

**Americans and Russians on
Nuclear Weapons and the Future of Disarmament**

Questionnaire

US (Knowledge Networks)

Dates of Survey: September 14-23, 2007 Margin of Error: +/- 4.0 % [half sample]
Sample Size: 1247

Russia (Levada Center)

Dates of Survey: September 14-24, 2007 Margin of Error: +/- 3.5 % [half sample]
Sample Size: 1601

Note: All items in both surveys were half-sampled through a randomized split sample design.

[HALF SAMPLE A]

Q1-R1: How high a priority do you think [the US/Russia] should put on cooperating with [Russia/the US] on each of the following? Do you think they should be a top priority, an important but not a top priority, or not a priority?

a. Stopping the spread of nuclear weapons

	Americans	Russians
Top priority	67%	54%
Republicans.....	71	
Democrats	70	
Independents	57	
Important priority, but not top priority	31	35
Republicans.....	27	
Democrats	30	
Independents	38	
Not a top priority.....	2	5
Republicans.....	2	
Democrats	*	
Independents	3	
Refused/Don't know	*	5

b. Preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons

	Americans	Russians
Top priority	72%	43%
Republicans.....	78	
Democrats	69	
Independents	68	
Important priority, but not top priority	25	39
Republicans.....	19	
Democrats	29	
Independents	26	
Not a top priority.....	2	10
Republicans.....	1	
Democrats	1	
Independents	4	
Refused/Don't know	1	7

c. Preventing terrorists from acquiring nuclear weapons

	Americans	Russians
Top priority	87%	74%
Republicans.....	94	
Democrats	84	
Independents	82	
Important priority, but not top priority	11	18
Republicans.....	6	
Democrats	14	
Independents	13	
Not a top priority.....	1	2
Republicans.....	0	
Democrats	1	
Independents	3	
Refused/Don't know	*	6

Q1 d-e to be released separately.

Q2-R2: Please tell me if you think the International Atomic Energy Agency or IAEA is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world

	Americans		Russians
	9/07	12/06	9/07
Mainly positive	54%	58%	40%

Republicans.....	58	61	
Democrats	55	70	
Independents	48	37	
Mainly negative	27	27	8
Republicans.....	28	27	
Democrats	26	19	
Independents	29	36	
Refused/Don't know	18	16	52

Q3-R7: Just your best guess: how many nuclear weapons do you think [Country] has? [Give number]

	Americans	Russians
Median	1000	1391
Republicans.....	1000	
Democrats	1000	
Independents	1000	
Refused/Don't know	12%	83%

Q4-R8: How many nuclear weapons do you think [Country] needs to have to make sure other countries are deterred from attacking it? [Give number]

	Americans	Russians
	9/07	9/07
Median	500	1000
Republicans.....	1000	
Democrats	200	
Independents	1000	
Refused/Don't know	16%	85%

Q5-R16: Here are some positions about the possible use of nuclear weapons by [Country]. Which one comes closest to yours?

	Americans		Russians	
	9/07	3/04	6/02*	9/07
[Country] should never use nuclear weapons under any circumstances	20%	21%	22%	14%
Republicans.....	7	11		
Democrats	29	26		
Independents	19	25		

* June 2002 data from Chicago Council on Global Affairs study.

[Country] should only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack	54	60	55	63
Republicans.....	50	56		
Democrats	57	64		
Independents	54	57		
 In certain circumstances, [Country] should use nuclear weapons even if it has not suffered a nuclear attack	25	18	21	11
Republicans.....	41	33		
Democrats	12	10		
Independents	26	18		
 Refused/Don't know	1	2	2	13

Q6-R6: Which position is closer to yours?

