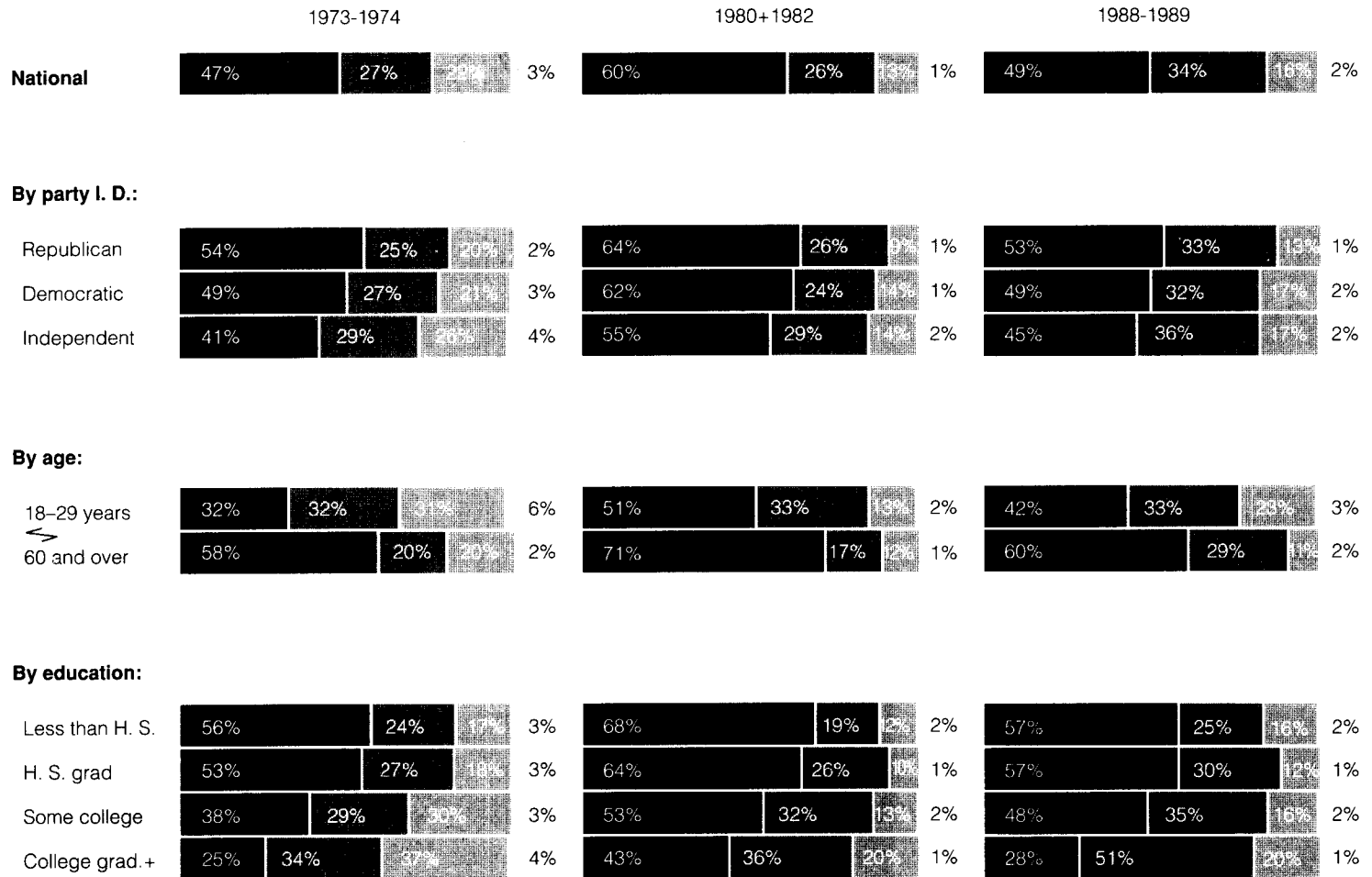


ASSESSING CHANGE IN THE U.S.S.R.

Question: Thinking about the different kinds of governments in the world today, which of these statements comes closest to how you feel about communism as a form of government. . . ?

Communism is...

