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**Post-Blix: Public Favors Force in Iraq, But...**  
**U.S. NEEDS MORE INTERNATIONAL BACKING**

*A Survey Conducted In Association With:*  
**COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

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## **Post-Blix: Public Favors Force in Iraq, But...** **U.S. NEEDS MORE INTERNATIONAL BACKING**

A solid 66% majority of Americans favor the use of military force against Iraq, as long as the U.S. has sufficient backing for military action from major allies. But there is a growing belief that the U.S. does *not* yet have enough international support to conduct the war following the Feb. 14 report by U.N. weapons inspectors Hans Blix and Mohamed ElBaradei and the mixed reception it received from members of the U.N. Security Council – as well as weekend antiwar protests around the world.

While most remain skeptical that Iraq will disarm peacefully, in the wake of Blix's report and the contentious Security Council debate, a growing minority thinks it is too early to tell whether that can be achieved. And nearly six-in-ten Americans (57%) believe the U.S. should get a second U.N. resolution before taking military action.

These are the principal findings of a nationwide survey of 1,254 Americans conducted by the Pew Research Center in association with the Council on Foreign Relations. The survey was conducted in two waves: 632 interviews were conducted Feb. 12-13, prior to the release of the Blix report, and 622 were polled after his presentation to the Security Council (Feb. 14-18). The second wave of interviewing found the proportion saying the U.S. lacked adequate international backing to wage war rising to 58% from 52% in the first wave of the poll.

There was also a decline in the percentage of Americans who think the inspectors have proof that Iraq is trying to hide weapons of mass destruction, although a solid 57% majority believes this to be the case. And fewer Americans think Hussein had a direct role in helping the Sept. 11 hijackers when compared with a Pew survey in October (66% then, 57% now).

### **U.S. Opinion Gets "Blixed"**

| <i>U.S. has enough international support for war</i>                | Pre-Blix % | Post Blix % |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| Yes                                                                 | 41         | 34          |
| No                                                                  | 52         | 58          |
| Don't know                                                          | <u>7</u>   | <u>8</u>    |
|                                                                     | 100        | 100         |
| <i>So far, inspections have shown</i>                               |            |             |
| Iraq will cooperate and disarm peacefully                           | 4          | 5           |
| Iraq will not                                                       | 63         | 52          |
| Too early to say                                                    | 29         | 39          |
| Don't know                                                          | <u>4</u>   | <u>4</u>    |
|                                                                     | 100        | 100         |
| <i>U.N. inspectors have found proof that Iraq is hiding weapons</i> |            |             |
| Yes                                                                 | 66         | 57          |
| No                                                                  | 22         | 30          |
| Don't know                                                          | <u>12</u>  | <u>13</u>   |
|                                                                     | 100        | 100         |

While worries about international backing for war have increased over the past week, there are several indications that public backing for the use of force is now on more solid ground than it was in early January, before President Bush's State of the Union address and Secretary of State Colin Powell's presentation before the U.N. on Feb. 5. More Americans think Bush has explained clearly why the U.S. might use military force to end Saddam Hussein's rule (53% now vs. 42% in January). An even larger number believe that Powell clearly explained what's at stake (61%). As

a consequence, a larger number of Americans – though still a minority – say the United States should proceed with using force against Iraq even if allies do not go along (38% now vs. 26% in January).

The new poll also finds that a growing number of Americans expect a war with Iraq to be finished quickly. Nearly half (49%) say that today, compared with 38% last August. Yet the public remains worried about many possible consequences of military action, particularly the prospect that U.S. troops will face attack with chemical and biological weapons. Two-thirds express a great deal of concern about that possibility, up from 59% in October. Concern over the potential for major U.S. casualties is as high as at the start of the Persian Gulf War, and fears that war will raise the risk of domestic terrorism are much greater (57% vs. 33% in January 1991). Women are considerably more worried about all aspects of war with Iraq than are men.

| <b>Women Favor Force Less,<br/>And Worry Much More</b> |                 |                   |             |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|
|                                                        | <u>Men</u><br>% | <u>Women</u><br>% | <u>Diff</u> |
| Favor military action in Iraq                          | 73              | 63                | -10         |
| <i>War worries*</i>                                    |                 |                   |             |
| High US troop casualties                               | 45              | 65                | +20         |
| All-out war in the Mideast                             | 36              | 54                | +18         |
| More terrorist attacks on US                           | 48              | 65                | +17         |
| Iraqi civilian casualties                              | 39              | 53                | +14         |
| Chem/bio attacks on troops                             | 60              | 72                | +12         |
| Long postwar role                                      | 36              | 43                | +7          |
| * Percent worrying "a great deal"                      |                 |                   |             |

Reflecting these concerns, nearly six-in-ten Americans (58%) have given a *great deal* of thought to the question of going to war in Iraq, almost as many who had thought about going to war on the eve of the Persian Gulf War in January 1991 (66%). Iraq topped Pew's February News Interest Index, eclipsing strong public interest in the loss of the space shuttle Columbia, increased gasoline prices and last week's Code Orange terrorist alert.

### ***Perceptions Linked to Views of War***

Supporters and opponents of military action in Iraq look at the crisis in very different ways, especially the ongoing efforts of U.N. weapons inspectors.

A majority of Americans (58%) think the weapons inspections process has clearly shown that Iraq will not cooperate and cannot be peacefully disarmed, while roughly a third (34%) think it is too early to tell. As many as 72% of those who favor military action are convinced that Saddam Hussein will *not* cooperate. But just 28% of war opponents agree, with a majority (60%) saying it is still too early to tell.

By more than two-to-one (61%-27%), the public believes that U.N. weapons inspectors have found proof that Iraq is trying to hide weapons of mass destruction. Three-fourths of supporters of military action (73%) think the inspections have discovered such evidence. Opponents are more divided on this key perception, with 38% believing that the inspectors found proof, and half (50%) saying they did not.

### ***Fewer Link Saddam to 9/11***

A solid majority of the public (57%) believes that Saddam Hussein provided assistance to the men who carried out the 9/11 attacks, while 27% do not. But the number who think Saddam was involved in Sept. 11 has declined from 66% last fall. Two-thirds (66%) of those who support the use of force think Saddam was involved in 9/11; only 20% disagree. Opponents of war are more evenly divided on the question – 39% think he was involved, 45% do not.

| <b>Less Certainty about Iraq Link with 9/11</b> |                   |           |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
|                                                 | Early<br>Oct 2002 | Now       |
| <i>Saddam helped 9-11 attacks</i>               | %                 | %         |
| Yes                                             | 66                | 57        |
| No                                              | 21                | 27        |
| Don't know                                      | <u>13</u>         | <u>16</u> |
|                                                 | 100               | 100       |
| <i>If attacked Iraqi people will ...</i>        |                   |           |
| Support Saddam                                  | 45                | 44        |
| Turn against him                                | 37                | 39        |
| Don't know                                      | <u>18</u>         | <u>17</u> |
|                                                 | 100               | 100       |
| <i>War with Iraq will be...</i>                 | Aug 2002          |           |
| Long                                            | 52                | 43        |
| Quick                                           | 38                | 49        |
| Don't know                                      | <u>10</u>         | <u>8</u>  |
|                                                 | 100               | 100       |

The public remains divided on the question of what the Iraqi people will do if the U.S. launches military action. A small plurality (44%) believes that most Iraqis will support Hussein, while 39% believe they will turn against him. These perceptions are essentially unchanged from October of last year. But there is a growing sense that a war with Iraq may be completed relatively quickly. In the current poll, about half (49%) say the war will be quick, while 43% expect a long war. Last August, just 38% expected it to be short while 52% anticipated a lengthy conflict.

