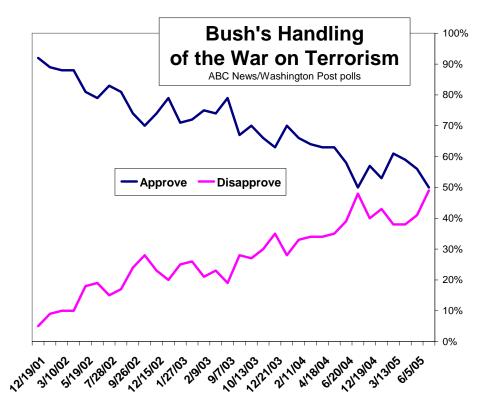
# **Concerns on Iraq and Domestic Policy Underlie a Rising Political Alienation**

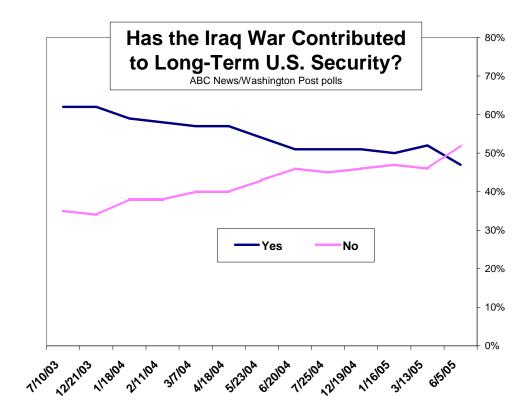
The corrosive effects of the war in Iraq and a growing disconnect on political priorities have pushed George W. Bush's performance ratings – notably on terrorism – to among the worst of his career, casting a pall over his second term and potentially over his party's prospects ahead.

For the first time most Americans, 55 percent, say Bush has done more to divide than to unite the country. A career-high 52 percent disapprove of his job performance overall, and, in another first, a bare majority rates him unfavorably on a personal level. Most differ with him on issues ranging from the economy and Social Security to stem-cell research and nuclear power.

Iraq is a major thorn. With discontent over U.S. casualties at a new peak, a record 58 percent say the war there was not worth fighting. Nearly two-thirds think the United States has gotten bogged down in Iraq, up 11 points since March. Forty-five percent go so far as to foresee the equivalent of another Vietnam.



Fifty-two-percent, the first majority to say so, think the Iraq war has failed to improve the long-term security of the United States, its fundamental rationale. As an extension – and perhaps most hazardously in political terms – approval of Bush's handling of terrorism, the base of his support, has lost 11 points since January to match its low, 50 percent in June 2004, when it was pressured both by the presidential campaign and the kidnapping and murder of American Paul Johnson in Saudi Arabia.

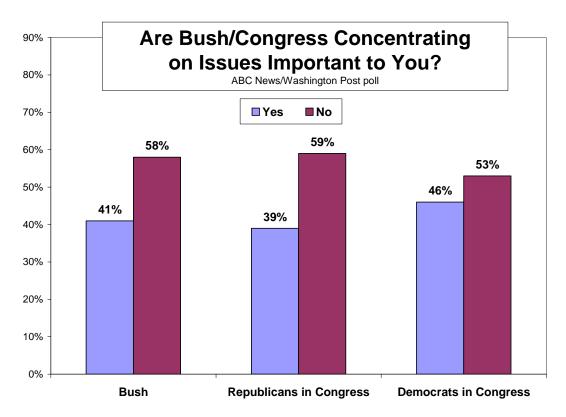


All these underscore a broad sense of lost promise for the president: In January, 55 percent of Americans expected Bush to do a better job in his second term than in his first. Today vastly fewer, 30 percent, say in fact he's doing so. And even though they remain staunchly supportive, the letdown in expectations is biggest in Bush's own backyard, among Republicans.

PARTIES and POLITICS – These views are accompanied by a sense of alienation not just from the president but from both parties in Washington. Disapproval of Congress, at 54 percent, is its highest in more than six years, and six in 10 Americans say Bush and the Republicans, who control both houses, are not making good progress in solving the nation's problems.

About as many also say neither Bush nor the Republicans are concentrating on what's important to them personally. And the Democrats in Congress do just barely better: Fifty-three percent say they're not concentrating on the right issues either.

On balance, Americans now slightly favor the Democrats over the Republicans, by 46-41 percent, in trust to deal with the country's problems, the first Democratic advantage in this question, however slight, in ABC/Post polls since 9/11. Nonetheless the Democrats seem to have capitalized only marginally at best on the current discontent. Fifty-six percent of Americans disapprove of the job performance of both parties in Congress, and both have seen their basic favorability ratings slide to about the 50-50 mark.



The impact on the still far-off 2006 midterm elections is hardly clear. Whatever their views of Congress, Bush and the political parties, 61 percent approve of the way their own representative in Congress is handling his or her job. That is well above the low of 49 percent shortly before the earthshaking midterms of 1994.

Current sentiment may give the Democrats an opportunity, but it's one they haven't yet seized to any notable extent. For Republican candidates, meanwhile, these results suggest the safest course may be at a respectful distance from the president.

SOC SEC – Among specific domestic issues, Social Security may best underscore Bush's difficulties. In terms of public attitudes, his assiduous sales campaign has come to naught: Sixty-two percent disapprove of his work on Social Security.

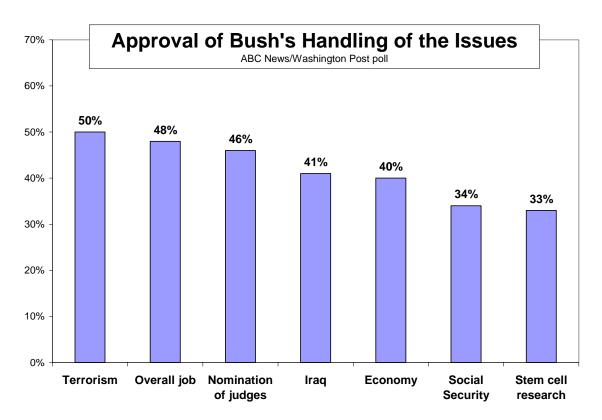
Support for a stock-market option, once the most attractive component of Bush's proposals, is stuck at about 50-50. And if establishing a stock-market option means reducing the growth of guaranteed benefits, support falls steeply, to just 27 percent.