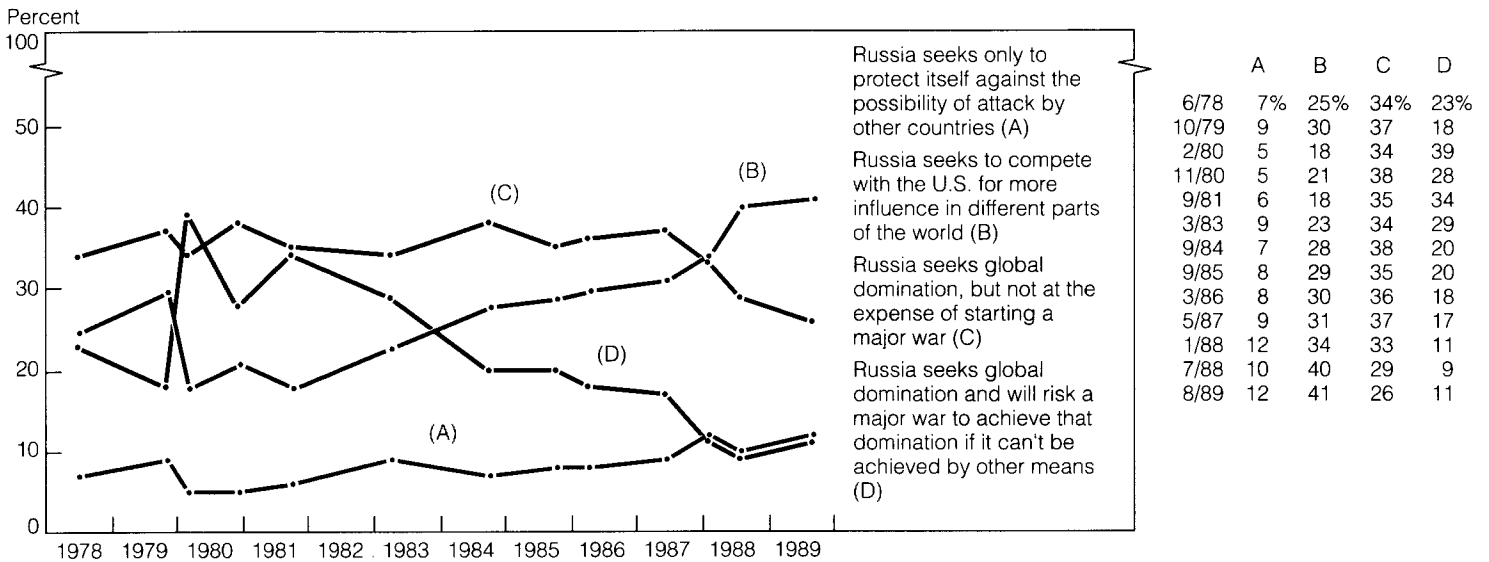
The worst kind of all
 Bad, but no worse than some others
 All right for some countries
 A good form of government



Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, latest that of 1988-1989 combined.

There has been some positive change since the early 1980s in our views of the nature of Communism, but overall opinion is hardly benign. A near majority still describe Communism as "the worst kind" of government.

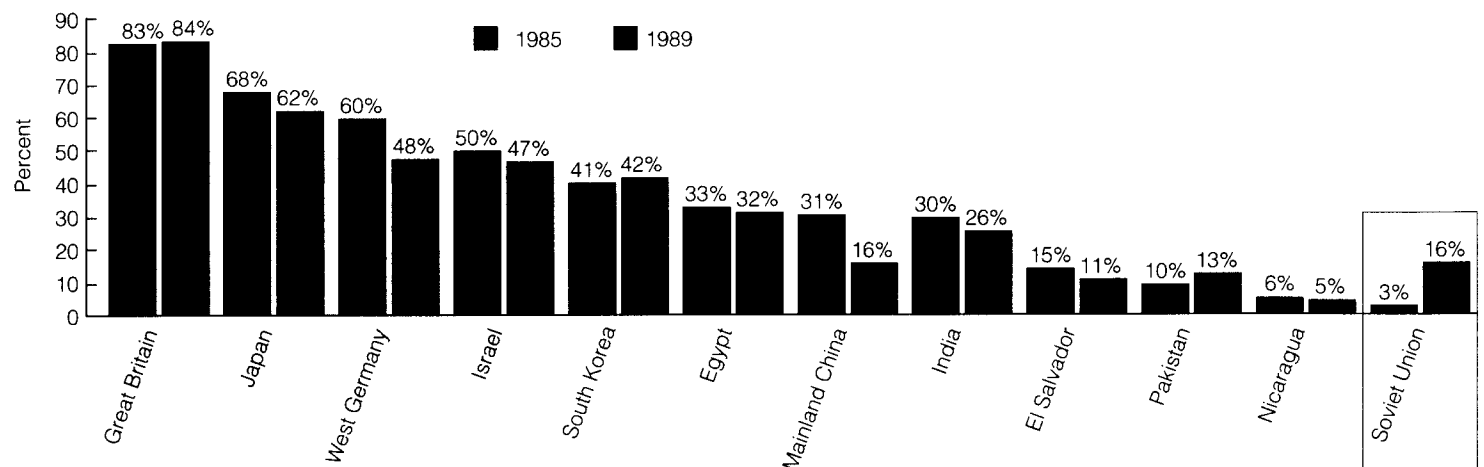
Question: In your opinion, which of the following best describes Russia's primary objective in world affairs? (Card shown respondent)