### ***Bush, Powell Have An Impact***

The impact on public opinion of Bush's State of the Union address, followed by Powell's address to the U.N. Security Council in early February, is apparent in the new survey. Today, 52% say Bush has clearly explained what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force in Iraq, up from 42% a month ago. Not since just after his speech to the United Nations in mid-September of last year has the President received such high marks for his explanation of the reasons for war.

| <b>Bush Seen As More Persuasive</b> |           |           |           |           |           |           |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Has Bush explained clearly?</i>  | Aug       | Sept      | Oct       | Dec       | Jan       | Feb       |
|                                     | <u>02</u> | <u>02</u> | <u>02</u> | <u>02</u> | <u>03</u> | <u>03</u> |
|                                     | %         | %         | %         | %         | %         | %         |
| Yes                                 | 37        | <b>52</b> | 48        | 48        | 42        | <b>52</b> |
| No                                  | 52        | 37        | 45        | 45        | 53        | 40        |
| Don't know                          | <u>11</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>7</u>  | <u>7</u>  | <u>5</u>  | <u>8</u>  |
|                                     | 100       | 100       | 100       | 100       | 100       | 100       |

Powell remains the more persuasive administration figure, however. Six-in-ten (61%) say Powell has made the case for the use of force clearly, while just 30% disagree. The gap between Bush and Powell as communicators is particularly large among Americans over age 50 and among those who oppose military action in Iraq. While younger Americans see the president and the secretary of state as equally persuasive, older Americans are much more likely to say that Powell has made the case for war than Bush. And while those in favor of military action find both men to be convincing, war opponents are twice as likely to say Powell makes a clear argument (39%) than Bush (19%).

| <b>Powell Message Takes<br/>Among Older, Opponents</b> |                                        |                           |
|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------|
|                                                        | <i>Explained<br/>stakes clearly...</i> |                           |
|                                                        | Bush<br><u>has</u><br>%                | Powell<br><u>has</u><br>% |
| Total                                                  | 52                                     | 61                        |
| 18-29                                                  | 46                                     | 44                        |
| 30-49                                                  | 59                                     | 59                        |
| 50-64                                                  | <b>46</b>                              | <b>73</b>                 |
| 65+                                                    | <b>52</b>                              | <b>67</b>                 |
| Republican                                             | 75                                     | 78                        |
| Democrat                                               | <b>37</b>                              | <b>53</b>                 |
| Independent                                            | 51                                     | 52                        |
| <i>Military action</i>                                 |                                        |                           |
| Favor                                                  | 68                                     | 70                        |
| Oppose                                                 | <b>19</b>                              | <b>39</b>                 |

### ***U.N. Backing Important But Allies' Support Critical***

Americans continue to express the need for securing international backing for military action against Iraq, but they appear to make a distinction between formal authorization for force by the United Nations and support from U.S. allies. The former is seen as desirable, while the latter is viewed as essential.

Most Americans (57%) believe the U.S. should first get a United Nations resolution before any military engagement; 33% say this is not necessary. Aside from a sharp partisan divide on this issue (most Republicans think a U.N. resolution is not necessary, most Democrats and independents think it is), this view is consistent across most major demographic groups. One exception is that younger Americans, who are slightly more supportive of military action overall, place a higher priority on working through the U.N. than do older Americans.

Yet while desirable, a U.N. resolution is not a *necessity* in the view of most Americans, if it is blocked by just a few opposing countries on the U.N. Security Council. As long as most of America's allies back military action, the majority of those who support pursuing a resolution from the U.N. are willing to use force even if such a veto occurs. Overall, 30% of Americans feel this way compared with 22% who disagree.

| <b>New U.N. Resolution Wanted</b> |           |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>Before taking action...</i>    | %         |
| Get UN resolution first           | 57        |
| UN resolution not necessary       | 33        |
| Don't know                        | <u>10</u> |
|                                   | 100       |

### ***Allied Support: Not There Yet***

On the crucial question of allied support, just 37% of Americans think the U.S. currently has enough international support to use military force against Iraq, while 56% think it still must convince more allies to go along. This view is not held solely by war opponents. Even those who favor military action are divided over whether the U.S. still has to do more to bring the allies on board (45% say yes, 49% think there is already enough international support).

| <b>Are Allies On Board?</b>                           |                        |              |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>U.S. has enough international support for war?</i> | <i>Military action</i> |              |            |
|                                                       | <u>Total</u>           | <u>Favor</u> | <u>Opp</u> |
|                                                       | %                      | %            | %          |
| Yes                                                   | 37                     | 49           | 13         |
| No                                                    | 56                     | 45           | 82         |
| Don't know                                            | 7                      | 6            | 5          |
|                                                       | 100                    | 100          | 100        |

Men and women also differ on this issue. Women are much more eager than men to see the U.S. do more to convince its allies that this is the right course of action, and this is true even of women who favor military action.

### ***Who Backs War?***

As has been the case over the past six months, men are generally more supportive of military action than are women. Currently, 73% of men favor the use of force in Iraq, compared with 63% of women. But the gender gap is relatively minor when compared to other demographic differences on the issue of war. Just 44% of African-Americans favor military action in Iraq, compared with 67% of Hispanics and 73% of whites. And support for the use of force is lower among college graduates (58%) than among those who did not finish college (71%).

Residents of rural areas express more support for military action in Iraq (78%) than do residents of more heavily populated areas. And white evangelical Protestants make up one of the strongest pro-war constituencies, with 85% favoring military action and just 10% in opposition.

Although majorities in all partisan groups favor taking action in Iraq, there remains a substantial partisan divide. Just a slim majority of Democrats (54%) favor the use of force, but fully 87% of Republicans are on board. Political independents

| <b>Support for War</b> |                        |            |           |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------|-----------|
|                        | <i>Military action</i> |            |           |
|                        | <u>Fav</u>             | <u>Opp</u> | <u>DK</u> |
|                        | %                      | %          | %         |
| Men                    | 73                     | 23         | 4=100     |
| Women                  | 63                     | 28         | 9=100     |
| White                  | 73                     | 21         | 6=100     |
| Black                  | 44                     | 47         | 9=100     |
| Hispanic               | 67                     | 32         | 1=100     |
| <i>Among men...</i>    |                        |            |           |
| Military service       | 79                     | 17         | 4=100     |
| None                   | 70                     | 25         | 5=100     |
| College grad           | 58                     | 33         | 9=100     |
| Some college           | 71                     | 25         | 4=100     |
| H.S. or less           | 71                     | 22         | 7=100     |
| Republican             | 87                     | 10         | 3=100     |
| Democrat               | 54                     | 38         | 8=100     |
| Independent            | 64                     | 30         | 6=100     |
| Large city             | 62                     | 31         | 7=100     |
| Suburb                 | 64                     | 30         | 6=100     |
| Small town             | 66                     | 26         | 8=100     |
| Rural area             | 78                     | 16         | 6=100     |
| <i>Among whites...</i> |                        |            |           |
| Evang. Protestant      | 85                     | 10         | 5=100     |
| Non-evang. Prot.       | 70                     | 24         | 6=100     |
| Catholic               | 71                     | 23         | 6=100     |
| Secular                | 66                     | 26         | 8=100     |

fall in between, but 30% of independents say they oppose military action, much closer to the level of opposition among Democrats (38%) than among Republicans (10%).

### ***Vets More Supportive of Force***

Military veterans are somewhat more supportive of taking action in Iraq than those who have not served in the armed forces. Among men who are either currently enlisted, in the reserves, or are veterans, 79% favor using force in Iraq, compared with 70% of men who have no personal military background. This gap is consistent even when the man's age is taken into account (military service is much more widespread among older generations).

One of the biggest gaps between veterans and non-vets is over the administration's justifications for war. Fully 68% of male veterans think Bush has clearly explained the stakes in Iraq, compared with just 52% of men with no personal military background. Military men are also more likely to be convinced that inspections will never lead to cooperation from Iraq, and that there is already enough international support for the use of force.

### ***Dissenting Views Draw Interest***

A plurality of respondents (42%) say they have heard too little about the views of Americans who oppose taking military action in Iraq. Three-in-ten think the coverage of antiwar views has been "about right," and one-quarter (24%) say they have heard too much.

Not surprisingly, a solid majority (63%) of those who oppose military action believe their side has not gotten enough visibility. But even among supporters of the use of force in Iraq, 35% say they would like to hear more from opponents, compared with 30% who say they have heard too much.

#### **How Much Have You Heard From War Opponents?**

|             | Early<br>Jan '91 | Late<br>Jan '91 | Now |
|-------------|------------------|-----------------|-----|
|             | %                | %               | %   |
| Too much    | 18               | 47              | 24  |
| Too little  | 42               | 13              | 42  |
| About right | 31               | 33              | 30  |
| Don't know  | 9                | 7               | 4   |
|             | 100              | 100             | 100 |

Opinion on this question is comparable to early January 1991, just before Congress passed a resolution approving the use of force to evict Iraq from Kuwait. In the 1991 poll, 42% said they had heard too little from opponents of war, 18% had heard too much, and 31% said they had heard about the right amount. In late January, after Congress approved the use of force and the air war had begun, a plurality (47%) said they were hearing too much from the opposition.

### ***Concern Over War's Impact on U.S. Image***

Roughly half of Americans (51%) believe that U.S. military action against Iraq will inflict “a lot” of damage on the U.S. image in the Muslim world, while 42% think it will cause little or no harm. Those results are largely unchanged since October, when 48% felt that war would inflict a lot of damage on the U.S. image in Muslim countries.

There is less concern over possible damage to the U.S. image in Western Europe. Most Americans (54%) believe a war with Iraq would cause little or no harm to the U.S. image there. Still, as many as four-in-ten think war would cause a great deal of damage to the U.S. image in Europe.

Opponents of military action in Iraq overwhelmingly see major harm being done to the U.S. image among both Muslim nations (74%) and in Western Europe (73%) if the United States goes to war. Supporters of the use of force are far less concerned, particularly about possible damage to the U.S. image in Western Europe. Four-in-ten war supporters (42%) think the U.S. image among Muslim nations will be seriously damaged, but just 26% say that about the U.S. image in Western Europe.