	Americans	Russians
[Country] policy should be to immediately launch nuclear weapons if early warning systems detect incoming nuclear missiles. This will keep our missiles from being destroyed by the incoming missiles and will help deter an enemy from considering an attack.	34%	26%
Republicans.....	41	
Democrats	28	
Independents	36	
 [Country] policy should be to not launch its nuclear weapons based solely on what early warning systems say. Early warning systems can make mistakes and, even if some [Country] missiles are hit, [Country] will always have plenty of options for nuclear retaliation.....	65	47
Republicans.....	58	
Democrats	72	
Independents	61	
 Refused/Don't know	1	27

Q7-R9: Based on what you know, do you think [Country] should or should not participate in the treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

	Americans			Russians
	9/07	3/04	6/02*	9/07
Should	80%	87%	81%	79%
Republicans.....	73	85		
Democrats	86	91		
Independents	78	88		
Should not	18	12	14	10
Republicans.....	25	14		
Democrats	13	9		
Independents	18	12		
Refused/Don't know	2	2	5	11

Q8: Based on what you know, do you think the US does or does not participate in the treaty that prohibits nuclear weapon test explosions world-wide

	Americans	
	9/07	3/04
Does participate	56%	56%
Republicans.....	59	67
Democrats	53	54
Independents	59	56
Does not participate	37	36
Republicans.....	31	27
Democrats	42	44
Independents	39	35
Refused/Don't know	6	7

* June 2002 data from Chicago Council on Global Affairs study.

Q9-R12: As you may know, the US and Russia have many inactive nuclear weapons and a substantial amount of weapons-grade nuclear material. The US has been providing technical assistance and money to help Russia secure these nuclear weapons and materials. Do you approve or disapprove of the US providing technical assistance and money to help Russia secure its nuclear weapons and materials?

	Americans	Russians
Approve.....	47%	36%
Republicans.....	56	
Democrats	41	
Independents	44	
Disapprove.....	52	31
Republicans.....	43	
Democrats	59	
Independents	54	
Refused/Don't know	1	33

Q10: As you may know, there is a concern that if more countries develop the ability to make nuclear fuel for civilian power plants this would increase the number of countries that could also make material that can be used for nuclear weapons. Therefore, some people have proposed that the countries that already make nuclear fuel should encourage other countries not to develop nuclear fuel by offering a guaranteed supply of nuclear fuel for their power plants, if they promise not to produce their own. Do you think this sounds like a good idea or a bad idea?

	Americans
Good idea.....	57%
Republicans.....	69
Democrats	51
Independents	51
Bad idea	40
Republicans.....	29
Democrats	48
Independents	41
Refused/Don't know	3

Q11-R10: Some people say that, to make sure that Russia and the US would know if nuclear weapons and weapons-grade materials are stolen, both countries should share more information and create systems to monitor each others' stocks.

Others think that this is not a good idea because there is a risk that sharing such information with [Russia/the US] would compromise our security.

Do you favor or oppose Russia and US agreeing to share more information and create systems to monitor each others nuclear weapons and material?

	Americans	Russians
Favor	44%	44%
Republicans.....	41	
Democrats	48	
Independents	42	
Oppose	54	27
Republicans.....	57	
Democrats	51	
Independents	55	
Refused/Don't know	2	29

Q12: Some people have proposed that a UN agency control all facilities that process nuclear material, and guarantee countries a supply of nuclear fuel for nuclear power plants.

Advocates say that this would prevent nuclear fuel from being diverted to make nuclear weapons, while still assuring that countries have fuel for their nuclear reactors.

Opponents say that this would be too big an intrusion on the freedom of countries.

Do you think it is a good idea or not a good idea to have a UN agency control all facilities that process nuclear material?

	Americans
Good idea	54%
Republicans.....	39
Democrats	65
Independents	54
Bad idea	44
Republicans.....	58
Democrats	34
Independents	44
Refused/Don't know	2

Q13-R14: It has been proposed that there be a world-wide ban on producing any more nuclear explosive material suitable for nuclear weapons.

Some people say that this would be a good idea because it would limit the amount of nuclear explosive material in the world that could be used to make nuclear weapons.

Others say that this is not a good idea because it might limit [Country] in the future, when it may need more nuclear explosive material to make nuclear weapons.