Moreover, Americans perceive pain, but without gain, from the president's plans. Fifty-six percent think Bush's proposals would decrease the total amount of retirement income most seniors receive. Yet even more, 63 percent, do not believe the plan would improve the long-term financial stability of Social Security.

Young adults are more receptive than others to Bush's proposals; in particular, among those under 30 years old, 71 percent like the idea of a stock-market option. But even in this group support falls to 40 percent if establishing a stock-market option required reducing the rate of growth in guaranteed benefits. And 57 percent of young adults think Bush's proposals would not improve the system's long-term finances.

MORE ISSUES – Handling the retirement system isn't the only domestic issue on which Bush has trouble. Ratings of the economy have grown a bit less sour – 44 percent positive, up seven points from April – and most people are optimistic about the economy in the year ahead. Yet a majority, 58 percent, disapproves of how Bush is handling it, one point from his career worst in March 2004.

Most, 55 percent, also disapprove of Bush's handling of the issue of stem-cell research, an issue he himself has chosen to highlight recently. And on energy policy, the public divides on allowing drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge – and by 64-34 percent broadly opposes building new nuclear power plants. That represents a drop in support for more nuclear plants since 2001, contrary to Bush's efforts to promote their construction.



Another result underscores the conundrum Bush faces as 9/11 grows more distant: His success in preventing another terrorist attack on U.S. soil tends to move the issue down as a public priority. Just 12 percent call it the top issue facing the country, compared with 30 percent who cite the economy; 24 percent, Iraq; 16 percent, health care; and 13 percent, Social Security.

In what's likely a related result, Americans now divide, 50-46 percent, on whether, as it conducts the war on terrorism, the United States is or is not doing enough to protect the rights of American citizens. In 2002 and 2003 polls, by contrast, anywhere from 61 to 74 percent said it was doing enough.

Previous polling has indicated that Americans are willing to sacrifice some rights and privacy in times of national crisis, but then tend to demand an end to any such intrusions as the crisis passes. To the extent that's beginning to occur, it opens the door for further skepticism about administration policy.

FAVES – In a basic measure of personal popularity, 48 percent of Americans have a favorable opinion of Bush overall, 51 percent unfavorable, the first time he's gotten a majority unfavorable rating, however slightly.

Of two other political figures tested, Hillary Rodham Clinton has a rating of 51-46 percent favorable-unfavorable, marginally better than Bush's, but hardly powerful. Better overall is Sen. John McCain, with 57 percent favorable, 32 percent unfavorable. McCain, a Republican, and Clinton, a Democrat, are possible candidates for president in 2008.

	Favorable	Unfavorable
Bush	48%	51
H.R. Clinton	51	46
McCain	57	32

McCain's favorability crosses ideological and party lines in a way Bush's and Clinton's do not – a good profile for a general election campaign, but not necessarily for winning primaries. Indeed, reflecting his 2000 campaign difficulties, McCain is weaker among conservatives (48 percent favorable) than among moderates or liberals (63 and 62 percent, respectively), and conservatives account for a disproportionate share of Republican primary voters. Clinton, by contrast, is much more popular among liberals (75 percent favorable) than among moderates (55 percent) or conservatives (31 percent).

GROUPS – Roughly equal numbers of Americans in this survey identify themselves as Republicans (31 percent) and Democrats (30 percent). These groups very sharply differ on many of these issues; it's the center – independents – where some of Bush's negatives turn into majorities.

Overall, for instance, while 84 percent of Republicans approve of Bush's performance, just 38 percent of independents (and 21 percent of Democrats) agree. And intensity is

greater on the negative side: Among all Americans, 38 percent disapprove "strongly" of Bush's performance, compared with 27 percent who approve strongly.

Ideology tells a similar story: Bush has 68 percent approval from conservatives, but that drops to 44 percent among moderates, and further among liberals, to 24 percent.

There are other gaps, including a huge regional difference: Sixty percent of Southerners approve of Bush's work, compared with 32 percent in the Northeast, and 44 percent in the Midwest and West alike.

On terrorism, the decline in Bush's ratings since April occurred among men (approval down 12 points) and nonwhites (down 20 points). It's also fallen twice as far among independents, down 14 points, as among Democrats or Republicans.

As noted, the biggest letdown in expectations of Bush's second-term performance has been among Republicans: In January 82 percent thought he'd do a better job, today 44 percent say he is -38 points fewer. The letdown is 24 points among independents, and 17 points among Democrats, who had particularly low expectations.

	Bush do	better in	2 <sup>nd</sup> term?
	Today	January	Change
Republicans	44%	82%	-38
Independents	29	53	-24
Democrats	16	33	-17

Another result describes the increasing narrowness of Bush's support. The only population groups in which majorities say he's concentrating on issues that are important to them personally are Republicans, evangelical white Protestants, conservatives and better-off Americans, those with household incomes of \$75,000 a year or more.

Bush conc	entrating on things
that are	important to you?
	Yes%
Republicans	74
Evangelical	
white Protestants	63
Conservatives	59
\$75K+ income	53

METHODOLOGY – This ABC News/Washington Post poll was conducted by telephone June 2-5, 2005, among a random national sample of 1,002 adults. The results have a three-point error margin. Sampling, data collection and tabulation by TNS of Horsham, Pa.

Analysis by Gary Langer.

ABC News polls can be found at ABCNEWS.com at http://abcnews.com/pollvault.html.

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# Full results follow (\*= less than 0.5 percent).

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? Do you approve/disapprove strongly or somewhat?