### ***Strains in the Alliance***

There is general agreement that the growing tensions between the United States and some of its European allies have already taken a toll on trans-Atlantic relations. Fully 66% of Americans say the United States and Western Europe are moving apart, compared with 24% who think the relationship is as close as it has been.

In spite of the recent strains, the American public by two-to-one (62%-29%) favors maintaining close ties with Western Europe rather than taking a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs. This stands in sharp contrast to the broad desire of Europeans to take a more independent approach from the U.S., reflected in a five-nation Pew survey conducted in

April 2002. At that time, majorities in three of four Western European nations surveyed (France, Italy and Germany) supported a more independent approach, while British respondents were evenly split (see “Americans and Europeans Differ Widely on Foreign Policy Issues,” April 17, 2002).

#### **Conflicting Views of the Alliance**

| <i>U.S. and Western Europe should...</i> | France | Ger-many | Italy | Great Britain | US        |
|------------------------------------------|--------|----------|-------|---------------|-----------|
|                                          | %      | %        | %     | %             | %         |
| Be more independent                      | 60     | 51       | 59    | 47            | <b>29</b> |
| Remain as close                          | 33     | 44       | 36    | 48            | <b>62</b> |
| Don't know                               | 7      | 5        | 5     | 5             | 9         |
|                                          | 100    | 100      | 100   | 100           | 100       |

European results from April 2002

In the U.S., college graduates are much more supportive of maintaining close ties with Western Europe compared with those with no more than a high school education (77% vs. 55%). And seven-in-ten of those who either oppose military action against Iraq (73%), or condition their support on allied backing (70%), favor keeping close ties with Western Europe; barely half of those who support unilateral military action agree (51%).

### ***Assessing Reasons for Allied Objections***

When Americans are asked to cite reasons why some allied nations oppose military action against Iraq, a 45% plurality expresses the view that these countries do not want to pay the costs and risk the casualties involved in war. Just a third take a less skeptical view, saying that these countries simply favor other ways of dealing with Saddam Hussein.

| <b>Reasons for Allied Opposition</b> |               |               |               |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>View on Military action</i>       |               |               |               |
| ----- Favor -----                    |               |               |               |
|                                      | without       | only with     |               |
| <i>Why some allies</i>               | <i>allies</i> | <i>allies</i> | <i>Oppose</i> |
| <i>oppose war...</i>                 | <i>%</i>      | <i>%</i>      | <i>%</i>      |
| Avoiding costs/risks                 | <b>55</b>     | <b>54</b>     | 28            |
| Favor other approaches               | 21            | 34            | <b>54</b>     |
| Other/Mixed                          | 14            | 4             | 9             |
| Don't know                           | 10            | 8             | 9             |
|                                      | 100           | 100           | 100           |

Significantly, those who condition their support for war on allied backing – as well as those who would back unilateral military action – see nations who oppose war as motivated by reluctance to incur costs and casualties. More than half (54%) of those whose support of war is contingent on allied backing believe nations that oppose military are motivated by those factors; 34% think they favor alternative ways of dealing with Saddam Hussein.

People who take a less qualified view of military action are more polarized in their assessments of why some allies are opposed to military action in Iraq. By more than two-to-one (55%-21%), those who are willing go to war even without allied backing say nations that oppose the war do not want to incur costs and casualties. By roughly a similar margin (54%-28%), those who oppose military action say these allies simply favor alternative ways of dealing with Iraq.

### ***Most Favor Major Effort to Help Postwar Iraq***

As the perception increases that war is likely, attention is increasingly turning to what a postwar Iraq would be like and what the U.S. role would be. A strong majority of 63% favors a major U.S. effort to rebuild Iraq and establish a stable government after the war; 30% oppose this course of action. Support is no different from when this question was first asked in October last year.

Support for rebuilding Iraq is stronger among proponents of military action. Among those who support the use of force, 68% favor a postwar reconstruction effort, with 27% opposed. Among opponents of going to war, just half say they would favor such an effort; 42% would oppose it.

### War Concerns Rise

Public fears about how a war with Iraq might unfold have grown somewhat since late October. Two-thirds (66%) now worry a great deal that Iraq might use chemical or biological weapons against U.S. troops, up from 59% in October. Similarly, more now worry a great deal that war might spur additional acts of terrorism within the U.S.: 57% now, 51% in October. And worries that a war might result in many Iraqi civilian casualties also rose by seven percentage points, from 40% to 47% today.

A majority of the public still worries a great deal about the prospect of high U.S. casualties (55%). It currently stands at about the same level as seen in January 1991, after the air war began but before the allied invasion with ground troops. Other concerns – that war may trigger a broader Mideast conflict or that it will take a long time to rebuild Iraq afterward – have remained stable over the past four months.

#### Worries About War With Iraq

| How worried about...      | Great<br>deal<br>% | Fair<br>amount<br>% | Not<br>much<br>% | DK/<br>Ref<br>% |
|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Chem/bio attacks          |                    |                     |                  |                 |
| on US troops              | 66                 | 24                  | 9                | 1=100           |
| October 2002              | 59                 | 26                  | 13               | 2=100           |
| More domestic terrorism   | 57                 | 25                  | 16               | 2=100           |
| October 2002              | 51                 | 26                  | 20               | 3=100           |
| January 1991              | 33                 | 38                  | 28               | 1=100           |
| High US troop casualties  | 55                 | 25                  | 18               | 2=100           |
| October 2002              | 52                 | 28                  | 18               | 2=100           |
| January 1991              | 57                 | 30                  | 12               | 1=100           |
| Iraqi civilian casualties | 47                 | 28                  | 23               | 2=100           |
| October 2002              | 40                 | 30                  | 27               | 3=100           |
| January 1991              | 33                 | 35                  | 28               | 4=100           |
| All-out war in Mideast    | 46                 | 26                  | 26               | 2=100           |
| October 2002              | 46                 | 27                  | 25               | 2=100           |
| Long postwar role         | 40                 | 30                  | 26               | 4=100           |
| October 2002              | 43                 | 25                  | 27               | 5=100           |

\*Trends from Oct 17-21, 2002 and Jan 25-27 1991

### Code Orange Boosts Terrorism Anxiety

Public anxiety about another terrorist attack in the U.S. rose significantly this month following the widely publicized move by the Department of Homeland Security to raise the nation's alert status to Code Orange. Fully one-third (34%) say they are now "very worried" that there will soon be another attack, and 41% are somewhat worried.

Moreover, half the public is fearful that they or their families may become victims of terrorism (22% very concerned/29% somewhat concerned). That is the highest level of personal worry about terrorism since the fall of 2001, shortly after the 9/11 attacks.

About one quarter of the public (23%) say they have

#### Terrorism Worries Up Again

|           | Very<br>worried<br>% | Some-<br>what<br>% | Total<br>% |
|-----------|----------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Feb 2003  | 34                   | 41                 | 75         |
| Jan 2003  | 18                   | 50                 | 68         |
| Dec 2002  | 31                   | 42                 | 73         |
| Oct 2002  | 20                   | 46                 | 66         |
| Aug 2002  | 16                   | 46                 | 62         |
| June 2002 | 32                   | 44                 | 76         |
| Jan 2002  | 20                   | 42                 | 62         |
| Dec 2001  | 13                   | 39                 | 52         |
| Oct 2001  | 28                   | 45                 | 73         |

personally taken steps to prepare their home for the possibility of a terrorist attack by storing supplies or creating a protected area where their family can take shelter. Overall, the number of people who report taking such steps is unchanged since November 2001, but 8% of the public -- representing about nine million households -- report having made preparations in the past week, since the Code Orange alert. People living in the largest cities along the East Coast are more than twice as likely as those living elsewhere to say they have taken steps in the past week to prepare for an attack (16% versus 7%).

### ***Homeland Defense Or Overseas Action***

When asked to choose how best to deal with the threat of terrorism, a plurality of Americans (46%) prefer building defenses at home, rather than taking military action to destroy terrorist networks overseas (39%), with 8% insisting that both should be done. But this margin is smaller than in late August, when homeland defense was preferred by a margin of 51% to 30%. A preference for military action rose among Republicans and Democrats alike, among both men and women, and was up sharply among evangelical Protestants.

### ***Iraq Debate Tops News Index***

Possible war with Iraq continues to top the public's news interest. Six-in-ten Americans (62%) say they are following the debate over military action in Iraq very closely, and another quarter are following fairly closely. Attention is up from a month ago, when 55% said they were following the debate very closely. This month's level of interest is comparable to the period just prior to the start of the Persian Gulf War in January 1991 (59%).

| <b>Iraq Dominates News Interest</b> |                                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|                                     | <u>Followed<br/>Very Closely</u> |
|                                     | <u>%</u>                         |
| Debate over Iraq war                | 62                               |
| High price of gasoline              | 53                               |
| Loss of space shuttle               | 46                               |
| U.N. weapons inspectors in Iraq     | 43                               |
| Condition of U.S. economy           | 42                               |
| "Code Orange" terrorism alert       | 39                               |
| State of the Union address          | 36                               |
| N. Korea's nuclear program          | 33                               |
| President's tax plan                | 26                               |

Moreover, a growing number of Americans are following reports about the weapons inspection process in Iraq. Fully 43% are following news about the work of U.N. weapons inspectors very closely, up from 34% a month ago.