Do you favor or oppose having a world-wide ban on upgrading nuclear fuel to the level necessary for nuclear weapons?

	Americans	Russians
Favor	64%	55%
Republicans.....	54	
Democrats	63	
Independents	76	
Oppose	34	14
Republicans.....	42	
Democrats	36	
Independents	22	
Refused/Don't know	2	31

Q14-R15: Which position on nuclear weapons is closest to yours?

	Americans		Russians
	9/07	3/04	9/07
Nuclear weapons are morally wrong, and [Country] should proceed to eliminate its arsenal whether or not others follow our lead	7%	6%	8%
Republicans.....	2	4	
Democrats	10	6	
Independents	10	7	
Our goal should be to gradually eliminate all nuclear weapons through an international agreement, while developing effective systems for verifying all countries are eliminating theirs, too	38	55	31
Republicans.....	33	38	
Democrats	43	68	
Independents	37	60	

We should do our best to reduce the number of nuclear weapons through verifiable international agreements, but it should not be our goal to eliminate them entirely	33	26	31
Republicans.....	36	41	
Democrats	31	17	
Independents	33	24	
 Nuclear weapons give [Country] a uniquely powerful position in the world. It is not in the interest of [Country] to participate in treaties that would reduce or eliminate its nuclear arsenal	19	9	19
Republicans.....	28	15	
Democrats	13	6	
Independents	20	9	
 Refused/Don't know	2	4	11

Q15-18 to be released separately.

Q19-R4: As you may know a number of countries have land-based missiles that could be used to attack [American/Russian] satellites. Under what circumstances would [Country] have the right to destroy these missiles?

	Americans	Russians
Only if the country has actually started an attack on [Country] or its allies	54%	50%
Republicans.....	39	
Democrats	63	
Independents	57	
 If [Country] has strong evidence that an attack by the country is imminent	37	27
Republicans.....	52	
Democrats	27	
Independents	34	
 If [Country] believes that at some point in the future the country may decide to attack [Country] satellites.....	9	8
Republicans.....	9	
Democrats	9	
Independents	8	
 Refused/Don't know	*	15

Q20-23 to be released separately.

[HALF SAMPLE B]

Q24: Currently there is debate about whether the US should build a missile defense system that would try to shoot down missiles that could be developed by countries like Iran and North Korea. Please select the position which is closest to yours.

Americans

The US should try to build a missile defense system and it should do so on its own because this will put the US in the strongest position	46%
Republicans.....	58
Democrats	40
Independents	37
The US should only try to build a missile defense system in cooperation with Russia and China, so they do not believe the US is trying to gain an advantage over them	26
Republicans.....	25
Democrats	26
Independents	29
The US should not try to build a missile defense system because it is unlikely to work, and even if it did, our enemies would just shift to other means for delivering nuclear weapons	23
Republicans.....	14
Democrats	30
Independents	26
Refused/Don't know	4

Statement: The next few questions are about US participation in arms control agreements: that is agreements between the US and other countries to mutually limit their military capabilities.

Q25: There is a debate about whether it is generally a good idea to have arms control agreements that try to limit and reduce weapons. Which of the following positions is closer to yours?

	Americans
Agreements to limit and reduce weapons are not a good idea because it is not possible to be completely certain that countries are fully complying, and just having the agreement may lull people into a false sense of security.....	45%
Republicans.....	48
Democrats	44
Independents	40
Because arms control agreements include systems of verifying compliance it is likely that there will be very few violations, and even if there are a few minor violations, that is still better than having no limits at all on weapons.....	51
Republicans.....	48
Democrats	53
Independents	54
Refused/Don't know	4

Q26-R27: Thinking about the international inspectors who are charged with making sure that countries are complying with their arms-control agreements, is it your impression that they have:

	Americans	Russians
Too many limits on what they can do.....	54%	24%
Republicans.....	66	
Democrats	49	
Independents	43	
Not enough limits on what they can do	26	12
Republicans.....	18	
Democrats	28	
Independents	33	
The right amount of limits on what they can do	15	27
Republicans.....	11	
Democrats	17	
Independents	16	

Refused/Don't know6 38

Q27-31 to be released separately.