			Approve	·		Disappr	0Ve	No
		NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opin.
6/5/05		48	27	21	52	14	38	1
4/24/05		47	25	22	50	13	38	3
3/13/05		50	31	19	48	11	37	3
1/31/05		50	34	15	45	11	34	5
1/16/05		52	33	19	46	11	35	2
12/19/04		48	27	21	49	12	38	2
10/20/04	וומ		30	20	46	11	35	4
10/20/01	LV	50	33	17	48	10	38	2
	RV	50	30	20	46	11	35	3
10/17/04		54	35	19	45	9	36	2
10/16/04		54	35	19	44	10	34	2
10/15/04		54	35	19	44	10	34	2
10/3/04	LV	53	36	17	46	11	34	1
9/26/04	All		33	18	45	13	32	5
J/20/04	LV	53	38	15	46	10	35	1
	RV	52	35	17	46	13	32	5
9/8/04	All		35	17	43	11	32	5
9/0/04	RV	52	38	14	45	11	33	3
0/20/04	All	52 50	31		45	13	34	3
8/29/04				19				
0 /1 /04	RV	52	33	19	47	13	35	1
8/1/04	All		28	18	49	13	36	5
7/05/04	RV	48	29	19	51	13	38	2
7/25/04	All		32	19	47	13	34	3
E /11 /04	RV	51	33	18	47	13	34	2
7/11/04		48	31	17	50	11	39	2
6/20/04	All	47	30	17	51	13	39	1
	RV	48	32	15	51	12	40	1
5/23/04		47	31	17	50	14	36	3
4/18/04		51	33	18	47	13	34	1
3/7/04		50	32	18	48	12	36	2
2/11/04		50	30	21	47	14	34	2
1/18/04		58	35	24	40	9	30	2
12/21/03		59	39	21	38	15	23	3
12/14/03		57	37	20	39	10	29	5
12/7/03		53	32	21	40	13	27	7
11/16/03		57	34	23	39	11	28	4
10/29/03		56	30	26	42	13	29	2
10/13/03		53	33	20	43	13	29	4
9/30/03		54	34	20	44	15	29	2
9/13/03		58	35	23	40	14	27	2
9/7/03		56	34	22	41	13	28	4
8/11/03		59	37	22	37	14	23	4
7/10/03		59	35	24	38	13	25	3
6/22/03		68	45	23	29	11	18	4
4/30/03		71	50	22	26	17	9	3
4/16/03		74	52	22	23	9	14	3
4/9/03		77	58	19	20	6	14	4
4/3/03		71	54	16	25	7	19	4
3/23/03		68	NA	NA	27	NA	NA	4
3/20/03		67	NA	NA	28	NA	NA	5
3/2/03		62	38	23	35	13	22	4
2/23/03		60	NA	NA	34	NA	NA	6

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2/9/03	64	42	21	34	14	20	3
2/1/03	62	41	21	34	13	22	4
1/28/03	62	43	19	36	13	23	2
1/27/03	59	39	21	37	15	22	4
1/20/03	59	36	23	38	16	22	2
12/15/02	66	37	28	32	12	20	2
11/4/02 LV	67	45	23	31	12	20	1
11/3/02 LV	67	45	22	32	12	20	1
11/2/02 LV	67	47	20	32	9	23	1
10/27/02 All	67	39	28	29	13	16	4
LV	68	47	21	30	14	16	3
9/26/02	67	42	25	30	12	18	3
9/8/02	71	42	28	27	12	15	3
7/28/02	69	39	31	28	14	14	3
7/15/02	72	42	31	25	12	13	2
6/17/02	74	42	32	22	9	13	4
6/9/02	77	41	36	20	9	11	3
5/19/02	76	48	28	22	8	13	3
4/21/02	78	47	31	20	9	10	2
3/28/02	79	49	30	18	8	10	3
3/10/02	82	52	30	16	9	7	2
1/27/02	83	56	27	14	7	7	3
12/19/01	86	64	22	12	6	6	2
11/27/01	89	69	21	9	4	5	1
11/6/01	89	65	24	9	5	4	2
10/9/01	92	76	16	6	3	3	1
9/27/01	90	70	20	6	3	3	4
9/13/01	86	63	23	12	5	6	2
9/9/01	55	26	29	41	20	22	3
8/12/01	61	28	33	31	14	17	8
7/30/01	59	28	30	38	17	22	3
6/3/01	55	27	28	40	18	22	6
4/22/01	63	33	30	32	16	16	5
3/25/01	58	NA	NA	33	NA	NA	8
2/25/01	55	NA	NA	23	NA	NA	22

2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling (ITEM)?

6/5/05 - Summary Table\*

	Approve	Disapprove	No op.
a. Social Security	34	62	4
b. The situation in Iraq	41	58	1
c. The nomination of federal judges	46	44	10
d. The economy	40	58	2
e. The US campaign against terrorism	50	49	1
f. Federal funding for embryonic stem			
cell research	33	55	13

<sup>\*</sup>Half sample asked a-c, other half asked d-f.