Note: "Don't know" not shown.
Source: Surveys by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 89-8), latest that of August 12-19, 1989.

Question: I'd like to have your impressions about the overall position that some countries have taken toward the U.S. (Card shown respondent). Would you read down that list and for each country, tell me if you believe that country has acted as a close ally of the U.S., has acted as a friend but not a close ally, has been more or less neutral toward the U.S., has been mainly unfriendly toward the U.S. but not an enemy, or has acted as an enemy of the U.S.? First, Great Britain . . .

Close ally/friend combined

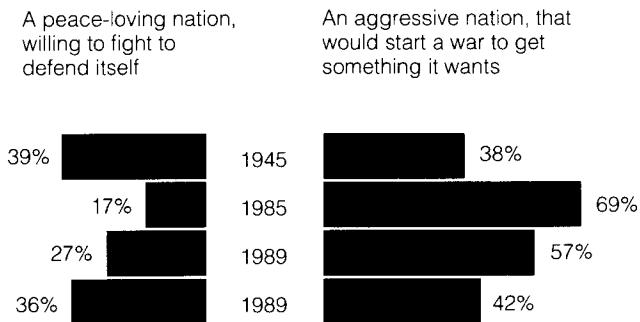


Source: Surveys by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 89-7), latest that of July 15-22, 1989.

The Roper trend line above shows that our views of Soviet intentions have changed positively recently. The figure below shows that although the number of Americans viewing the Soviet Union as a close friend or ally has risen 13 percentage points since 1985, the Soviets still rank low when compared to other countries.

Question: Generally, would you describe the Soviet Union as a peace-loving nation, willing to fight only if it thinks it has to defend itself, or as an aggressive nation, that would start a war to get something it wants?

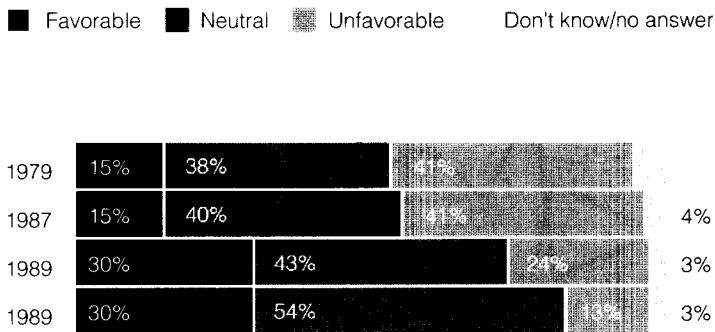
Generally describe Soviet Union as...



Note: Question wording varied slightly.
Source: Surveys by the Roper Organization for *Fortune*, September 1945; by the *New York Times*, September 1985; and CBS News/*New York Times*, latest that of November 1989.

Question: Are your feelings toward the Soviet Union generally favorable, generally unfavorable, or neutral?

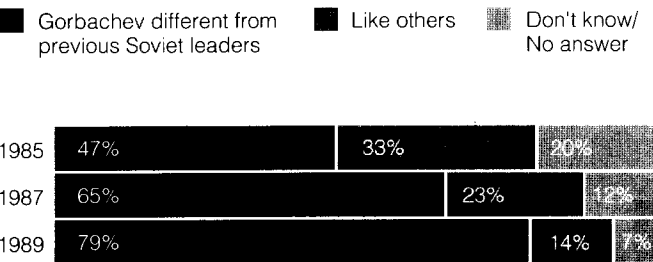
Feelings toward the Soviet Union generally



Note: Question wording varied slightly.
Source: Surveys by CBS News/*New York Times*, latest that of November 26-28, 1989.