Q32: Do you think it is a good idea or a bad idea for the US to have a stated policy of not using nuclear weapons first?

	Americans
Good idea	71%
Republicans.....	64
Democrats	78
Independents	71
Bad idea	26
Republicans.....	34
Democrats	19
Independents	26
Refused/Don't know	3

Q33-R11: Would you favor or oppose an agreement among all countries with nuclear weapons whereby they would share information about the number of nuclear weapons and the amount of weapons-grade nuclear material they each have?

	Americans	Russians
Favor	75%	52%
Republicans.....	66	
Democrats	85	
Independents	73	
Oppose	22	24
Republicans.....	32	
Democrats	12	
Independents	23	
Refused/Don't know	3	24

Q34-R19: Some people have proposed that [Country] and the other nuclear powers could lower the risk of accidental nuclear war by having a verifiable agreement to lower the number of nuclear weapons each country has on high alert—that is, ready to fire on very short notice.

Others oppose this idea, saying it is too difficult to make sure that the other countries would not cheat.

Do you think [Country] should or should not work with other nuclear powers to reduce the number of nuclear weapons on high alert?

	Americans		Russians
	9/07	3/04	9/07
Should	79%	82%	66%
Republicans.....	68	83	
Democrats	92	86	
Independents	74	80	
Should not	20	16	16
Republicans.....	31	17	
Democrats	8	13	
Independents	23	19	
Refused/Don't know	1	2	18

Q35-R20: If [US/Russia] and [Russia/US] established a system for verifying that nuclear weapons have been taken off high alert, would you favor or oppose [Country] agreeing to take all of their nuclear weapons off of high alert?

	Americans	Russians
Favor	64%	59%
Republicans.....	52	
Democrats	74	
Independents	67	
Oppose	33	23
Republicans.....	44	
Democrats	25	
Independents	29	
Refused/Don't know	3	18

Q36: Do you think that when the US and Russia decrease their nuclear arms, they should:

	Americans	
	9/07	3/04
Make it part of a legally binding and verifiable agreement between them.....	79%	85%
Republicans.....	76	88
Democrats	84	88
Independents	74	84
 Do it through a general understanding that each country decides on its own how to implement.....	 20	 12
Republicans.....	22	11
Democrats	16	11
Independents	25	16
 Refused/Don't know	 1	 3

Q37: The current treaties between the US and Russia do not address short-range nuclear weapons designed for battlefield use. Would you favor or oppose US and Russia agreeing to the following:

The US eliminates its short range nuclear weapons based in Europe and Russia eliminates its short range nuclear weapons in the western part of Russia?

	Americans
Favor	59%
Republicans.....	49
Democrats	68
Independents	58
 Oppose	 34
Republicans.....	45
Democrats	26
Independents	31
 Refused/Don't know	 7

Q38-R21: As you may know, [Country] and Russia have signed an agreement to reduce the number of active nuclear weapons on each side to about 2,000 weapons by the end of the year 2012. Do you approve or disapprove of [Country] signing this agreement?

	Americans	Russians
Approve.....	88%	65%
Republicans.....	83	
Democrats	92	
Independents	90	
Disapprove	11	15
Republicans.....	16	
Democrats	7	
Independents	10	
Refused/Don't know	1	20

Q39-R22: Would you favor or oppose reducing the number of active nuclear weapons to this level sooner than the year 2012?

	Americans	Russians
Favor	71%	55%
Republicans.....	59	
Democrats	83	
Independents	70	
Oppose	26	19
Republicans.....	39	
Democrats	14	
Independents	29	
Refused/Don't know	3	26

Q40-R23: Would you favor or oppose having an agreement between the US and Russia to reduce their nuclear weapons to a number significantly lower than 2,000?

