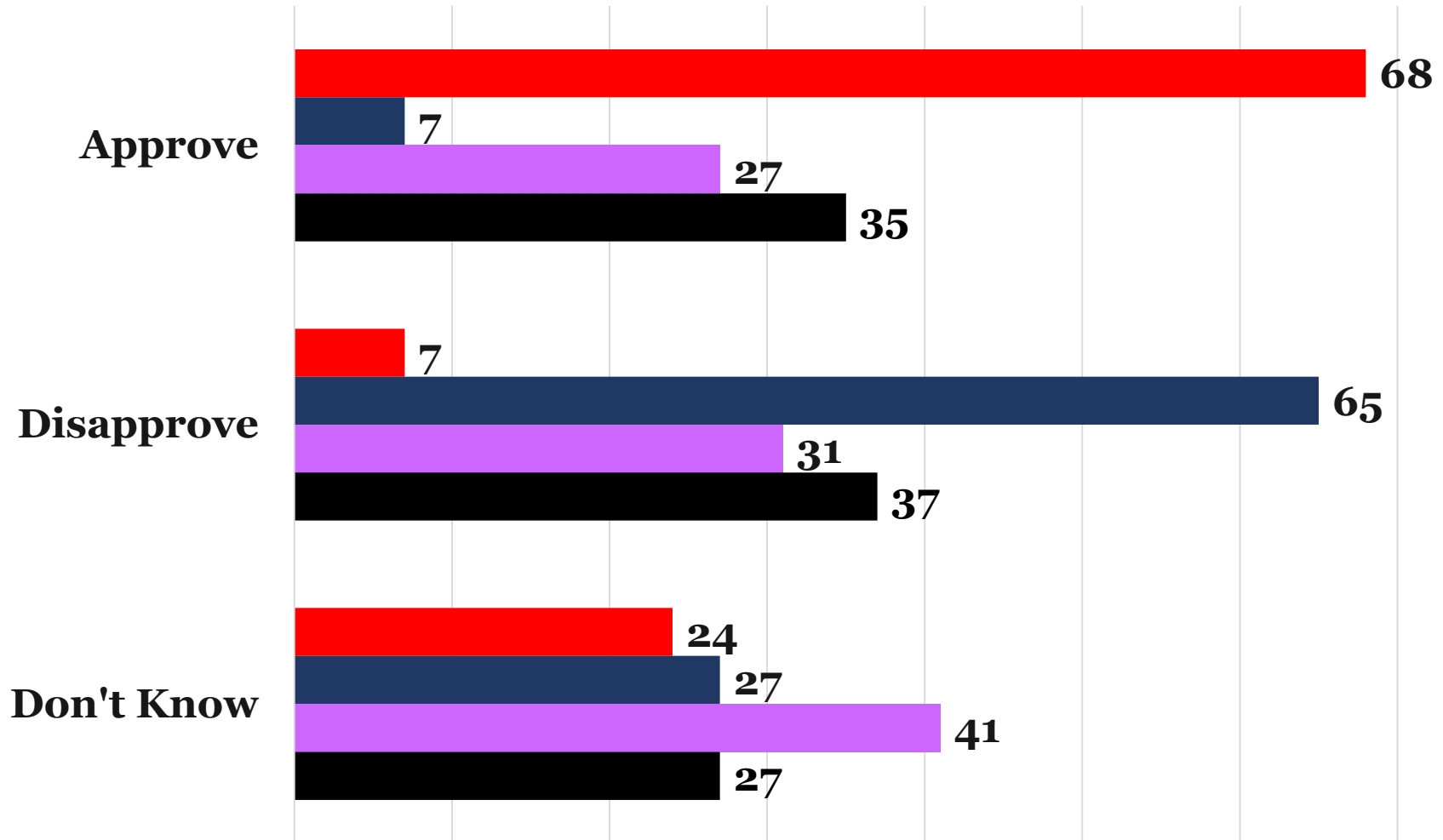
■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



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?

In your opinion, do you approve or disapprove of President Trump's action to not certify Iran's compliance?