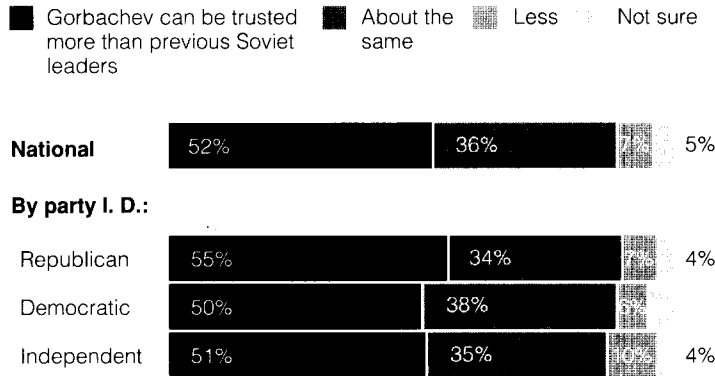
GORBACHEV AND HIS PREDECESSORS

Question: What do you think about Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader? Do you think of him as different from previous Soviet leaders, or do you think he is just like the others?



Note: Question wording varied slightly.
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, latest that of May 9-11, 1989.

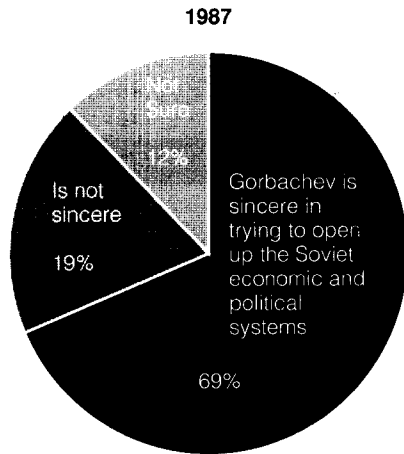
Question: Do you think that Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, can be trusted more than previous Soviet leaders, less than previous Soviet leaders, or about the same?



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for *Time* and Cable News Network, October 9-10, 1989.

The figures above indicate that skepticism about the Soviet Union still exists. The two charts below them, however, show that Mikhail Gorbachev is a welcome change from his predecessors.

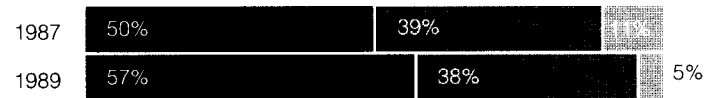
Question: Do you think Gorbachev is sincere in trying to open up the Soviet economic and political systems, or not?



Source: Survey by NBC News/Wall Street Journal, November 30–December 1, 1987.

Question: Does Gorbachev honestly want peaceful relations with the United States and other Western countries? Or is he simply creating a good public image to help gain an advantage for the Soviet Union?

Gorbachev honestly wants peaceful relations
 He is simply creating a good public image to help gain an advantage for the Soviet Union
 Don't know/No opinion



Note: Question wording varied slightly.

Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of May 19–23, 1989.

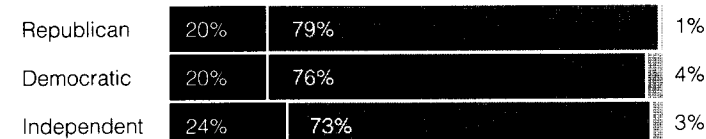
A WAIT AND SEE MOOD

Question: In light of recent changes in the Soviet Union, do you think the United States can now trust the Soviets more or should the United States wait longer to see if these changes stay in place?

The U.S. should trust them more
 The U.S. should wait longer
 Not sure

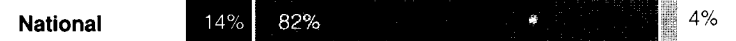


By party I. D.:



Question: Do you think that President Bush should act quickly to take advantage of recent changes in the Soviet Union or should Bush remain cautious in his dealings with the Soviets?

Bush should quickly take advantage of changes in the Soviet Union
 Bush should remain cautious
 Not sure



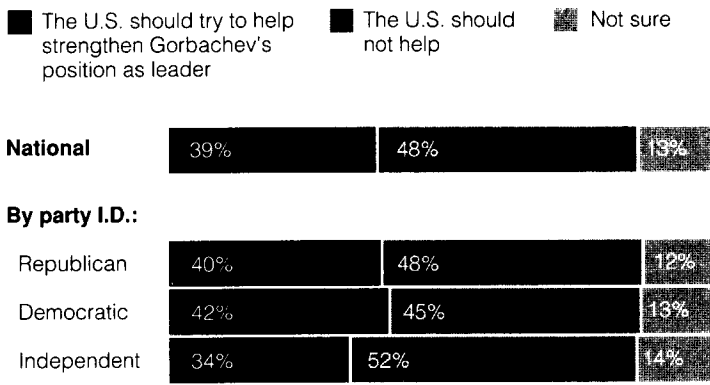
By party I. D.:



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for Time and Cable News Network, October 9–10, 1989.