As in the past, rising gasoline prices are attracting considerable public interest. Roughly half of Americans (53%) are following news about fuel prices very closely. Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy garnered very close attention from 42% of the public, with a third of Americans following this story fairly closely. This figure has remained steady for the past few months.

Nearly half the nation (46%) followed news about the loss of the space shuttle Columbia very closely, with another 36% following this story fairly closely. While interest in this story was high, it is significantly less than public attention in the 1986 explosion of the space shuttle Challenger (80%), which has ranked among the top stories in Pew Research Center's News Interest Index for the past two decades.

The recent Code Orange alert about the increased risk of a terrorist attack was followed very closely by four-in-ten Americans (39%). This is comparable to the level of interest in September 2002, the last time the index was raised to this level. Attention to this story has been particularly high in the East and South.

Slightly more than a third (36%) said they followed the president's State of the Union address very closely. This is higher than in the first President Bush's State of the Union in 1992 and President Clinton's address in 1994 (26%). Interest in George W. Bush's tax cut and economic stimulus plan is about the same as last month, with 26% following it very closely.

In contrast to the widespread interest in possible war with Iraq, only a third of the public was paying close attention to North Korea's nuclear weapons program. Interest levels have remained stable in the last month.

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#### **ABOUT THIS SURVEY**

Results for the *February News Interest Index* survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,254 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period February 12-18, 2003. Based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on Form 1 (N=629) the sampling error is plus or minus 4.5 percentage points; for Form 2 (N=625) the sampling error is plus or minus 4.5 percentage points. For results based on the Feb 12-13 "Pre-UN report" period of the survey (N=632) and the Feb 14-18 "Post-UN report" period of the survey (N=622), the sampling error is also plus or minus 4.5 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

*Commentary by Lee Feinstein  
Deputy Director of Studies  
Council on Foreign Relations*

### **Support for War Hinges on Backing from Allies and U.N.**

Secretary of State Colin Powell's two-hour briefing from double-spaced notes on loose leaf paper persuaded President Bush to go to the U.N. to support a war against Saddam Hussein, according to the now-famous account by Washington journalist Bob Woodward. But judging from the results of a new poll by the Pew Research Center, in collaboration with the Council on Foreign Relations, the views of the American public may have also played an important part in the president's decisions last fall and again this month to follow the U.N. track.

Americans continue to back military action against Saddam Hussein, according to the latest poll, conducted immediately before and just after Hans Blix's equivocal Valentine's Day report to the Security Council. But Americans also say they remain concerned about the lack of backing from our allies, and almost half oppose military action without allied support.

While two-thirds say they favor "military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule," support for U.S. military action dissipates over concern about the lack of international backing, raising the stakes in the administration's current effort to marshal support for a second Iraq resolution despite opposition from France, Germany, and others.

About four-in-ten Americans (38%), up from 26% last month, say they would support military action "even if allies won't join." The 12% spike follows a month of acrimony between the United States and its traditional NATO allies in "old Europe." Even with the increased willingness to go it alone, however, about half of those surveyed (48%) either oppose a war or would support one "only if allies agree."

Americans detected the setback to U.S. goals following last week's Security Council debate and Hans Blix's report, which offered little backing for the administration. The number saying the United States now "has enough international support" to use military force against Iraq declined from 41% before the Blix update, to 34% after.

Despite the greater difficulty of getting the U.N. on board, most of those surveyed still indicated they supported the effort to get a second resolution to use force. A majority (57%) believes that the United States "should first get a U.N. resolution" to use force before taking military action.

But while most believe allied support is a prerequisite for American military action, only about a fifth (22%) say the United States should "not use force" in the event of a Security Council veto by one or two countries.

The acrimony in New York and Brussels appears to have raised concerns about the broader relationship with America's traditional allies. Americans expressed concern about the widening transatlantic rift, at a time when Secretary Powell warned allies against "breaking up NATO." More than six-in-ten (62%) want the partnership between the United States and Western Europe to "remain as close as it has been," a remarkable endorsement in light of the cross-Atlantic trade in insults. About the same number (66%), however, think the relationship is "moving apart," indicating surprising sensitivity to an aspect of foreign policy, alliance management, which rarely rates much public attention at home.

The latest survey results convey a picture of a public that is paying a lot closer attention to international issues (62% say they are following the debate over war very closely and a 42% plurality says they have heard "too little" from war opponents).

It shows continued strong support for ousting Saddam, but concern about the cost to America's relationships with its trusted partners.

It shows the American people strongly support the president's decision to go to the U.N. for a second resolution.

Finally, it suggests that the president's effort to prepare for a possible war with Iraq will be easier abroad – and at home – if he is successful in winning U.N. backing or, at least, the support of our allies.

In a speech at a U.S. university last week, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan said, "When there is strong U.S. leadership, exercised through patient diplomatic persuasion and coalition building, the United Nations is successful – and the United States is successful." That is a sentiment, based on these poll results, that appears pretty close to what most Americans seem to be saying as well.

## PERCENT FOLLOWING EACH NEWS STORY "VERY CLOSELY"

|                  | Debate<br>over<br><u>Iraq</u><br>% | High<br>Price<br>of Gas <sup>^</sup><br>% | Space Shuttle<br>Columbia<br><u>Disaster</u> <sup>^</sup><br>% | U.N.<br>Inspectors<br>in Iraq<br>% | Condition<br>of U.S.<br><u>Economy</u><br>% | Code<br>Orange<br><u>Alert</u><br>% | State of<br>the Union<br><u>Address</u> <sup>^</sup><br>% | N.Korea's<br>Nuclear<br><u>Program</u> <sup>^</sup><br>% | Bush's<br>Economic<br><u>Plan</u> <sup>^</sup><br>% | (N)    |
|------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------|
| <b>Total</b>     | 62                                 | 53                                        | 46                                                             | 43                                 | 42                                          | 40                                  | 36                                                        | 33                                                       | 26                                                  | (1254) |
| <b>Sex</b>       |                                    |                                           |                                                                |                                    |                                             |                                     |                                                           |                                                          |                                                     |        |
| Male             | 66                                 | 53                                        | 46                                                             | 49                                 | 44                                          | 37                                  | 38                                                        | 42                                                       | 28                                                  | (609)  |
| Female           | 59                                 | 52                                        | 46                                                             | 38                                 | 39                                          | 42                                  | 33                                                        | 26                                                       | 24                                                  | (645)  |
| <b>Race</b>      |                                    |                                           |                                                                |                                    |                                             |                                     |                                                           |                                                          |                                                     |        |
| White            | 62                                 | 51                                        | 47                                                             | 42                                 | 40                                          | 39                                  | 38                                                        | 31                                                       | 27                                                  | (1060) |
| Non-white        | 63                                 | 63                                        | 44                                                             | 45                                 | 49                                          | 42                                  | 25                                                        | 42                                                       | 22                                                  | (179)  |
| Black            | 63                                 | n/a                                       | n/a                                                            | 48                                 | 54                                          | 45                                  | n/a                                                       | n/a                                                      | n/a                                                 | (109)  |
| <b>Age</b>       |                                    |                                           |                                                                |                                    |                                             |                                     |                                                           |                                                          |                                                     |        |
| Under 30         | 53                                 | 60                                        | 37                                                             | 33                                 | 27                                          | 32                                  | 20                                                        | 25                                                       | 16                                                  | (204)  |
| 30-49            | 64                                 | 50                                        | 37                                                             | 42                                 | 38                                          | 40                                  | 39                                                        | 29                                                       | 20                                                  | (505)  |
| 50+              | 65                                 | 53                                        | 60                                                             | 50                                 | 53                                          | 43                                  | 40                                                        | 42                                                       | 37                                                  | (533)  |
| <b>Education</b> |                                    |                                           |                                                                |                                    |                                             |                                     |                                                           |                                                          |                                                     |        |
| College Grad.    | 69                                 | 47                                        | 47                                                             | 51                                 | 49                                          | 38                                  | 43                                                        | 34                                                       | 35                                                  | (416)  |
| Some College     | 58                                 | 43                                        | 45                                                             | 39                                 | 38                                          | 38                                  | 35                                                        | 34                                                       | 23                                                  | (279)  |
| H.S. and Less    | 61                                 | 60                                        | 46                                                             | 41                                 | 40                                          | 42                                  | 32                                                        | 33                                                       | 23                                                  | (550)  |
| <b>Region</b>    |                                    |                                           |                                                                |                                    |                                             |                                     |                                                           |                                                          |                                                     |        |
| East             | 61                                 | 46                                        | 46                                                             | 47                                 | 48                                          | 41                                  | 37                                                        | 35                                                       | 23                                                  | (257)  |
| Midwest          | 62                                 | 57                                        | 44                                                             | 37                                 | 40                                          | 39                                  | 32                                                        | 36                                                       | 23                                                  | (308)  |
| South            | 65                                 | 53                                        | 54                                                             | 44                                 | 40                                          | 44                                  | 38                                                        | 36                                                       | 28                                                  | (451)  |
| West             | 60                                 | 53                                        | 36                                                             | 44                                 | 42                                          | 31                                  | 34                                                        | 25                                                       | 29                                                  | (238)  |
| <b>Party ID</b>  |                                    |                                           |                                                                |                                    |                                             |                                     |                                                           |                                                          |                                                     |        |
| Republican       | 70                                 | 49                                        | 47                                                             | 48                                 | 39                                          | 43                                  | 56                                                        | 40                                                       | 30                                                  | (409)  |
| Democrat         | 66                                 | 58                                        | 48                                                             | 44                                 | 47                                          | 43                                  | 29                                                        | 34                                                       | 28                                                  | (396)  |
| Independent      | 55                                 | 53                                        | 45                                                             | 40                                 | 40                                          | 35                                  | 26                                                        | 31                                                       | 20                                                  | (375)  |

<sup>^</sup> Based on split samples; Ns do not apply.