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total

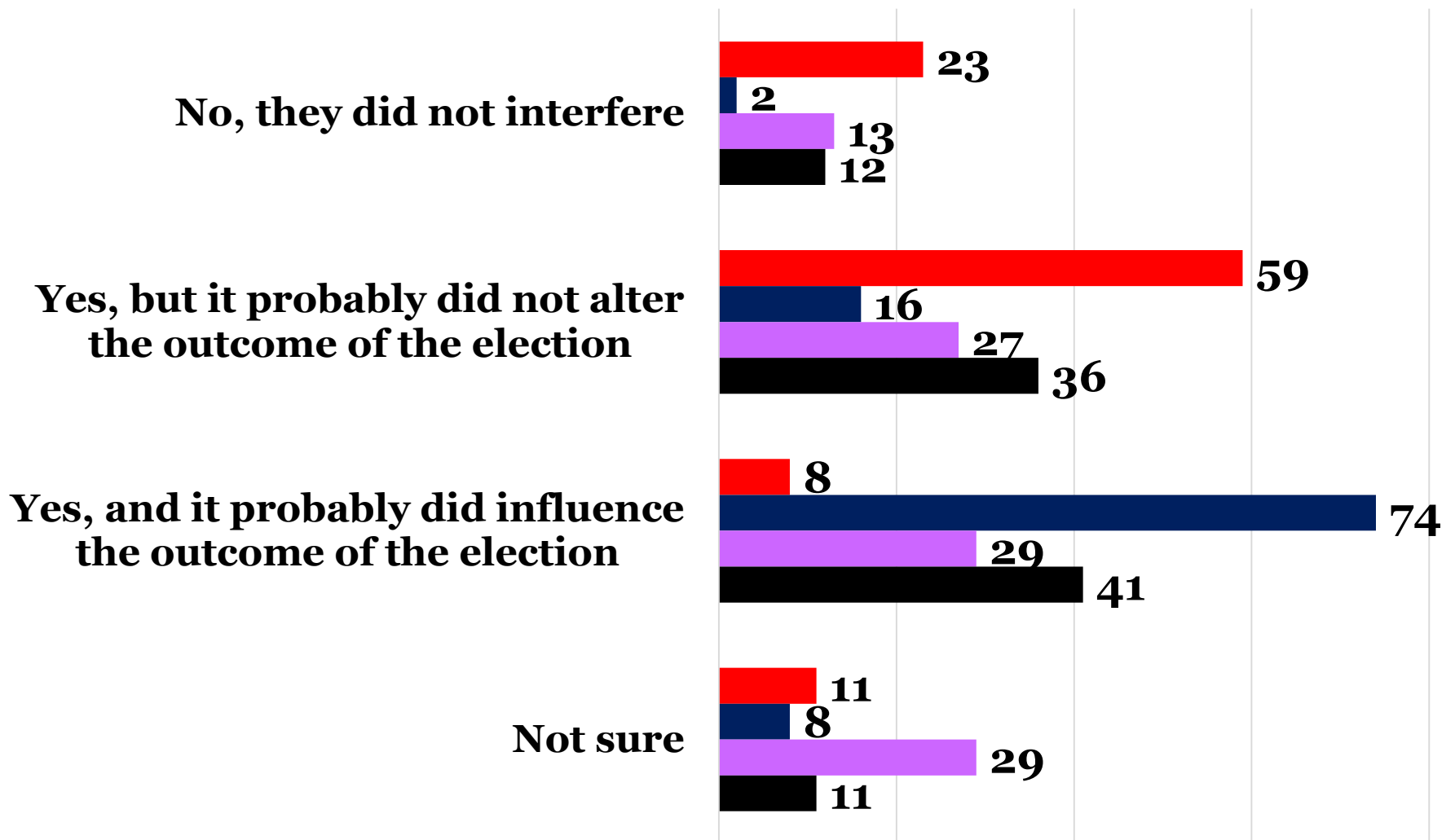


**American
Attitudes
toward Russia**

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