	Americans	Russians
Favor	71%	58%
Republicans.....	58	
Democrats	82	
Independents	74	
Oppose	25	17
Republicans.....	38	
Democrats	16	

Independents	20	
Refused/Don't know	4	24

Q41-R24: As you may know, in addition to the US and Russia, several other countries have nuclear weapons. None of them have more than 400 active nuclear weapons. Assuming all of the other countries would agree to not increase their number of active nuclear weapons would you favor or oppose the US and Russia agreeing to lower their number of active nuclear weapons to 400?

	Americans	Russians
Favor	59%	53%
Republicans.....	43	
Democrats	74	
Independents	60	
Oppose	38	21
Republicans.....	54	
Democrats	25	
Independents	36	
Refused/Don't know	3	26

Q42-R25: If all of the countries with nuclear weapons were to agree to lower their number of active nuclear weapons to 400, do you think it would or would not be necessary to have an international body, such as the UN, monitor and verify that all countries were complying with the agreement?

	Americans	Russians
Would be necessary	92%	65%
Republicans.....	91	
Democrats	96	
Independents	88	
Would not be necessary	7	12
Republicans.....	8	
Democrats	4	
Independents	10	
Refused/Don't know	1	22

Q43-R26: Assuming that there is a well-established international system for verifying that countries are complying, would you favor or oppose all countries agreeing to eliminate all of their nuclear weapons?

	Americans	Russians
Favor	73%	63%
Republicans.....	59	
Democrats	86	
Independents	71	
Oppose	24	13
Republicans.....	37	
Democrats	13	
Independents	23	
Refused/Don't know	3	23

Q44: Currently there is a debate about whether it is a good idea to pursue the goal of completely eliminating nuclear weapons. Which position is closer to yours:

	Americans
Eliminating nuclear weapons is too risky. Nuclear weapons create stability because countries know that there will be dire consequences if they try to attack another country.....	52%
Republicans.....	65
Democrats	40
Independents	51
Since the risk is high that terrorists will someday get hold of nuclear weapons, it is crucial that we pursue the goal of eliminating them.	47
Republicans.....	33
Democrats	59
Independents	48
Refused/Don't know	1

Q45: How high a priority do you think the US government should put on taking steps toward eliminating nuclear weapons? Do you think it should be a top priority, an important but not a top priority, or not a priority?

	Americans
Top priority	21%
Republicans.....	11
Democrats	30
Independents	21

Important, but not top priority	65
Republicans.....	64
Democrats	65
Independents	69
Not a priority.....	13
Republicans.....	24
Democrats	5
Independents	10
Refused/Don't know	1

Q46-R28: As you may know, [Country] and most of the world's countries have signed a treaty called the Non-Proliferation Treaty. According to this treaty, the countries of the world that do not have nuclear weapons have agreed not to try to acquire them. In exchange, the countries that have nuclear weapons, including [Country], have agreed to actively work together toward eliminating their nuclear weapons. Were you aware or not aware that [Country] has agreed to do this?

	Americans		Russians
	9/07	3/04	9/07
Aware.....	37%	39%	23%
Republicans.....	40	47	
Democrats	32	41	
Independents	38	39	
Not aware.....	63	59	57
Republicans.....	59	52	
Democrats	67	59	
Independents	61	58	
Refused/Don't know	1	2	19

Q47-R29: Do you favor or oppose the goal of eventually eliminating all nuclear weapons, which is stated in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)?

	Americans		Russians
	9/07	11/06	9/07
Favor.....	69%	82%	67%
Republicans.....	61	73	
Democrats	81	87	
Independents	61	84	

Oppose	28	14	15
Republicans.....	35	22	
Democrats	17	10	
Independents	34	9	
Refused/Don't know	3	5	18

Q48-R30: Please say how well you think the countries with nuclear weapons have been fulfilling this obligation to work toward eliminating nuclear weapons.