Question: Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

## USING FORCE IN IRAQ

|                                 | <i>Take military action in Iraq?</i> |                    |                | <i>UN resolution before military action?</i> |                            |                |            |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|------------|
|                                 | <u>Favor</u><br>%                    | <u>Oppose</u><br>% | <u>DK</u><br>% | <u>Should Get UN<br/>Resolution</u><br>%     | <u>Not<br/>Needed</u><br>% | <u>DK</u><br>% | <u>(N)</u> |
| <b>Total</b>                    | 67                                   | 26                 | 7=100          | 57                                           | 33                         | 10=100         | (1254)     |
| <b>Sex</b>                      |                                      |                    |                |                                              |                            |                |            |
| Male                            | 73                                   | 23                 | 4              | 53                                           | 40                         | 7              | (609)      |
| Female                          | 63                                   | 28                 | 9              | 60                                           | 27                         | 13             | (645)      |
| <b>Race</b>                     |                                      |                    |                |                                              |                            |                |            |
| White                           | 73                                   | 21                 | 6              | 56                                           | 34                         | 10             | (1060)     |
| Non-white                       | 45                                   | 45                 | 10             | 61                                           | 28                         | 11             | (179)      |
| Black                           | 44                                   | 47                 | 9              | 64                                           | 26                         | 10             | (109)      |
| Hispanic^                       | 67                                   | 32                 | 1              | 60                                           | 31                         | 9              | (74)       |
| <b>Race and Sex</b>             |                                      |                    |                |                                              |                            |                |            |
| White Men                       | 77                                   | 19                 | 4              | 50                                           | 42                         | 8              | (516)      |
| White Women                     | 67                                   | 24                 | 9              | 61                                           | 27                         | 12             | (544)      |
| <b>Sex and Military Service</b> |                                      |                    |                |                                              |                            |                |            |
| Male Veterans/Active            | 79                                   | 17                 | 4              | 48                                           | 45                         | 7              | (176)      |
| Male Non-Veterans/Non-Active    | 70                                   | 25                 | 5              | 55                                           | 38                         | 7              | (432)      |
| <b>Age</b>                      |                                      |                    |                |                                              |                            |                |            |
| Under 30                        | 72                                   | 24                 | 5              | 63                                           | 27                         | 10             | (204)      |
| 30-49                           | 66                                   | 28                 | 6              | 60                                           | 34                         | 6              | (505)      |
| 50-64                           | 70                                   | 24                 | 6              | 54                                           | 37                         | 9              | (311)      |
| 65+                             | 63                                   | 24                 | 13             | 45                                           | 34                         | 21             | (222)      |
| <b>Sex and Age</b>              |                                      |                    |                |                                              |                            |                |            |
| Men under 50                    | 72                                   | 25                 | 3              | 56                                           | 37                         | 7              | (361)      |
| Women under 50                  | 64                                   | 28                 | 7              | 66                                           | 25                         | 9              | (348)      |
| Men 50+                         | 74                                   | 20                 | 6              | 49                                           | 43                         | 8              | (243)      |
| Women 50+                       | 61                                   | 28                 | 11             | 52                                           | 30                         | 18             | (290)      |
| <b>Education</b>                |                                      |                    |                |                                              |                            |                |            |
| College Grad.                   | 58                                   | 33                 | 9              | 56                                           | 37                         | 7              | (416)      |
| Some College                    | 71                                   | 25                 | 4              | 60                                           | 32                         | 8              | (279)      |
| High School Grad.               | 71                                   | 22                 | 7              | 56                                           | 35                         | 9              | (456)      |
| <H.S. Grad.                     | 68                                   | 24                 | 8              | 53                                           | 27                         | 20             | (94)       |
| <b>Family Income</b>            |                                      |                    |                |                                              |                            |                |            |
| \$75,000+                       | 65                                   | 28                 | 7              | 57                                           | 39                         | 4              | (243)      |
| \$50,000-\$74,999               | 72                                   | 25                 | 3              | 61                                           | 35                         | 4              | (217)      |
| \$30,000-\$49,999               | 72                                   | 24                 | 4              | 55                                           | 36                         | 9              | (289)      |
| \$20,000-\$29,999               | 72                                   | 24                 | 4              | 57                                           | 32                         | 11             | (147)      |
| <\$20,000                       | 60                                   | 30                 | 10             | 62                                           | 24                         | 14             | (198)      |

^ The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: [If President Bush decides that it is necessary to use military force,] would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule? [Q21F1/Q22F2 Combined]

Should the U.S. first get a United Nations resolution to use force before taking military action against Iraq or don't you think the U.S. needs to do this?

Continued ...

Table Continued ...

|                                | <i>Take military action in Iraq?</i> |               |           | <i>UN resolution before military action?</i> |               |           |            |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|-----------|----------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------|------------|
|                                | <u>Favor</u>                         | <u>Oppose</u> | <u>DK</u> | Should Get UN                                | Not           | <u>DK</u> | <u>(N)</u> |
|                                | %                                    | %             | %         | <u>Resolution</u>                            | <u>Needed</u> | %         |            |
| <b>Total</b>                   | 67                                   | 26            | 7=100     | 57                                           | 33            | 10=100    | (1254)     |
| <b>Region</b>                  |                                      |               |           |                                              |               |           |            |
| East                           | 63                                   | 30            | 7         | 63                                           | 29            | 8         | (257)      |
| Midwest                        | 69                                   | 24            | 7         | 56                                           | 33            | 11        | (308)      |
| South                          | 72                                   | 23            | 5         | 55                                           | 36            | 9         | (451)      |
| West                           | 62                                   | 30            | 8         | 55                                           | 33            | 12        | (238)      |
| <b>Religious Affiliation</b>   |                                      |               |           |                                              |               |           |            |
| Total White Protestant         | 77                                   | 17            | 6         | 51                                           | 39            | 11        | (567)      |
| White Protestant Evangelical   | 85                                   | 10            | 5         | 47                                           | 44            | 9         | (272)      |
| White Prot. Non-Evangelical    | 70                                   | 24            | 6         | 55                                           | 34            | 12        | (295)      |
| White Catholic                 | 71                                   | 23            | 6         | 61                                           | 33            | 7         | (270)      |
| Secular                        | 62                                   | 28            | 10        | 68                                           | 25            | 8         | (115)      |
| <b>Community Size</b>          |                                      |               |           |                                              |               |           |            |
| Large City                     | 62                                   | 31            | 7         | 60                                           | 30            | 10        | (235)      |
| Suburb                         | 64                                   | 30            | 6         | 55                                           | 36            | 9         | (320)      |
| Small City/Town                | 66                                   | 26            | 8         | 58                                           | 34            | 8         | (418)      |
| Rural Area                     | 78                                   | 16            | 6         | 54                                           | 33            | 13        | (268)      |
| <b>Party ID</b>                |                                      |               |           |                                              |               |           |            |
| Republican                     | 87                                   | 10            | 3         | 38                                           | 51            | 11        | (409)      |
| Democrat                       | 54                                   | 38            | 8         | 70                                           | 22            | 8         | (396)      |
| Independent                    | 64                                   | 30            | 6         | 60                                           | 31            | 9         | (375)      |
| <b>Party and Ideology</b>      |                                      |               |           |                                              |               |           |            |
| Conservative Republican        | 89                                   | 8             | 3         | 34                                           | 56            | 10        | (264)      |
| Moderate/Liberal Republican    | 84                                   | 14            | 2         | 45                                           | 45            | 10        | (133)      |
| Conservative/Moderate Democrat | 59                                   | 33            | 8         | 67                                           | 25            | 8         | (294)      |
| Liberal Democrat               | 38                                   | 56            | 6         | 80                                           | 15            | 5         | (89)       |
| <b>Bush Approval</b>           |                                      |               |           |                                              |               |           |            |
| Approve                        | 89                                   | 8             | 3         | 47                                           | 44            | 9         | (698)      |
| Disapprove                     | 37                                   | 55            | 8         | 73                                           | 20            | 7         | (437)      |
| <b>Marital Status</b>          |                                      |               |           |                                              |               |           |            |
| Married                        | 72                                   | 22            | 6         | 55                                           | 37            | 8         | (684)      |
| Unmarried                      | 63                                   | 29            | 8         | 58                                           | 29            | 13        | (563)      |
| <b>Parental Status</b>         |                                      |               |           |                                              |               |           |            |
| Parent                         | 70                                   | 24            | 6         | 62                                           | 31            | 7         | (417)      |
| Non-Parent                     | 66                                   | 27            | 7         | 54                                           | 35            | 11        | (834)      |
| <b>Labor Union</b>             |                                      |               |           |                                              |               |           |            |
| Union Household                | 67                                   | 27            | 6         | 64                                           | 31            | 5         | (165)      |
| Non-Union Household            | 67                                   | 26            | 7         | 55                                           | 34            | 11        | (1083)     |