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

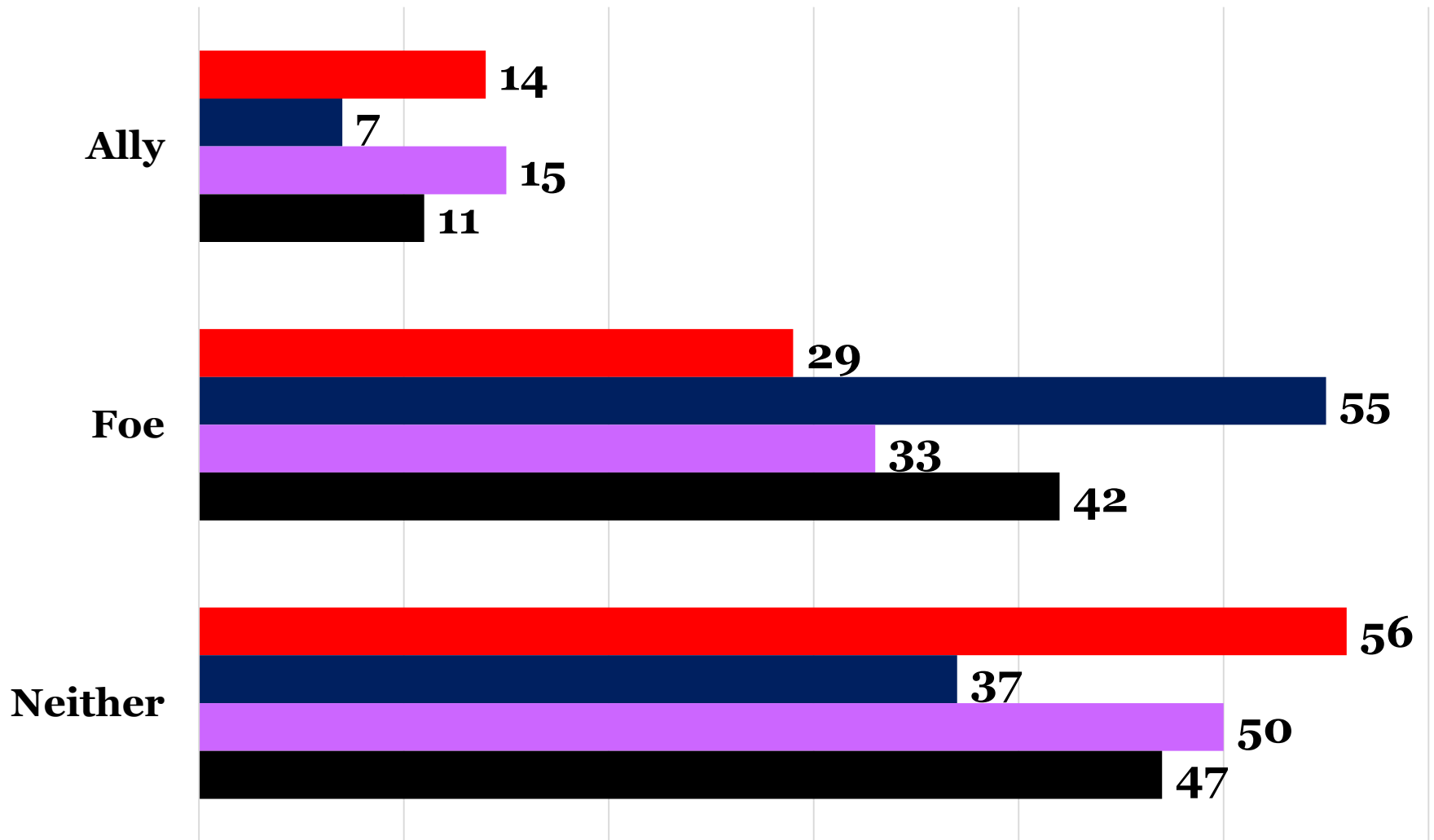
■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



**Do you view Russia
as an ally or foe?**

Do you view Russia as an ally or foe?

