A survey of the

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Stella Rouse, Associate Director

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*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.

To view the questionnaire, please visit: go.umd.edu/UMCIPMiddleEast
And to view the full PowerPoint, please visit: go.umd.edu/UMCIPMiddleEastPPT
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 provided by Survey Sampling International. 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 provided by Survey Sampling International. 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:

- **I support it**: 42%
  - Republicans: 8%
  - Democrats: 22%
  - Independents: 24%
  - Total: 24%

- **I oppose it**: 66%
  - Republicans: 23%
  - Democrats: 32%
  - Independents: 44%
  - Total: 44%

- **I'm indifferent**: 24%
  - Republicans: 11%
  - Democrats: 13%
  - Independents: 17%
  - Total: 17%

- **Don't know**: 33%
  - Republicans: 11%
  - Democrats: 15%
  - Independents: 33%
  - Total: 16%
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:

- **I support it**
  - October 7th/8th: 27%
  - October 9th/10th: 21%

- **I oppose it**
  - October 7th/8th: 42%
  - October 9th/10th: 46%

- **I'm indifferent**
  - October 7th/8th: 17%
  - October 9th/10th: 16%

- **Don't know**
  - October 7th/8th: 14%
  - October 9th/10th: 17%

October 2019
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?

Before September 14, 2019

Approve: 44%
Disapprove: 51%

September 14, 2019 and after

Approve: 39%
Disapprove: 57%

September 2019
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Disapprove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before September 14th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 14th and after</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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?

- **Higher**
  - Before September 14, 2019: 39%
  - September 14, 2019 and after: 51%

- **Lower**
  - Before September 14, 2019: 11%
  - September 14, 2019 and after: 6%

- **The same**
  - Before September 14, 2019: 28%
  - September 14, 2019 and after: 25%

- **Unsure/Don't know**
  - Before September 14, 2019: 21%
  - September 14, 2019 and after: 17%

September 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%

September 2019
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.
  - Republicans: 9%
  - Democrats: 24%
  - Independents: 20%
  - Total: 31%

- The current goals of U.S. policy do not warrant waging war. The U.S. must rely on other means short of war.
  - Republicans: 66%
  - Democrats: 63%
  - Independents: 63%
  - Total: 76%

### September 14th and after

- To achieve its current goal vis-à-vis Iran, the U.S. should be prepared to go to war.
  - Republicans: 9%
  - Democrats: 16%
  - Independents: 21%
  - Total: 37%

- The current goals of U.S. policy do not warrant waging war. The U.S. must rely on other means short of war.
  - Republicans: 59%
  - Democrats: 78%
  - Independents: 76%
  - Total: 76%

September 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now tell me, which one do you think is most important in explaining the escalation in the Gulf?
Now tell me, which one of the above do you think is most important?

- The nature of Iran's regime
  - Republicans: 14%
  - Democrats: 4%
  - Independents: 23%
  - Total: 22%

- 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: 25%

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

October 2019
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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A great deal</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good amount</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have not heard about it</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/somewhat**: 8%
  - Republicans: 15%
  - Democrats: 27%
  - Independents: 26%
  - Total: 48%
- **Neither support nor oppose**: 15%
  - Republicans: 37%
  - Democrats: 39%
  - Independents: 26%
  - Total: 37%
- **Oppose strongly/somewhat**: 76%
  - Republicans: 35%
  - Democrats: 47%
  - Independents: 15%
  - Total: 47%
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:

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:

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: 25%
  - Independents: 26%
  - Total: 49%

- **Neither agree nor disagree**
  - Republicans: 16%
  - Democrats: 29%
  - Independents: 35%
  - Total: 23%

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

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
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: 2%
  - Democrats: 5%
  - Independents: 1%
  - Total: 3%

- **Maintain current troop levels**
  - Republicans: 34%
  - Democrats: 38%
  - Independents: 22%
  - Total: 34%

- **Decrease troops.**
  - Republicans: 23%
  - Democrats: 21%
  - Independents: 26%
  - Total: 23%

- **Remove all troops by the end of the year.**
  - Republicans: 19%
  - Democrats: 23%
  - Independents: 22%
  - Total: 28%

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

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?

**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: 12%
- Total: 23%

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 military involvement in Afghanistan has been successful or unsuccessful in obtaining America’s strategic objectives?

Very successful/Successful

- Republicans: 14%
- Democrats: 20%
- Independents: 11%
- Total: 28%

Neither successful nor unsuccessful.

- Republicans: 38%
- Democrats: 38%
- Independents: 41%
- Total: 38%

Very unsuccessful/Unsuccessful

- Republicans: 25%
- Democrats: 41%
- Independents: 31%
- Total: 33%
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**: 60% (Total)
  - Republicans: 30%
  - Democrats: 36%
  - Independents: 36%

- **No**: 42% (Total)
  - Republicans: 18%
  - Democrats: 36%
  - Independents: 36%

- **Not sure**: 25% (Total)
  - Republicans: 27%
  - Democrats: 28%
  - Independents: 23%

*October 2019*
[Among those who believe the U.S. has an obligation towards the Afghan government] What form should our responsibility take?
[Among those who believe the U.S. has an obligation towards the Afghan government] What form should our responsibility take?

- **A limited military role**
  - Republicans: 28%
  - Democrats: 27%
  - Independents: 30%
  - Total: 38%

- **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: 6%
  - Independents: 13%
  - Total: 10%

- **Other/don't know**
  - Republicans: 11%
  - Democrats: 15%
  - Independents: 15%
  - Total: 22%

*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></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>11%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure.</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

October 2019