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS  
AND COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
FEBRUARY 2003 NEWS INTEREST INDEX  
February 12 - 18, 2003  
Total N=1254  
Pre-UN Weapons Inspection Report, February 12 - 13 (N=632)  
Post-UN Weapons Inspection Report, February 14 - 18 (N=622)**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.5 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely? [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]

|    |                                                                             | <u>Very<br/>Closely</u> | <u>Fairly<br/>Closely</u> | <u>Not too<br/>Closely</u> | <u>Not at all<br/>Closely</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| a. | Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy                             | 42                      | 33                        | 15                         | 10                            | *=100         |
|    | January, 2003                                                               | 40                      | 35                        | 13                         | 11                            | 1=100         |
|    | December, 2002                                                              | 38                      | 34                        | 17                         | 10                            | 1=100         |
|    | February, 2002                                                              | 35                      | 40                        | 15                         | 9                             | 1=100         |
|    | January, 2002                                                               | 30                      | 44                        | 16                         | 9                             | 1=100         |
|    | December, 2001                                                              | 37                      | 40                        | 13                         | 8                             | 2=100         |
|    | Mid-November, 2001                                                          | 41                      | 36                        | 15                         | 7                             | 1=100         |
|    | June, 2001                                                                  | 24                      | 41                        | 18                         | 16                            | 1=100         |
|    | May, 2001                                                                   | 34                      | 36                        | 15                         | 15                            | 0=100         |
|    | April, 2001                                                                 | 36                      | 34                        | 16                         | 13                            | 1=100         |
|    | February, 2001                                                              | 30                      | 39                        | 18                         | 12                            | 1=100         |
|    | January, 2001                                                               | 32                      | 38                        | 17                         | 11                            | 2=100         |
|    | June, 1995                                                                  | 26                      | 41                        | 22                         | 11                            | *=100         |
|    | March, 1995                                                                 | 27                      | 45                        | 19                         | 9                             | *=100         |
|    | February, 1995                                                              | 23                      | 41                        | 22                         | 13                            | 1=100         |
|    | December, 1994                                                              | 28                      | 43                        | 20                         | 9                             | *=100         |
|    | October, 1994                                                               | 27                      | 40                        | 20                         | 12                            | 1=100         |
|    | June, 1994                                                                  | 25                      | 42                        | 23                         | 10                            | *=100         |
|    | May, 1994                                                                   | 33                      | 40                        | 16                         | 10                            | 1=100         |
|    | January, 1994                                                               | 34                      | 39                        | 16                         | 10                            | 1=100         |
|    | Early January, 1994                                                         | 36                      | 44                        | 13                         | 7                             | *=100         |
|    | December, 1993                                                              | 35                      | 41                        | 15                         | 8                             | 1=100         |
|    | October, 1993                                                               | 33                      | 38                        | 20                         | 9                             | *=100         |
|    | September, 1993                                                             | 37                      | 40                        | 14                         | 8                             | 1=100         |
|    | Early September, 1993                                                       | 39                      | 39                        | 14                         | 9                             | *=100         |
|    | August, 1993                                                                | 41                      | 36                        | 14                         | 9                             | *=100         |
|    | May, 1993                                                                   | 37                      | 38                        | 18                         | 6                             | 1=100         |
|    | February, 1993                                                              | 49                      | 36                        | 10                         | 5                             | *=100         |
|    | January, 1993                                                               | 42                      | 39                        | 12                         | 7                             | *=100         |
|    | September, 1992                                                             | 43                      | 37                        | 13                         | 6                             | *=100         |
|    | May, 1992                                                                   | 39                      | 39                        | 15                         | 6                             | 1=100         |
|    | March, 1992                                                                 | 47                      | 38                        | 11                         | 4                             | *=100         |
|    | February, 1992                                                              | 47                      | 37                        | 10                         | 6                             | *=100         |
|    | January, 1992                                                               | 44                      | 40                        | 11                         | 5                             | *=100         |
|    | October, 1991                                                               | 36                      | 38                        | 16                         | 9                             | 1=100         |
|    | Early January, 1991                                                         | 36                      | 40                        | 16                         | 7                             | 1=100         |
| b. | Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq | 62                      | 25                        | 8                          | 4                             | 1=100         |
|    | January, 2003                                                               | 55                      | 29                        | 10                         | 4                             | 2=100         |
|    | December, 2002                                                              | 51                      | 32                        | 10                         | 6                             | 1=100         |
|    | Late October, 2002                                                          | 53                      | 33                        | 8                          | 5                             | 1=100         |
|    | Early October, 2002                                                         | 60                      | 28                        | 6                          | 5                             | 1=100         |
|    | Early September, 2002 <sup>1</sup>                                          | 48                      | 29                        | 15                         | 6                             | 2=100         |
|    | Early January, 1991                                                         | 59                      | 31                        | 7                          | 2                             | 1=100         |

<sup>1</sup> In Early September 2002 the story was listed as "...U.S. will invade Iraq." In Early January 1991 the story was listed as "Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and the presence of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf."

**Q.5 CONTINUED...**

|    |                                                                               | <u>Very<br/>Closely</u> | <u>Fairly<br/>Closely</u> | <u>Not too<br/>Closely</u> | <u>Not at all<br/>Closely</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| c. | The work of United Nations weapons inspectors in Iraq                         | 43                      | 33                        | 15                         | 8                             | 1=100         |
|    | January, 2003                                                                 | 34                      | 41                        | 14                         | 10                            | 1=100         |
|    | December, 2002                                                                | 35                      | 39                        | 15                         | 10                            | 1=100         |
|    | August, 1998 <sup>2</sup>                                                     | 18                      | 31                        | 23                         | 27                            | 1=100         |
|    | February, 1998                                                                | 36                      | 40                        | 16                         | 8                             | *=100         |
|    | January, 1998                                                                 | 32                      | 35                        | 18                         | 15                            | *=100         |
|    | December, 1997                                                                | 34                      | 33                        | 15                         | 17                            | 1=100         |
|    | November, 1997                                                                | 44                      | 32                        | 10                         | 13                            | 1=100         |
|    | October, 1991                                                                 | 35                      | 38                        | 15                         | 11                            | 1=100         |
| d. | The recent "code orange" alert about the increased risk of a terrorist attack | 39                      | 35                        | 16                         | 9                             | 1=100         |
|    | Early September, 2002 <sup>3</sup>                                            | 39                      | 29                        | 16                         | 15                            | 1=100         |

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=629]:**

|      |                                                     |    |    |    |    |       |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|-------|
| e.F1 | The break up and loss of the Space Shuttle Columbia | 46 | 36 | 13 | 4  | 1=100 |
|      | July, 1986 <sup>4</sup>                             | 80 | 16 | 3  | 1  | *=100 |
| f.F1 | North Korea's nuclear weapons program               | 33 | 34 | 18 | 13 | 2=100 |
|      | January, 2003                                       | 33 | 34 | 18 | 14 | 1=100 |
|      | Late October, 2002 <sup>5</sup>                     | 25 | 31 | 23 | 20 | 1=100 |
|      | June, 1994                                          | 27 | 33 | 26 | 14 | *=100 |
| g.F1 | George W. Bush's State of the Union Address         | 36 | 24 | 15 | 24 | 1=100 |
|      | January, 1994                                       | 26 | 25 | 18 | 31 | *=100 |
|      | February, 1992                                      | 26 | 26 | 20 | 27 | 1=100 |

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=625]:**

|      |                                                     |    |    |    |    |       |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|-------|
| h.F2 | George W. Bush's tax cut and economic stimulus plan | 26 | 33 | 23 | 16 | 2=100 |
|      | January, 2003                                       | 28 | 34 | 21 | 15 | 2=100 |
|      | February, 2002 <sup>6</sup>                         | 17 | 31 | 28 | 23 | 1=100 |
|      | April, 2001                                         | 24 | 38 | 20 | 18 | *=100 |
|      | February, 2001                                      | 31 | 35 | 19 | 14 | 1=100 |
|      | February, 1993                                      | 49 | 36 | 10 | 5  | *=100 |
|      | September, 1992 (RVs)                               | 28 | 44 | 18 | 9  | 1=100 |

<sup>2</sup> In August 1998 the story was listed as "The current dispute with Iraq over UN weapons inspections." In February 1998 the story was listed as "The conflict in Iraq over UN weapons inspectors and U.S. threats to retaliate with air strikes." In January 1998 the story was listed as "The conflict in Iraq over UN weapons inspectors." In November and December 1997 the story was listed as "(the conflict over) Iraq's refusal to let Americans participate in weapons inspections." In October 1991 the story was listed as "The standoff in Baghdad between the Iraqis and UN weapons inspectors."