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



Nov. 2017

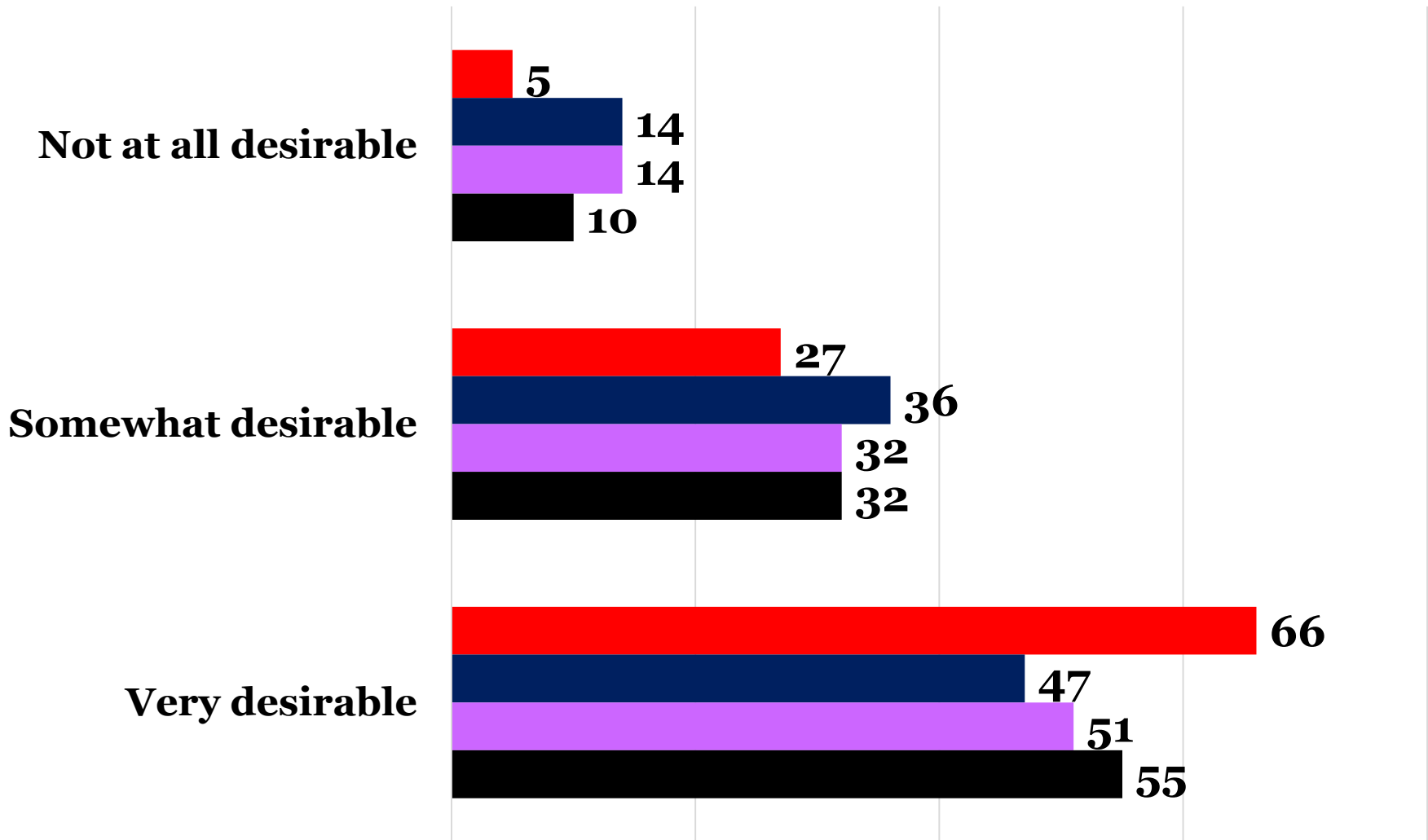
Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?