Trend where available:

a. Social Security

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
6/5/05	34	62	4
4/24/05	31	64	5
3/13/05	35	56	9
1/16/05	38	55	7
12/19/04	38	52	9
4/18/04	41	51	8

3/7/04	38	55	7
10/29/03	40	46	14
9/13/03	43	46	11
4/30/03	49	38	13
12/15/02	49	38	13
9/26/02	42	43	15
7/15/02	54	35	11
1/27/02	54	28	18
9/9/01	41	50	9
7/30/01	46	48	6
6/3/01	46	40	14

## b. The situation in Iraq

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
6/5/05	41	58	1
4/24/05	42	56	2
3/13/05	39	57	4
1/16/05	40	58	2
12/19/04	42	57	1
9/26/04 RV	47	50	3
8/29/04 RV	47	51	2
7/25/04	45	53	2
6/20/04	44	55	2
5/23/04	40	58	2
4/18/04	45	54	1
3/7/04	46	53	1
2/11/04	47	52	1
1/18/04	55	42	2
12/21/03	60	39	2
12/14/03	58	38	4
11/16/03	48	48	4
10/29/03	47	51	2
10/13/03	51	47	2
9/29/03	50	47	3
9/13/03	52	46	2
9/7/03	49	47	4
8/24/03	56	37	7
8/11/03	56	41	3
7/10/03	58	41	2
6/22/03	67	30	2
4/30/03	75	22	2

Compare t	to:	The	situation	with	Iraq	and	Saddam	Hussein
3/27/03			69		26			5
3/23/03			71		26			3
3/20/03			65		29			5
3/17/03			64		29			7
3/9/03			55		38			8
2/23/03			55		39			6
2/9/03			61		37			2
2/5/03			61		32			7
2/1/03			61		35			3
1/28/03			58		38			4
1/27/03			57		40			3
1/20/03			50		46			4
12/15/02			58		37			5
11/4/02	LV		56		40			4
11/3/02	LV		57		40			4
11/2/02	LV		56		41			3
10/27/02			57		38			5
9/26/02			58		39			3
9/14/02			65		31			4

- c. No trend.
- d. The economy

	_		1
6.45.405	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
6/5/05	40	58	2
4/24/05	40	57	3
3/13/05	43	55	2
1/16/05	46	52	2
12/19/04	46	51	3
9/26/04 RV	47	50	4
8/29/04 RV	45	52	3
7/25/04	47	50	3
6/20/04	46	53	1
5/23/04	44	54	2
4/18/04	44	54	2
3/7/04	39	59	1
2/11/04	44	54	2
1/18/04	51	47	2
12/21/03	51	44	5
11/16/03	48	49	3
10/29/03	45	53	2
10/13/03	45	52	2
9/13/03	42	56	3
9/7/03	44	51	5
8/11/03	45	51	5
7/10/03	47	49	4
4/30/03	52	45	3
2/9/03	47	49	4
2/1/03	44	52	4
1/28/03	46	49	4
1/27/03	47	47	5
1/20/03	43	53	4
1/5/03	50	43	7
12/15/02	50	46	4
11/4/02 LV	53	45	2
11/3/02 LV	52	46	2
11/2/02 LV	55	43	2
10/27/02	51	43	6
10/27/02 LV	53	44	3
9/26/02	51	47	3
9/8/02	57	40	4
7/28/02	5 <i>7</i> 57	39	4
7/15/02	58	38	3
4/21/02	64	33	3
1/27/02	62	34	4
12/19/01	67	27	6
11/6/01	72	23	5
	72 48	48	5 4
9/9/01	48 52		3
7/30/01	52 53	45 41	
6/3/01			6 7
4/22/01	55	38	
3/25/01	50	42	8

### e. The US campaign against terrorism

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
6/5/05	50	49	1
4/24/05	56	41	3
3/13/05	59	38	3
1/16/05	61	38	2

12/19/04	53	43	3
9/26/04 RV	59	38	3
8/29/04 RV	60	37	3
7/25/04	57	40	4
6/20/04	50	48	2
5/23/04	58	39	4
4/18/04	63	35	2
3/7/04	63	34	3
2/11/04	64	34	2
1/18/04	66	33	2
12/21/03	70	28	2
10/29/03	63	35	2
10/13/03	66	30	4
9/13/03	70	27	3
9/7/03	67	28	5
4/30/03	79	19	2
2/9/03	74	23	4
2/1/03	75	21	3
1/27/03	72	26	2
1/20/03	71	25	4
12/15/02	79	20	1
11/4/02 LV	76	22	1
11/3/02 LV	77	22	3
11/2/02 LV	78	21	2
10/27/02 All	74	23	4
10/27/02 LV	78	20	2
9/26/02	70	28	2
9/8/02	74	24	2
7/28/02	81	17	2
7/15/02	83	15	2
5/19/02*	79	19	3
4/21/02*	81	18	2
3/10/02*	88	10	2
1/27/02	88	10	2
12/19/01*	89	9	2
10/15/01*	92	5	3
*Asked very/somew	hat follow-up		

#### f. No trend.

3. Which of these should be the highest priority for Bush and Congress this year: (The U.S. campaign against terrorism), (the war in Iraq), (the economy and jobs), (health care), (Social Security) or something else?

	Terr- orism	Iraq	Economy/ jobs	Health care	Social Security	Something else	oN.
6/5/05	12	24	30	16	13	4	1
4/24/05	12	22	32	15	11	6	1
3/13/05	17	23	2.7	16	10	5	2

 $4.\ \mbox{Do}$  you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress is doing its job?

6/5/05 10/29/03 4/30/03 9/26/02 7/15/02	Approve 41 40 57 51 57	Disapprove 54 52 37 43 36	No opinion 4 9 6 6 7
7/15/02	57	36	7
2/21/02	57	39	4
1/27/02	58	35	7