<sup>3</sup> In Early September 2002 the story was listed as "The Homeland Security office issuing a "code orange" alert about the increased risk of a terrorist attack."

<sup>4</sup> In July 1986 the story was listed as "The explosion of the space shuttle Challenger."

<sup>5</sup> In Late October 2002 the story was listed as "North Korea's admission that it has been secretly developing nuclear weapons." In June 1994 the story was listed as "Reports about North Korea's building of nuclear weapons and refusal to allow UN inspections."

<sup>6</sup> In February 2002 and April 2001 the story was listed as "The debate in Congress over George W. Bush's budget and tax cut plan." In February 2001 the story was listed as "George W. Bush's tax-cut plan." In February 1993 the story was listed as "Bill Clinton's economic plan." In September 1992 the story was listed as "George Bush's plan to improve the economy by cutting government spending and cutting taxes?" Results are based on registered voters.

# **Q.5 CONTINUED...**

|      |                                       | Very<br>Closely | Fairly<br>Closely | Not too<br>Closely | Not at all<br>Closely | DK/Ref |
|------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| i.F2 | The high price of gasoline these days | 53              | 25                | 12                 | 9                     | 1=100  |
|      | June, 2001                            | 56              | 31                | 7                  | 5                     | 1=100  |
|      | May, 2001                             | 61              | 26                | 6                  | 6                     | 1=100  |
|      | Early October, 2000                   | 56              | 25                | 12                 | 6                     | 1=100  |
|      | June, 2000 <sup>7</sup>               | 61              | 25                | 9                  | 5                     | *=100  |
|      | March, 2000                           | 58              | 28                | 10                 | 4                     | *=100  |
|      | October, 1990                         | 62              | 26                | 8                  | 4                     | *=100  |
|      | September, 1990                       | 56              | 28                | 11                 | 5                     | *=100  |
|      | August, 1990                          | 57              | 27                | 10                 | 5                     | 1=100  |

## **Q.5a-i RANK ORDERED SUMMARY TABLE**

| Very<br>closely<br>% | Fairly<br>closely<br>% |                                                                                  |
|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 62                   | 25                     | b. Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq   |
| 53                   | 24                     | i.F2 The high price of gasoline these days                                       |
| 46                   | 36                     | e.F1 The break up and loss of the Space Shuttle Columbia                         |
| 43                   | 33                     | c. The work of United Nations weapons inspectors in Iraq                         |
| 42                   | 33                     | a. Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy                               |
| 40                   | 35                     | d. The recent "code orange" alert about the increased risk of a terrorist attack |
| 36                   | 24                     | g.F1 George W. Bush's State of the Union Address                                 |
| 33                   | 34                     | f.F1 North Korea's nuclear weapons program                                       |
| 26                   | 33                     | h.F2 George W. Bush's tax cut and economic stimulus plan                         |

## **ASK ALL:**

Now thinking about President Bush...

Q.12 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM, ROTATE]

|                                    | Approve | Disapprove | DK/Ref. |
|------------------------------------|---------|------------|---------|
| b. The situation with Iraq         | 56      | 37         | 7=100   |
| January, 2003                      | 56      | 36         | 8=100   |
| Early October, 2002                | 56      | 34         | 10=100  |
| <b>Clinton:</b> February, 1998*    | 58      | 32         | 10=100  |
| <b>Clinton:</b> September, 1996*   | 55      | 25         | 20=100  |
| <b>Clinton:</b> October, 1994*     | 59      | 33         | 8=100   |
| <b>Bush, Sr.:</b> September, 1991* | 64      | 30         | 6=100   |

\* Gallup/CNN/USA Today trend

## **ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=629]:**

Q.15F1 How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? [READ]

|                      | Jan<br>2003 | Dec<br>2002 | Early<br>Oct<br>2002 | Late<br>Aug<br>2002 | June<br>2002 | Jan<br>2002 | Dec<br>2001 | Oct<br>15-21<br>2001 | Oct<br>10-14<br>2001 | Early<br>Oct<br>2001 |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 34 Very worried      | 18          | 31          | 20                   | 16                  | 32           | 20          | 13          | 29                   | 27                   | 28                   |
| 41 Somewhat worried  | 50          | 42          | 46                   | 46                  | 44           | 42          | 39          | 42                   | 40                   | 45                   |
| 17 Not too worried   | 23          | 18          | 22                   | 25                  | 17           | 28          | 27          | 18                   | 19                   | 15                   |
| 7 Not at all worried | 8           | 8           | 11                   | 12                  | 7            | 9           | 19          | 10                   | 12                   | 11                   |
| 1 Don't know/Refused | 1           | 1           | 1                    | 1                   | *            | 1           | 2           | 1                    | 2                    | 1                    |
| 100                  | 100         | 100         | 100                  | 100                 | 100          | 100         | 100         | 100                  | 100                  | 100                  |

<sup>7</sup>

In August 1990 through June 2000 the question was worded "Recent increases in the price of gasoline."

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=625]:**

Q.16F2 All in all, how worried are you that you or someone in your family might become a victim of a terrorist attack? Would you say you are **[READ]**

|                                          | Very<br>Worried | Somewhat<br>Worried | Not too<br>Worried | Not at all<br>Worried | (VOL.)<br>Already<br>a Victim | DK/Ref |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|--------|
| February, 2003                           | 22              | 29                  | 30                 | 18                    | 0                             | 1=100  |
| January, 2003                            | 11              | 30                  | 37                 | 21                    | *                             | 1=100  |
| Late August, 2002                        | 12              | 28                  | 35                 | 24                    | *                             | 1=100  |
| June, 2002                               | 17              | 28                  | 36                 | 19                    | *                             | *=100  |
| January, 2002                            | 12              | 26                  | 38                 | 24                    | *                             | *=100  |
| Early November, 2001                     | 13              | 27                  | 35                 | 24                    | 0                             | 1=100  |
| Mid-October, 2001                        | 18              | 32                  | 29                 | 19                    | 0                             | 2=100  |
| Late September, 2001                     | 17              | 36                  | 31                 | 15                    | *                             | 1=100  |
| <b>Gallup:</b> 9/14-15/01 <sup>8</sup>   | 18              | 33                  | 35                 | 13                    | *                             | 1=100  |
| <b>Gallup:</b> 9/11/01 <sup>9</sup>      | 23              | 35                  | 24                 | 16                    | 1                             | 1=100  |
| <b>Gallup:</b> August, 1998              | 10              | 22                  | 38                 | 29                    | --                            | 1=100  |
| <b>Gallup:</b> July, 1996                | 13              | 26                  | 34                 | 27                    | --                            | *=100  |
| <b>Gallup:</b> April, 1995 <sup>10</sup> | 14              | 28                  | 33                 | 24                    | --                            | 1=100  |

**ASK ALL:**

Q.17 Since the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, have you personally taken steps to prepare your home for an emergency situation, such as storing supplies or creating a protected area where your family can go for shelter?

**IF YES IN Q.17:**

Q.18 Have made any preparations within the past week -- since the recent code orange alert about the risk of a terrorist attack?

|            |                                       |                               |
|------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
|            |                                       | <i>Newsweek</i> <sup>11</sup> |
|            |                                       | <u>Nov 2001</u>               |
| 23         | Yes                                   | 22                            |
| 8          | Yes, taken steps within the past week |                               |
| 15         | No, already prepared                  |                               |
| *          | Don't know/Refused (VOL.)             |                               |
| 77         | No                                    | 77                            |
| *          | Don't know/Refused (VOL.)             | 1                             |
| <u>100</u> |                                       | <u>100</u>                    |

**NO QUESTION 19**

<sup>8</sup> For the September 14-15 Gallup trend the question started with, "I'd like to ask you a few questions about the events that occurred this past Tuesday in New York City and Washington, DC..."

<sup>9</sup> For the September 11 Gallup trend the question started with, "I'd like to ask you a few questions about the events that occurred today in New York City and Washington, DC..."

<sup>10</sup> For the April 1995 Gallup trend the question was worded, "How worried are you that you or someone in your family will become a victim of a terrorist attack similar to the bombing in Oklahoma City?"

<sup>11</sup> In November 2001 the Newsweek question was asked as part of a series and was worded, "We're interested in how, if at all, people's lives are changing since the terrorist attacks of September 11th..."