[Options were randomized]

The war on terrorism, especially on ISIS and Al Qaeda

Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?
The war on terrorism, especially on ISIS and Al Qaeda

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



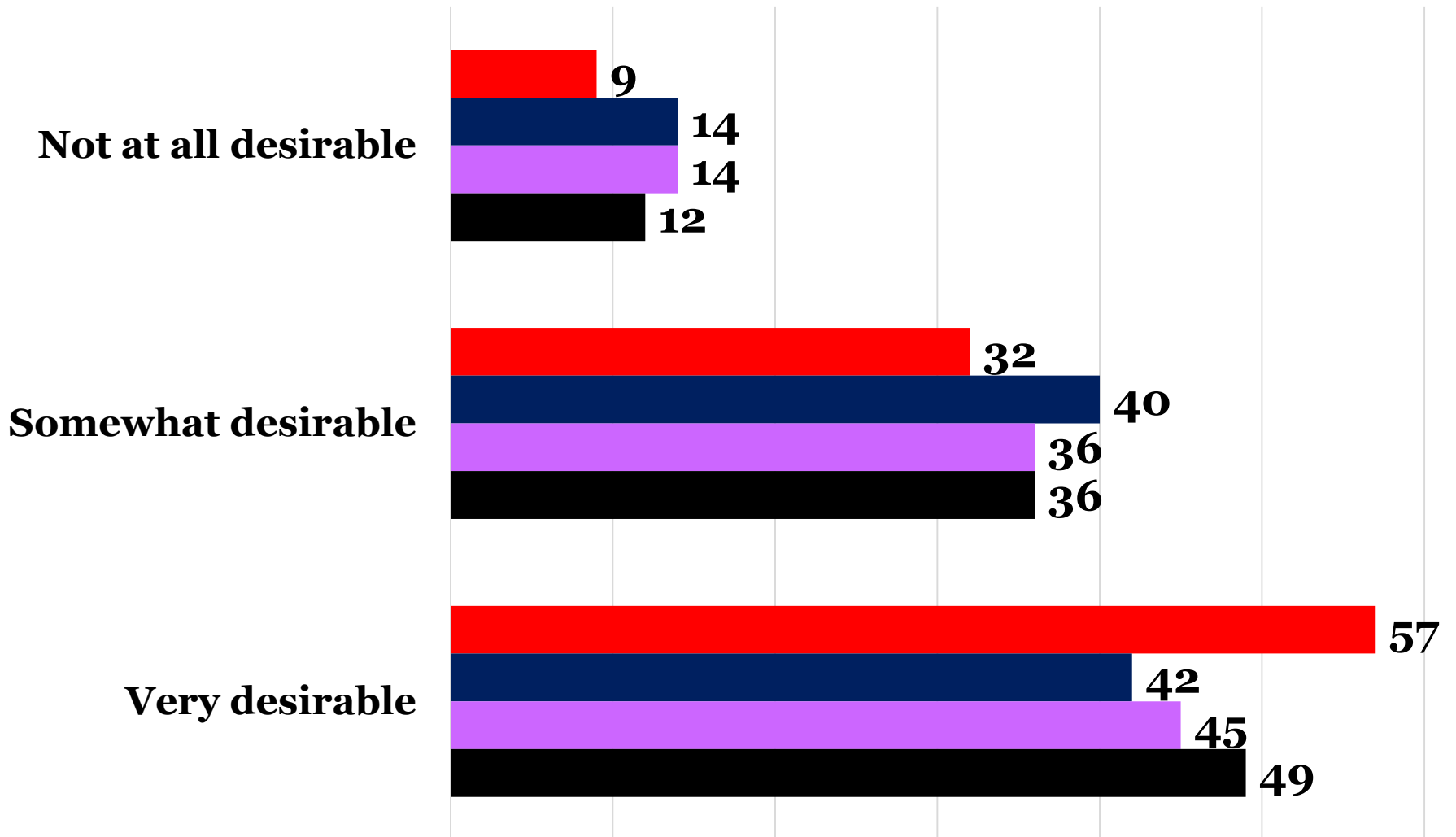
Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?