12/19/01	59	34	7
9/9/01	45	48	7
7/30/01	48	48	4
4/22/01	58	33	8
10/31/99	42	53	6
9/2/99	46	47	7
6/6/99	48	46	6
3/14/99	44	49	7
2/14/99	46	50	4
12/20/98		51	5
	44		
12/19/98	45	50	5
12/13/98	49	46	5
11/7/98		55	4
	41		
11/1/98	49	47	5
11/1/98 LV	47	51	2
10/25/98	45	44	11
10/25/98 LV	45	48	7
10/18/98	46	45	8
			5
10/18/98 LV	45	49	
9/28/98	52	44	4
9/28/98 LV	52	46	2
8/21/98	55	39	6
7/12/98	46	44	11
5/12/98	45	45	9
	47		
4/4/98		45	8
1/31/98	55	35	10
1/30/98	55	35	10
1/25/98	56	37	
			8
1/24/98	55	38	7
1/19/98	47	49	5
10/13/97	36	57	7
8/27/97	39	54	7
7/8/97	40	53	6
4/24/97	40	53	7
3/9/97	35	60	5
8/5/96	42	52	7
6/30/96	35	58	7
5/22/96	35	60	5
3/10/96	30	64	6
1/7/96	31	65	5
11/19/95	27	68	5
10/1/95	32	65	3
7/17/95	34	63	3
3/19/95	39	56	5
1/29/95	42	52	6
10/31/94	21	72	8
10/23/94	18	78	4
9/11/94	24	70	5
6/26/94	34	61	5
3/27/94	35	62	3
2/27/94	32	64	4
1/23/94	29	60	11
11/14/93	28	66	6
8/8/93	33	64	3
4/26/93	30	69	2
1/17/93	29	66	6
4/9/92	17	78	5
3/18/92	19	76	5
3/8/92	22	73	6
2/2/92	32	64	4
12/15/91	35	59	6
10/21/91	45	50	5
6/2/91	49	46	5

10/14/90	34	63	3
2/4/90	41	55	4
1/16/90	39	55	6
8/21/89	42	53	5
5/23/89	54	44	2
2/14/89	53	44	3
1/23/88*	43	53	4
6/1/87	56	40	4
6/22/85	54	37	9
5/83	33	43	24
6/81	38	40	22
6/79	19	61	20
9/78	29	49	22
6/77	34	42	24
6/75	29	54	17
8/74	48	35	17
*1/23/88	and previous:	Gallup	

 $5a.\ Do\ you\ approve\ or\ disapprove\ of\ the\ way\ the\ Republicans\ in\ Congress\ are\ doing\ their\ job?$ 

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
6/5/05	42	56	2
6/6/99*	41	52	7
3/14/99	40	56	4
7/8/97	40	54	6
9/15/96 Reg.	46	48	6
6/30/96	38	56	6
4/5/95	45	50	5
10/31/94	33	59	7
10/23/94	31	64	5
9/11/94	35	59	6
* Post poll			

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
6/5/05	42	56	3
6/6/99*	51	42	7
3/14/99	51	42	7
7/8/97	45	49	6
4/5/95	36	60	4
10/31/94	39	53	8
10/23/94	36	59	5
9/11/94	41	53	6
*Washington	Post poll		

6. Do you approve or disapprove of the way your own representative to the U.S. House of Representatives in Congress is handling his or her job?

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
6/5/05	61	32	8
9/26/02	64	27	9
7/15/02	68	23	9
11/1/98	72	20	8
11/1/98 LV	73	23	5
10/18/98	68	20	11
10/18/98 LV	67	25	9
9/28/98	70	21	10

9/28/98 LV	71	23	6
7/12/98	70	18	12
1/19/98	74	19	7
4/5/95	65	25	9
10/31/94	51	38	11
10/23/94	49	43	8
9/11/94	53	35	12
6/26/94	59	31	10
3/27/94	62	26	12
1/17/93	60	29	11
4/9/92	47	39	13
3/18/92	49	40	11
2/2/92	56	32	12
12/15/91	60	28	12
10/21/91	64	27	9
6/2/91	61	26	14
10/14/90	64	29	7
5/23/89	71	18	11

7. Right now, are you inclined to vote to re-elect your representative in Congress in the next election or are you inclined to look around for someone else to vote for?

	Re-elect	Look around	Depends (vol.)	No opin.
6/5/05	40	50	8	3
2/21/02	40	48	7	6
10/31/99	41	47	8	3
9/28/98	44	46	NA	10
9/28/98 LV	52	42	NA	6
7/12/98	42	44	5	10
1/19/98	47	41	7	4
8/27/97	34	52	9	5
11/6/94 RV	37	47	7	8
10/31/94	35	56	2	7
10/23/94	32	58	4	6
9/11/94	36	53	4	7
6/26/94	35	54	6	5
3/27/94	32	56	6	7
1/23/94	32	46	10	12
11/14/93	38	52	5	5
7/8/92	34	54	3	9
6/7/92	36	53	4	7
4/9/92	33	56	3	8
3/11/92	36	54	3	7
2/2/92	38	51	4	7
10/21/91	31	55	7	6
6/2/91	37	49	5	9
11/4/90 LV	41	50	NA	8
10/14/90	36	57	NA	7
5/21/90	43	50	3	3
5/23/89	45	44	4	6

8. Overall, which party, the (Democrats) or the (Republicans), do you trust to do a better job in coping with the main problems the nation faces over the next few years?

			Both	Neither	
	Democrats	Republicans	(vol.)	(vol.)	No opinion
6/5/05	46	41	1	9	2
8/11/03	39	40	3	10	7
12/15/02	41	44	2	11	2

10/27/02 LV	39	51	2	5	2
9/26/02	39	46	3	8	4
9/26/02 LV	42	49	1	7	2
7/15/02	42	45	2	7	4
1/27/02	40	44	3	10	4
4/22/01	47	40	4	7	3
7/23/00	42	42	2	9	6
9/2/99	45	39	4	9	4
6/6/99	45	35	3	13	5
3/14/99	47	37	5	9	3
2/14/99	48	37	4	7	4
10/18/98	44	36	3	12	6
10/18/98 LV	43	42	3	10	2
9/28/98	49	38	2	8	3
9/28/98 LV	45	44	1	8	2
8/21/98	48	36	4	9	3
7/12/98	45	38	3	8	6
1/31/98	47	37	4	6	7
1/19/98	45	42	2	7	4
7/8/97	44	37	2	14	3
9/15/96 RV	45	38	3	11	3
8/5/96	43	38	3	11	3
6/30/96	46	37	3	12	3
5/22/96	47	38	3	10	3
11/6/94 RV	41	39	2	12	6
10/31/94	43	43	2	8	4
10/23/94	39	40	3	15	3
9/11/94	43	40	4	11	3
6/26/94	41	36	3	14	5
2/27/94	46	32	4	16	3
11/14/93	42	39	3	11	4
1/17/93	49	28	5	13	5
7/8/92	48	38	1	8	4
6/7/92	43	37	3	11	6
3/11/92	45	37	1	11	5
3/8/92	51	36	1	7	5
2/2/92	49	39	2	7	3
12/15/91	39	37	3	15	6
10/21/91	39	40	3	13	5

9. Do you feel Bush and the Republican leaders in Congress are making good progress on solving the nation's problems or not?