	Americans	Russians
	9/07	9/07
Not at all well.....	18%	15%
Republicans.....	21	
Democrats	18	
Independents	14	
Not very well.....	49	51
Republicans.....	49	
Democrats	48	
Independents	49	
Somewhat well.....	26	7
Republicans.....	22	
Democrats	29	
Independents	27	
Very well.....	1	*
Republicans.....	*	
Democrats	1	
Independents	1	
Refused/Don't know	7	27

Q49-R31: Do you think [Country] should or should not do more to work with the other nuclear powers toward eliminating their nuclear weapons?

	Americans		Russians
	9/07	3/04	9/07
Should	79%	86%	66%
Republicans.....	73	85	
Democrats	90	87	
Independents	71	92	

Should not	18	11	18
Republicans	24	12	
Democrats	9	12	
Independents	25	7	
Refused/Don't know	2	3	16

US DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

[FULL SAMPLE]

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:

Republican	25%
Independent.....	20
Democrat.....	30
Other	2
No preference.....	22
Refused/Don't know	*

[IF "OTHER," "NO PREFERENCE" "INDEPENDENT" OR SKIP at D1]

D1a. Do you think of yourself as closer to the:

Republican Party	9%*
Democratic Party	11
Neither	24
Refused/Don't know	*

D2. What is your religious preference? Do you consider yourself:

Christian.....	71%
Jewish.....	1.5
Muslim.....	*
Buddhist.....	0.5
Hindu	*
Agnostic.....	2.5
Atheist.....	2.5
No religious preference.....	13
Other religion.....	9
Refused/Don't know	*

* Percent of total.

[IF “CHRISTIAN” at D2]

D2a. Would you describe yourself as a 'born- again' or evangelical?

Yes	22% *
No.....	35
No opinion	13
Refused/Don't know	*

D3. Age

18-29	22%
30-44	28
45-59	28
60+	22

D4. Gender

Male	48%
Female.....	52

D5. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	14%
High School Graduate.....	31
Some College	28
Bachelor's degree or higher	27

D6. Race/Ethnicity

White, Non-Hispanic	69%
Black, Non-Hispanic.....	11
Other, Non-Hispanic	5
Hispanic	13
2+ Races, Non-Hispanic	1

D7. Region

Northeast.....	19%
Midwest.....	22
South	36
West	23

* Percent of total.

RUSSIA DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

D1. Gender

Male	45%
Female.....	55

D2. Age

18-29	25%
30-44	26
45-59	31
60+	19

METHODOLOGY

The US poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks, a polling, social science, and market research firm in Menlo Park, California, with a stratified random sample of its large-scale nationwide research panel. This panel itself has been randomly recruited from the national population of households having telephones; households without internet access are subsequently provided with free web access and an internet appliance. Thus the panel is not limited to those who already have home internet access. The distribution of the sample in the Web-enabled panel closely tracks the distribution of United States Census counts for the US population on age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, geographical region, employment status, income, education, etc. Upon survey completion, the data were weighted by gender, age, education, and ethnicity. For more information about the methodology, please go to: www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.

The Russian survey was conducted by the Levada Center—an independent research institute in Moscow that follows principles of scientific objectiveness and observes the rules of ESOMAR. The sample generated is a four-stage stratified sample of face-to-face interviews with adult residents aged 18 years or older.

Russia is divided into 128 sampling units, which include 86 urban/rural communities with populations greater than 10,000 and 42 rural/urban communities of 10,000 or less. The sample was stratified across regions within Russia, with the specific features of the population’s distribution in each region taken into consideration. Within the subdivided regions that constitute sampling units, households are randomly selected. The respondents within the household are selected by the “last birthday” method—with control of sex-age and sex-education quotas.

The sample does not include areas of military conflict, such as the Chechen and Ingush Republics, Dagestan, North Ossetia, and difficult to access and sparsely-populated areas. Overall, only 5% of the adult population of Russia resides in these excluded areas.

The survey data are coded, entered, cleaned from accidental errors, data omissions and discrepancies and weighted by gender, age, level of education, federal okrug, type of community and voting results in the last national election.