[Options were randomized]

Dealing with North Korea issues

Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?
Dealing with North Korea issues

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



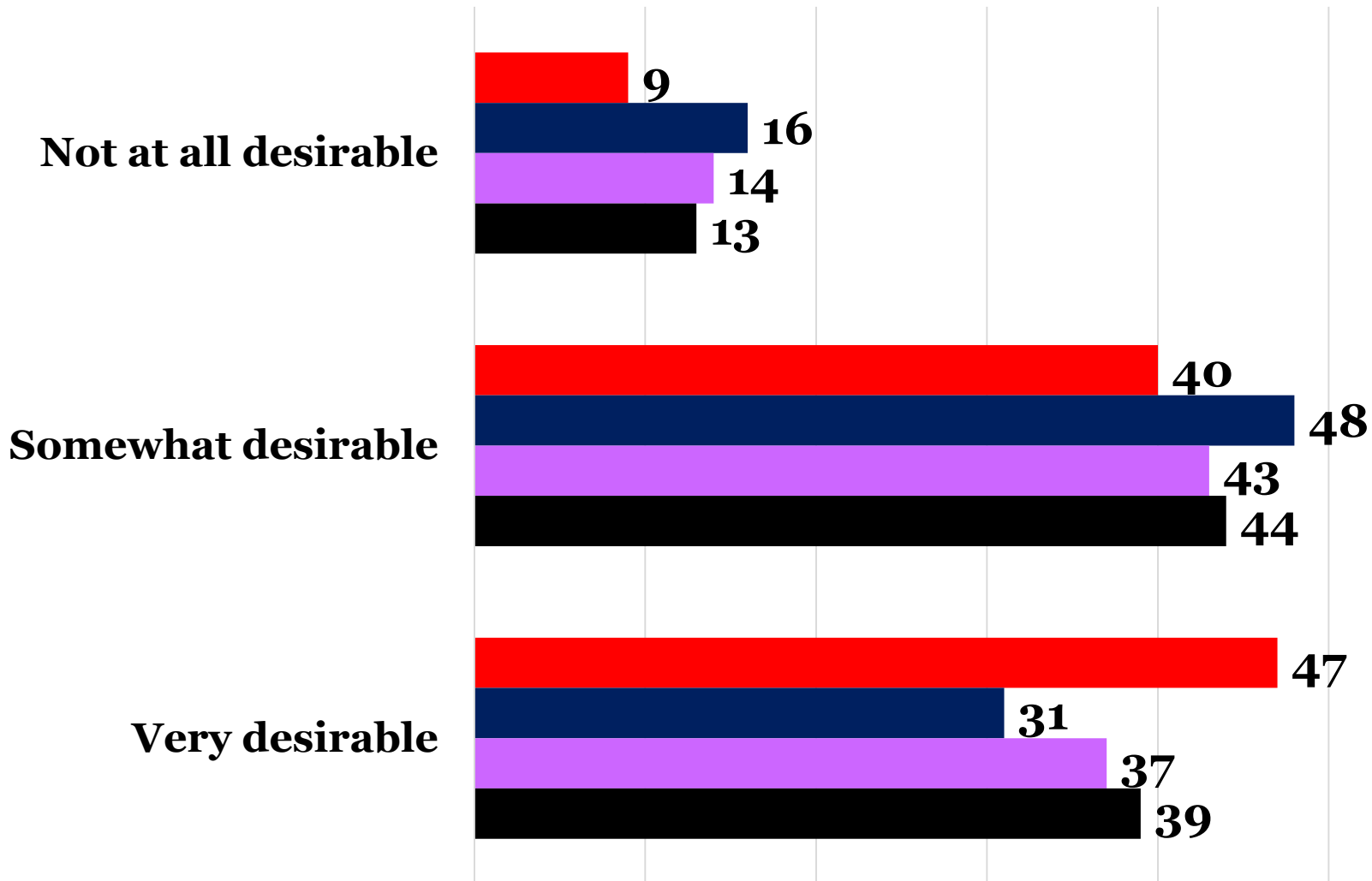
Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?