	Yes,	No, not	No
	making progress	making progress	opinion
6/5/05	37	61	2

Compare to: Do you feel Bush and the Democratic leaders in Congress are making good progress on solving the nation's problems or not?

	Yes,	No, not	No
	making progress	making progress	opinion
2/21/02	55	42	3
2/4/90	43	55	2
4/3/89	44	51	4

10. (IF BUSH AND CONGRESS NOT MAKING PROGESS, Q9) Whose fault is that mainly - (Bush and the Republicans), or (the Democrats in Congress)?

Bush and	Democrats	Both equally	Neither	No
the Republicans	in Congress	(vol.)	(vol.)	op.

11. Would you support or oppose a plan in which people who chose to could invest some of their Social Security contributions in the stock market?

	Support	Oppose	No opin.
6/5/05	48	49	2
4/24/05	45	51	4
3/13/05	56	41	3
12/19/04	53	44	3
7/15/02	52	45	3
4/22/01	53	46	2
3/25/01	52	45	3
10/30/00 LV	58	35	8
9/6/00 RV	59	37	4
5/10/00	64	31	5

12. (IF SUPPORT, Q11) What if that plan also reduced the rate of growth in guaranteed Social Security benefits for future retirees - in that case would you support or oppose it?

	Support	Oppose	No opin
6/5/05	57	39	4
4/24/05	56	41	1

11/12 NET

		Oppose			
	Support	NET	In general	If reduced benefits	op.
6/5/05	27	68	49	19	4
1/21/05	25	60	5.1	1.0	5

13. Based on what you know about Bush's proposals, do you think they would or would not improve the long-term financial stability of the Social Security system?

	Yes, would	No, would not	No opinion
6/5/05	32	63	5

14. If a system were put in place that (reduced the rate of growth in guaranteed benefits), but (allowed a stock-market option for some Social Security contributions), do you think that would increase or decrease the overall retirement income most seniors receive?

	Increase	Decrease	No difference (vol.)	No opinion
6/5/05	32	56	4	7

15. On another subject, all in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not? Do you feel that way STRONGLY or SOMEWHAT?

	Worth fighting			1	Not worth fighting			
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	op.	
6/5/05	41	29	12	58	12	46	1	
4/24/05	44	31	13	54	12	42	2	
3/13/05	45	34	11	53	11	42	2	
1/16/05	44	32	12	55	10	45	1	

12/19/04 10/3/04 LV 9/26/04 LV RV 9/8/04 RV 8/29/04 RV 7/25/04 6/20/04 5/23/04 5/6/04 4/18/04 3/7/04 2/11/04 1/18/04	42 49 48 46 51 48 49 47 48 49 51 52 48 56	31 34 36 35 38 34 36 32 35 NA	11 15 12 12 13 14 13 14 13 NA		56 48 50 51 45 50 48 52 50 47 47 44 50 41	10 11 7 8 10 11 11 13 13 NA	47 37 43 42 34 39 37 39	3 2 3 4 2 3 2 1
12/21/03	59				39			2
12/14/03	53				42			5
11/16/03	52				44			4
10/29/03	54				44			2
10/13/03	54				44			2
9/13/03	61				37			2
9/7/03	54				42			4
8/24/03	57				37			5
8/11/03	61				35			4
7/10/03	57				40			3 3
6/22/03	64	"	"		33	"	"	
4/30/03	70	"	"		27	"	"	4
Gulf War:								_
2/2/92*	66	NA	NA		32	NA	NA	
7/28/91	67				30			3 3
6/2/91	70	"	"		26		"	3
3/4/91	86			a 15	13	2 / 4 / 0.1 -		1
*2/2/92 and	previous	: "the	Persian	Gulf	war";	3/4/91:	"this war	

16. Again thinking about the goals versus the costs of the war, so far in your opinion has there been an acceptable or unacceptable number of U.S. military casualties in Iraq?

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	No opinion
6/5/05	25	73	2
3/13/05	27	70	3
12/19/04	27	70	3
6/20/04	29	71	1
4/18/04	33	65	2
1/18/04	34	62	4
12/21/03	37	60	4
11/16/03	33	64	3
10/29/03	35	62	3
10/13/03	37	60	3
9/13/03	43	55	2
9/7/03	38	57	5
8/11/03	42	53	5
7/10/03	44	52	3
6/22/03	51	44	5
4/9/03	66	28	6
4/3/03	62	32	5
3/27/03	58	34	9

17. Do you think the war with Iraq has or has not contributed to the long-term security of the United States? IF YES: Has it contributed to the long-term security of the United States a great deal, or somewhat?

	Contributed			Has	No
	NET	Great deal	Somewhat	not	opin.
6/5/05	47	24	22	52	1
3/13/05	52	29	23	46	2
1/16/05	50	30	21	47	3
12/19/04	51	27	23	46	4
10/3/04 LV	53	32	22	42	4
9/26/04 LV	54	36	18	43	3
RV	54	36	18	42	4
9/8/04 RV	57	36	22	40	3
8/29/04 RV	54	33	20	42	4
7/25/04	51	32	19	45	3
6/20/04	51	28	23	46	2
5/23/04	54	30	24	43	3
4/18/04	57	33	24	40	3
3/7/04	57	29	29	40	3
2/11/04	58	32	26	38	4
1/18/04	59	34	25	38	3
12/21/03	62	34	29	34	4
7/10/03*	62	33	29	35	3
*"did or did	not"				

18. (HALF SAMPLE) Do you think the United States (has gotten bogged down in Iraq), or do you think the United States (is making good progress in Iraq)?