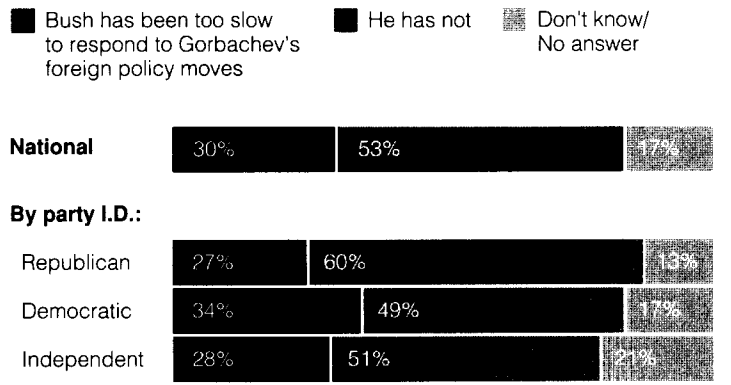
Americans are giving Mikhail Gorbachev high marks for sincerity, and a majority believe that he wants peaceful relations with the West.

Question: Do you think the United States should try to help strengthen Mikhail Gorbachev's position as leader of the Soviet Union, or shouldn't the U.S. be actively helping Gorbachev?



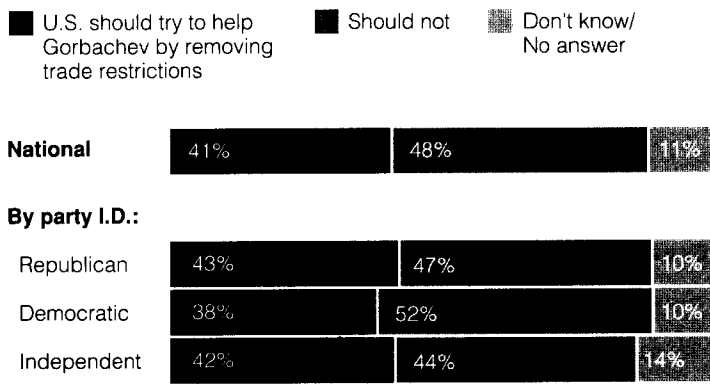
Source: Survey by NBC News/Wall Street Journal, April 16-18, 1989.

Question: Do you think George Bush has been too slow to respond to foreign policy moves made by Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, or don't you think so?



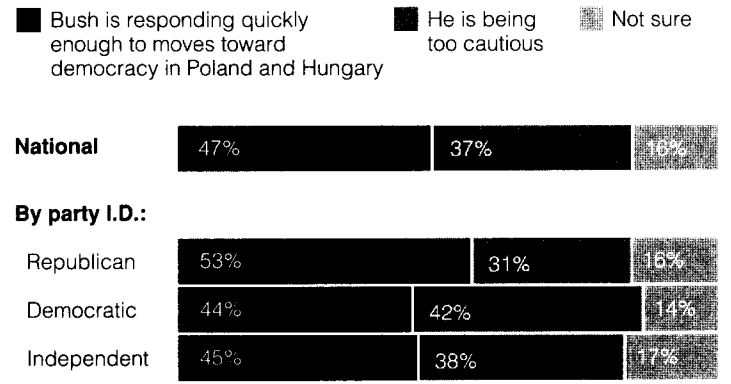
Source: Survey by CBS News/New York Times, November 26-28, 1989.

Question: Should the United States try to help Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union by removing restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union, or shouldn't the United States get involved?



Source: Survey by CBS News/New York Times, September 17-20, 1989.

Question: Do you think President Bush is responding quickly enough to the recent moves toward democracy in Poland and Hungary, or is he being too cautious?