[Options were randomized]

Dealing with Iran issues

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

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



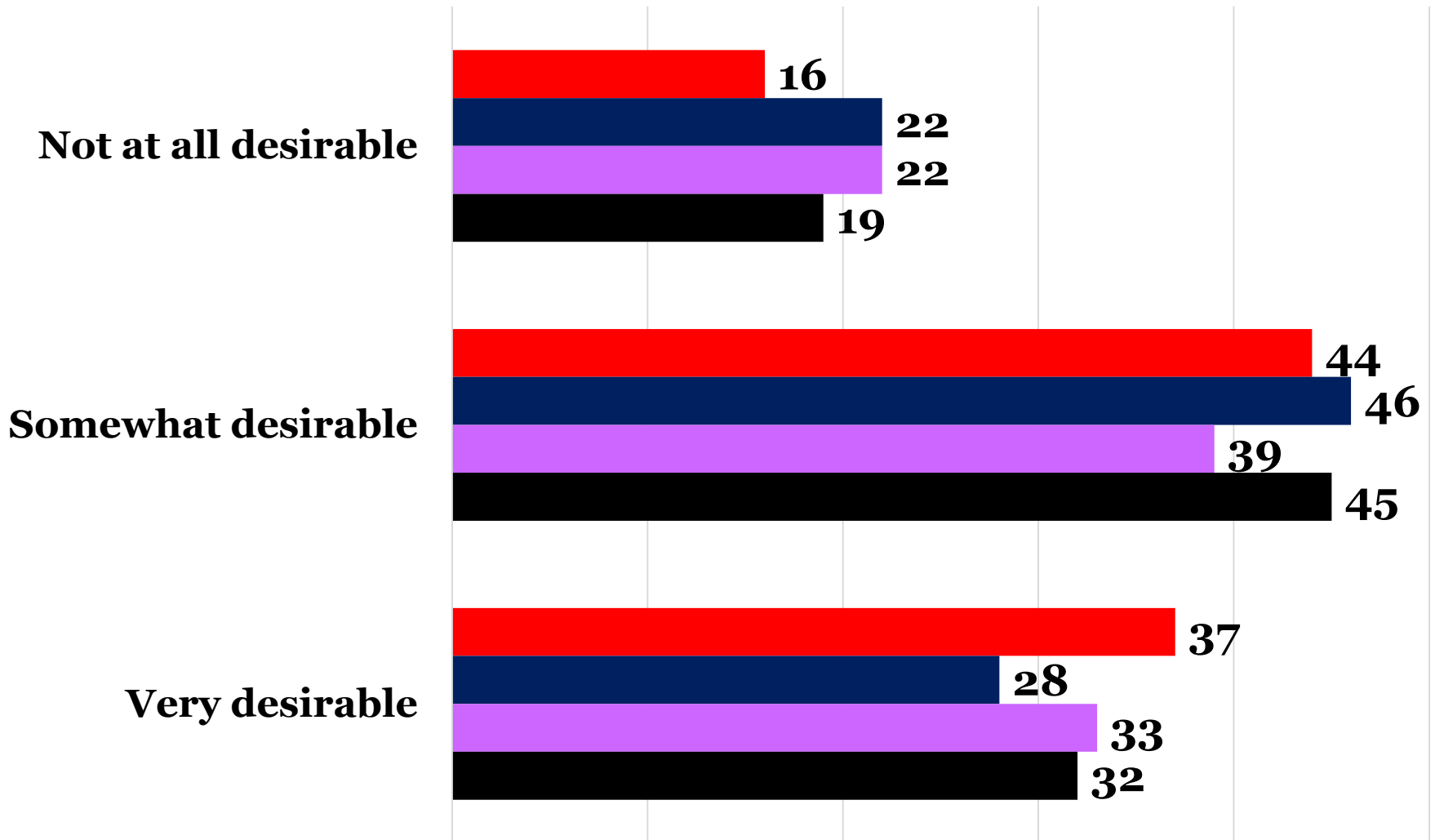
Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?