	Has gotten bogged down	Is making good progress	No opinion
6/5/05	65	33	2
4/24/05	58	39	3
3/13/05	54	43	4
10/3/04 LV	58	38	4
9/26/04 LV	59	37	4
RV	60	36	4
9/8/04 RV	54	40	6
5/23/04	65	33	2
5/6/04	60	35	5
4/18/04	59	41	0

19. (HALF SAMPLE) Do you think the United States is heading for the same kind of involvement in Iraq as it had in the Vietnam war, or do you think the United States will avoid that kind of involvement this time?

		Like Vietnam			Will avoid	No
	NET	Heading	Already	(vol.)	that	opin.
6/5/05	45	42	3		52	3

Compare to:

compare co.			
	Like Vietnam	Will avoid that	No opin.
Afghanistan	ı:		
3/10/02	18	77	5
Serbia:			
4/26/99	31	65	4
Bosnia:			
11/29/95	33	61	6

Persian Gulf:

4/3/91*	8	89	3
1/20/91*	11	86	3
12/5/90	32	66	3
11/15/90	26	69	5
9/9/90	18	78	4
8/20/90	22	74	4

<sup>\*</sup>Wording change: "Persian Gulf" in place of "Middle East"

 $20.\ \, \text{Do}$  you think the Bush Administration does or does not have a clear plan for eventually withdrawing most U.S. troops from Iraq?

	Does	Does not	No opinion
6/5/05	33	65	2
3/13/04	32	64	4

21. On another subject, would you describe the state of the nation's economy these days as excellent, good, not so good or poor?

	I	Excellent/Goc	d		Not so good/Poo	or	No
	NET	Excellent	Good	NET	Not so good	Poor	op.
6/5/05	44	3	40	56	38	19	*
4/24/05	37	2	35	63	44	20	*
9/26/04 RV	46	3	43	53	38	15	1
8/29/04 RV	45	3	41	55	37	18	*
7/25/04	46	4	42	53	39	14	*
6/20/04	45	4	41	55	38	17	*
4/18/04	43	4	39	57	39	18	*
3/7/04	39	2	37	60	38	22	1
1/18/04	42	3	39	58	42	16	0
12/21/03	42	4	39	57	41	16	1
10/29/03	33	1	32	67	45	23	*
9/13/03	30	2	27	70	45	25	*
8/11/03	32	2	30	68	43	25	*
4/30/03	35	1	34	64	46	19	*
2/9/03	28	1	27	72	49	23	*
1/20/03	25	1	25	74	48	26	1
12/15/02	35	1	33	65	44	21	1
11/4/02 LV	28	1	27	72	55	17	1
11/3/02 LV	27	1	26	72	56	17	1
11/2/02 LV	29	1	28	71	54	17	*
9/26/02	31	2	28	69	50	19	*
7/15/02	39	3	36	61	44	17	1
2/21/02	30	1	29	69	51	18	*
1/27/02	31	1	29	69	50	19	*
9/20/01	38	3	35	60	47	14	2
9/9/01	33	1	32	66	47	19	*
7/30/01	50	3	46	50	39	12	*
4/22/01	50	3	47	50	40	9	*
1/15/01	70	10	59	29	24	6	1
10/27/00 LV	86	24	61	14	11	3	*
10/26/00 LV	86	24	61	14	11	3	*
6/11/00	74	17	57	26	19	6	*
2/27/00	80	25	55	20	14	5	*
10/31/99	74	18	56	26	18	7	1
9/2/99	76	19	57	23	16	6	1
3/14/99	80	22	58	19	15	4	1
11/1/98	73	12	61	26	21	5	1
11/1/98 LV	78	13	65	22	19	3	*
10/13/97	61	12	49	39	27	11	*

22. Thinking about the next 12 months, would you say you feel (optimistic) or (pessimistic) about the state of the national economy?

	Optimistic	Pessimistic	No opinion
6/5/05	59	40	1
12/19/04	58	40	2
6/20/04	64	34	2
1/14/03	63	35	2

#### 23-25 Held for release

26. As it conducts the war on terrorism, do you think the United States government is or is not doing enough to protect the rights of American citizens?

			Doing too	No
	Yes	No	much (vol.)	opin.
6/5/05	50	46	1	2
9/7/03	69	28	*	3
12/15/02	61	35	*	3
9/8/02	74	24	*	1
6/16/02	65	30	2	3

#### 27-29 Held for release

30. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of:

#### 6/5/05 - Summary Table

		Favorable	Unfavorable	No opinion
a.	George W. Bush	48	51	1
b.	The Republican party	49	49	2
c.	The Democratic party	51	47	2
d.	Hillary Rodham Clinton	51	46	3
e.	John McCain	57	32	11

## Trend:

#### a. George W. Bush

		Favorable	Unfavorable	No opinion
6/5/05		48	51	1
10/17/04*	LV	52	42	6
10/13/04*	LV	49	46	5
10/12/04*	LV	49	46	5
10/11/04*	LV	52	44	4
10/4/04*	LV	53	42	5
10/3/04*	LV	53	41	5
9/26/04*	LV	53	40	7
	RV	52	38	10
9/8/04*	RV	51	39	11
8/29/04*	RV	50	40	9
8/1/04*	RV	47	45	8
7/25/04*	RV	54	43	3
3/7/04*		47	46	7
12/15/02		66	32	3
12/15/00*	*	56	36	8
10/15/00*	RV	46	34	21
9/6/00*	RV	58	31	11

7/23/00*	62	29	9
6/11/00*	50	28	22
4/2/00*	50	31	19
2/27/00*	49	39	11
10/31/99**	69	24	8
9/2/99**	61	23	16
6/6/99**	54	15	30
3/14/99**	54	14	32
2/14/99**	51	13	36
1/19/98**	34	13	53

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;Regardless of how you might vote, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of George W. Bush or perhaps you don't know enough to say."