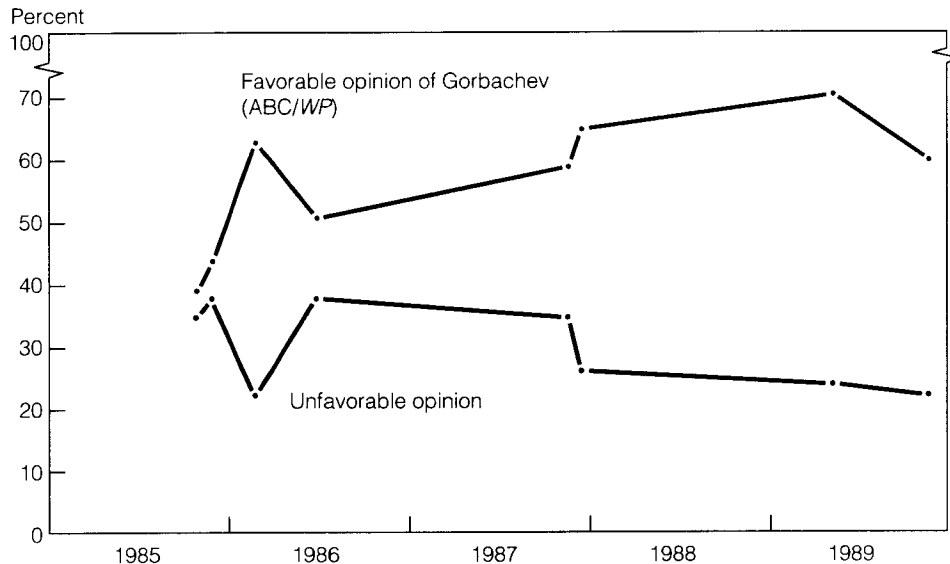


Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for Time and Cable News Network, October 9-10, 1989.

The American mood about changes in the Soviet Union remains cautious. Democrats, Republicans, and Independents are in a "wait and see" mood.

RATING GORBACHEV

Question: Would you say you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union?



Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of November 17-21, 1989.

Opinions Of Gorbachev

		Fav.	Unfav.	DK/NS
ABC News/Washington Post	Oct. 85	39%	35%	26%
Los Angeles Times*	Nov. 85	33	19	48
ABC News/Washington Post	Nov. 85	44	38	18
ABC News/Washington Post	Feb. 86	63	22	10
ABC News/Washington Post	Jun. 86	51	38	11
Gallup/Times Mirror*	May 87	40	38	22
Gallup/Times Mirror	Sep. 87	39	38	23
Americans Talk Security	Oct. 87	66	22	12
CBS News/New York Times*	Nov. 87	38	16	46
ABC News/Washington Post	Nov. 87	59	35	6
ABC News/Washington Post	Dec. 87	65	26	9
Americans Talk Security	Jan. 88	72	23	6
Gallup/Times Mirror*	Jan. 88	56	30	14
Americans Talk Security	Mar. 88	76	18	5
Americans Talk Security	Apr. 88	72	21	8
CBS News/New York Times*	May 88	39	13	48
ABC News/Washington Post	May 89	71	24	5
CBS News/New York Times*	Jun. 89	47	8	45
ABC News/Washington Post	Nov. 89	60	22	18
Associated Press/Media General	Nov. 89	68	16	15
CBS News/New York Times*	Nov. 89	47	7	46

Note: * denotes surveys that generally have a much higher "Don't know/not sure" response. Included in that category is the response "Haven't heard enough to say." When that option is presented to respondents, many take it.
Source: Surveys by above organizations, latest that of November 26-28, 1989.

Question: What man that you have heard or read about, living today in any part of the world, do you admire most? And who is your second choice?

Most Admired Men (First and second choices combined)

1985

1. Ronald Reagan
2. Pope John Paul II
3. Lee Iacocca
4. Jesse Jackson
5. Billy Graham
6. Edward Kennedy
7. Bishop Tutu
8. Jimmy Carter
9. Prince Charles
10. George Bush

1987

1. Ronald Reagan
2. Pope John Paul II
- *3. Jesse Jackson
- Gary Hart
5. George Bush
6. Billy Graham
7. Oliver North
- *8. Mikhail Gorbachev
- Lee Iacocca
10. Jimmy Carter

1988

1. Ronald Reagan
2. Mikhail Gorbachev
3. George Bush
4. Pope John Paul II
5. Jesse Jackson
6. Billy Graham
7. Lee Iacocca
8. Edward Kennedy
9. Bill Cosby
10. Donald Trump

Note: * denotes a tie.
Source: Surveys by Gallup, latest that of December 6-27, 1988.

Just how popular is Mikhail Gorbachev here? It depends on how you ask the question, as the table above shows. The Gallup measure on the right tells us that five years ago Gorbachev didn't make the "most admired" list. In 1988, he placed second, right behind Ronald Reagan.