[Options were randomized]

Pursuing Arab-Israeli peace

Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?
Pursuing Arab-Israeli peace

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



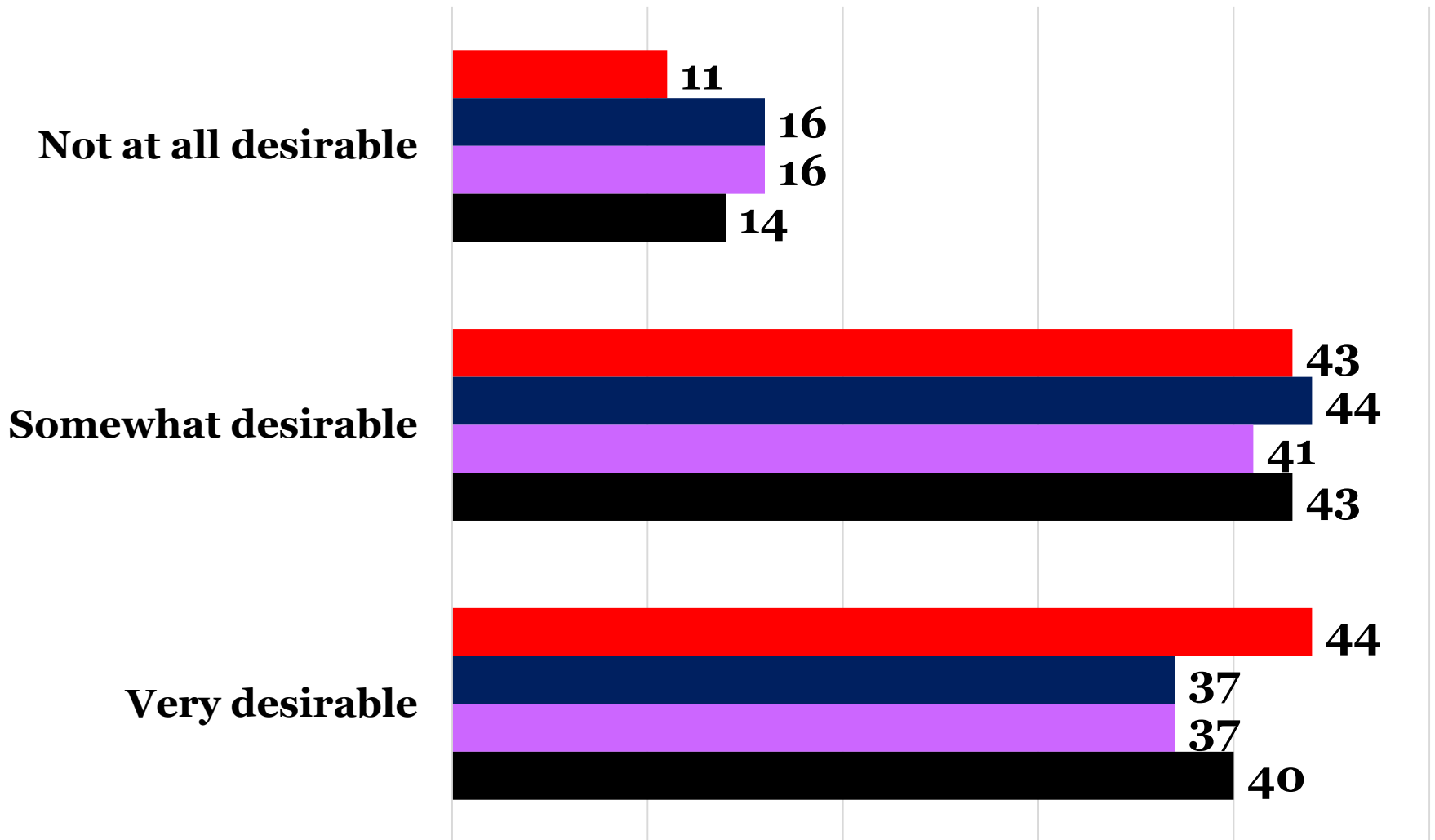
Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?

[Options were randomized]

Achieving stability in Syria

Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?
Achieving stability in Syria

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total



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

[Options were randomized]

Achieving stability in Libya

Despite the tension between the U.S. and Russia, on what issues is cooperation between the U.S. and Russia desirable?
Achieving stability in Libya

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents ■ Total