#### b. The Republican Party

		Favorable	Unfavorable	No opinion
6/5/05		49	49	2
12/15/02		56	38	5
1/27/02		63	30	7
7/30/01		51	46	3
12/15/00		54	35	11
1/16/00		53	37	10
1/10/00*		53	41	6
1/10/00	LV	56	39	5
11/21/99		50	44	6
5/2/99		47	44	9
2/21/99		45	46	9
2/13/99		40	54	5
2/8/99		45	47	8
1/10/99		40	52	8
12/20/98		31	57	12
12/16/98		43	47	10
10/29/97		50	42	8
9/1/96	RV	50	45	5
8/18/96	RV	55	41	4
8/7/96	RV	51	44	5
4/10/96		52	41	7
4/19/95		52	42	6
7/8/92	RV	53	39	8
*1/10/00	and	previous:	Gallup	

#### c. The Democratic Party

	Favorable	Unfavorable	No opinion
6/5/05	51	47	2
12/15/02	56	37	6
1/27/02	56	36	8
7/30/01	60	36	4
12/15/00	64	25	11
1/16/00	56	35	9
1/10/00*	61	33	6
1/10/00 LV	58	37	5
11/21/99	51	41	8
5/2/99	53	37	10
2/21/99	55	37	8
2/13/99	56	38	6
2/8/99	57	37	6
1/10/99	57	35	8

<sup>\*\*&</sup>quot;I'm going to read you a few names. For each, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of that person or group, or perhaps you don't know enough to say...George W. Bush"

12/20/98		57	30	13
12/16/98		58	32	10
10/29/97		54	39	7
9/1/96	RV	60	36	4
8/18/96	RV	55	41	4
8/7/96	RV	57	38	5
4/10/96		55	38	7
4/19/95		51	43	6
7/8/92	RV	54	38	8
*1/10/00	and	previous:	Gallup	

#### d. Hillary Rodham Clinton

	Favorable	Unfavorable	No opinion
6/5/05	51	46	3
6/1/03	44	48	8
9/2/99	49	44	7
6/6/99	59	35	6
3/14/99	60	36	4
2/14/99	63	31	6
11/1/98	64	31	5
11/1/98 LV	60	36	3
8/21/98	64	28	8
8/19/98	64	32	4
4/4/98	58	33	10
1/30/98	60	30	10
1/19/98	52	39	9
3/9/97	47	44	9
9/4/96 RV	47	42	12
6/30/96	44	47	9
1/21/96	28	36	36
1/19/96	32	34	34
10/31/94	47	44	8
5/15/94	54	41	5
3/27/94	53	39	8
1/23/94	55	34	11
11/14/93	58	33	9
8/8/93	59	33	8
4/26/93	54	26	20
2/23/93	59	24	18
1/17/93	51	20	29
7/8/92	30	26	43
3/28/92	28	22	51

#### e. John McCain

	Favorable	Unfavorable	No opinion
6/5/05	57	32	11
7/30/01	57	30	12
2/27/00	60	21	19
10/31/99	36	22	41
9/2/99	22	10	68
3/14/99	20	10	69

31. Do you think Bush is doing a better job as president in his second term than in his first term, a worse job or what?

	Better	Worse	Same (vol.)	No opinion
6/5/05	3.0	3.8	3.0	2

Compare to: Do you think Bush will do a better job as president in his second term than in his first term, a worse job or what?

	Better	Worse	Same (vol.)	No opinion
1/16/05	55	29	14	3
Clinton:				
1/15/97	56	19	21	3

32. Overall do you think Bush has done more to (unite the country), or has done more to (divide the country)?

	Unite	Divide	No opin.
6/5/05	43	55	2
9/8/04 RV	48	44	8
8/29/04 RV	47	48	5
4/18/04	50	48	2
3/7/04	48	49	3
12/21/03	58	36	6

33. Do you think Bush is mainly concentrating on things that are important to you personally, or on things that are not important to you personally?

	Important	Not important	No
	to you	to you	opin.
6/5/05	41	58	1
12/15/02	52	45	3
7/15/02	53	44	3
7/30/01	45	53	2

34. How about the (ITEM) - do you think they are mainly concentrating on things that are important to you personally, or on things that are not important to you personally?

6/5/05 - Summary Table

	Important	Not important	No
	to you	to you	opin.
a. Republicans in Congress	39	59	2
b. Democrats in Congress	46	53	2

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49. On another subject, do you think the federal government should or should not allow oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska?

	Yes	No	No opinion
6/5/05	48	49	4
4/21/02	43	50	7
1/27/02	48	48	4
4/22/01	41	55	4
1/15/01	38	56	5
5/13/89*	26	60	13

\*"Do you think the federal government should allow new oil drilling..."

50. In general, would you favor or oppose building more nuclear power plants at this time? Do you favor/oppose this strongly or somewhat?

Favor				No		
NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	opin

6/5/05	34	17	17	64	37	27	2
6/3/01	42	19	22	52	32	20	6
4/22/01	37	17	20	59	33	27	4
3/26/90	22	NA	NA	76	NA	NA	2
5/19/86	19	NA	NA	78	NA	NA	3
4/30/86	28	NA	NA	68	NA	NA	4
1/16/85	26	NA	NA	67	NA	NA	6
4/12/83	27	NA	NA	65	NA	NA	8
11/10/80	47	NA	NA	47	NA	NA	6

51. (IF FAVOR, Q50) Would you favor or oppose building a nuclear power plant within 50 miles of your home?

	Favor -	Oppose	No opii	nion		
6/5/05	70	29	1			
., .,						
50/51 NET						
Favor						
	Within 50 miles				Oppose	
	NET	Favor	Oppose	No op.	(NET)	No opin.
6/5/05	34	24	10	*	64	2
- , - ,						

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\*\*\*END\*\*\*