**ASK ALL:**

On the subject of Iraq...

Q.20 How much have you yourself thought about whether the US should use military force to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? **[READ]**

| *Pre     | Post     | Total    |                      | Jan<br>2003 | Dec<br>2002 | Early Oct<br>2002 | Mid-Sept<br>2002 | Late Aug<br>2002 | Early<br>Jan<br>1991 <sup>12</sup> |
|----------|----------|----------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| 59       | 55       | 58       | A Great deal         | 56          | 58          | 54                | 55               | 46               | 66                                 |
| 27       | 27       | 27       | Some                 | 29          | 29          | 32                | 27               | 35               | 24                                 |
| 7        | 9        | 8        | Only a little – OR – | 8           | 8           | 8                 | 9                | 11               | 6                                  |
| 6        | 7        | 6        | Not at all           | 6           | 4           | 5                 | 6                | 6                | 2                                  |
| <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | Don't know/Refused   | <u>1</u>    | <u>1</u>    | <u>1</u>          | <u>3</u>         | <u>2</u>         | <u>2</u>                           |
| 100      | 100      | 100      |                      | 100         | 100         | 100               | 100              | 100              | 100                                |

\* “Pre” refers to the period of interviewing from February 12 to 13, 2003 (N=632) that preceded Chief UN Weapons Inspectors Hans Blix and Mohamed El Baradei’s reports to the UN Security Council on the status of Iraqi compliance with weapons inspections. “Post” refers to the period of interviewing from February 14 to 18, 2003 (N=622) after the reports to the UN Security Council.

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=629]:**

Q.21/23F1 Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein’s rule? **[IF FAVOR, ASK Should we attack Iraq only if our major allies agree to join us, or attack Iraq even if allies do not want to join us?]**

|    |                              | Jan<br>2003 | Dec<br>2002 | Nov<br>2002 | Oct<br>2002 | Oct<br>2002 | Sept<br>2002 | Aug<br>2002 | ----- Gallup <sup>13</sup> ----- |             |             |              |               |
|----|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
|    |                              | 2003        | 2002        | 2002        | 2002        | 2002        | 2002         | 2002        | June<br>2002                     | Nov<br>2001 | Feb<br>2001 | June<br>1993 | March<br>1992 |
| 66 | Favor                        | 68          | 65          | 62          | 55          | 62          | 64           | 64          | 59                               | 74          | 52          | 70           | 55            |
|    | 38 Even if allies won’t join | 26          | --          | --          | 27          | --          | 33           | 30          | --                               | --          | --          | --           | --            |
|    | 22 Only if allies agree      | 37          | --          | --          | 23          | --          | 25           | 30          | --                               | --          | --          | --           | --            |
|    | 6 Don’t know/Refused         | 5           | --          | --          | 5           | --          | 6            | 4           | --                               | --          | --          | --           | --            |
| 26 | Oppose                       | 25          | 25          | 26          | 34          | 28          | 23           | 21          | 34                               | 20          | 42          | 27           | 40            |
|    | 8 Don’t know/Refused         | 7           | 10          | 12          | 11          | 10          | 13           | 15          | 7                                | 6           | 6           | 3            | 5             |
|    | <u>100</u>                   | <u>100</u>  | <u>100</u>  | <u>100</u>  | <u>100</u>  | <u>100</u>  | <u>100</u>   | <u>100</u>  | <u>100</u>                       | <u>100</u>  | <u>100</u>  | <u>100</u>   | <u>100</u>    |

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=625]:**

Q.22/23F2 If President Bush decides that it is necessary to use military force, would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein’s rule? **[IF FAVOR, ASK Should we attack Iraq only if our major allies agree to join us, or attack Iraq even if allies do not want to join us?]**

|    |                              |
|----|------------------------------|
| 69 | Favor                        |
|    | 41 Even if allies won’t join |
|    | 23 Only if allies agree      |
|    | 5 Don’t know/Refused         |
| 26 | Oppose                       |
|    | 5 Don’t know/Refused         |
|    | <u>100</u>                   |

<sup>12</sup> In Early January 1991 the question was worded “How much thought have you given to the question of whether the U.S. should use military force against Iraq if it does not withdraw its forces from Kuwait?”

<sup>13</sup> Gallup trend was worded “Would you favor or oppose sending American troops back to the Persian Gulf in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?”

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=629]:**

Q.24F1 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?

|          |                    | Jan<br><u>2003</u> | Dec<br><u>2002</u> | Late Oct<br><u>2002</u> | Mid-Sept<br><u>2002</u> | Late Aug<br><u>2002</u> | <i>NY Times</i><br><u>Aug 1990</u> <sup>14</sup> |
|----------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 53       | Explained clearly  | 42                 | 48                 | 48                      | 52                      | 37                      | 50                                               |
| 40       | Not clearly        | 53                 | 45                 | 45                      | 37                      | 52                      | 41                                               |
| <u>7</u> | Don't know/Refused | <u>5</u>           | <u>7</u>           | <u>7</u>                | <u>11</u>               | <u>11</u>               | <u>9</u>                                         |
| 100      |                    | 100                | 100                | 100                     | 100                     | 100                     | 100                                              |

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=625]:**

Q.25F2 Do you think Colin Powell has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?

|          |                           |
|----------|---------------------------|
| 61       | Explained clearly         |
| 30       | Not clearly               |
| <u>9</u> | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |
| 100      |                           |

**ASK ALL:**

Q.26 Should the U.S. first get a United Nations resolution to use force before taking military action against Iraq or don't you think the U.S. needs to do this?

**IF "SHOULD GET UN RESOLUTION" ASK:**

Q.27 If the U.S. and most of its allies back using force against Iraq, but the UN resolution is vetoed by one or two countries who oppose it – what should the U.S. do? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

| Pre       | Post     | Total     |                                                   |
|-----------|----------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 56        | 58       | 57        | Should first get a UN resolution                  |
| 21        | 22       | 22        | Not use force because the UN has not approved it  |
| 31        | 30       | 30        | Use force if it feels it is the right thing to do |
| 4         | 6        | 5         | Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)             |
| 33        | 33       | 33        | Does not need to do this                          |
| *         | *        | *         | Should not use force in Iraq (VOL.)               |
| <u>11</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>10</u> | Don't know/Refused (VOL.)                         |
| 100       | 100      | 100       |                                                   |

**ASK ALL:**

Q.28 In your opinion, what do you think the UN weapons inspections have shown so far... **[READ ALL THREE OPTIONS; ROTATE ITEMS 1 & 2]**

| Pre      | Post     | Total    |                                                                      |
|----------|----------|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4        | 5        | 4        | That Iraq will cooperate and can be peacefully disarmed              |
| 63       | 52       | 58       | That Iraq will not cooperate and can not be peacefully disarmed [OR] |
| 29       | 39       | 34       | That it is too early to tell                                         |
| <u>4</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>4</u> | Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)                                |
| 100      | 100      | 100      |                                                                      |

Q.29 Based on what you've heard or read, have the UN weapons inspectors found PROOF that Iraq is trying to hide weapons of mass destruction, or not?

| Pre       | Post      | Total     |                       |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|
| 66        | 57        | 61        | Yes, Have found proof |
| 22        | 30        | 27        | No, Have not          |
| <u>12</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>12</u> | Don't know/Refused    |
| 100       | 100       | 100       |                       |

<sup>14</sup>

New York Times trend was worded "Do you think George Bush has explained clearly what's at stake and why the U.S. is sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or do you think ..."

**NO QUESTION 30 THRU 31**

**ROTATE QUESTIONS 32 THROUGH 37**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.32 And what's your opinion, based on what you've heard or read: Do you believe that Saddam Hussein helped the terrorists in the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, or don't you think he was involved?

|            |             |              | Early Oct   |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| <u>Pre</u> | <u>Post</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>2002</u> |
| 58         | 57          | 57           | 66          |
| 25         | 27          | 27           | 21          |
| 17         | 16          | 16           | 13          |
| 100        | 100         | 100          | 100         |

Q.33 From what you've heard or read... if the U.S. attacks Iraq, would most of the Iraqi people support Saddam Hussein, or would most of the Iraqi people turn against Hussein?

|            |             |              | Early Oct   |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| <u>Pre</u> | <u>Post</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>2002</u> |
| 46         | 42          | 44           | 45          |
| 37         | 40          | 39           | 37          |
| 17         | 18          | 17           | 18          |
| 100        | 100         | 100          | 100         |

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=629]:**

Q.34F1 In your opinion, if the U.S. takes military action against Iraq, how much, if at all, will it hurt the image of the United States among Muslim nations? **[READ, IN ORDER]**

|     |                    | Early Oct   |
|-----|--------------------|-------------|
|     |                    | <u>2002</u> |
| 51  | A lot              | 48          |
| 23  | A little --OR--    | 29          |
| 19  | Not much at all    | 17          |
| 7   | Don't know/Refused | 6           |
| 100 |                    | 100         |

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=625]:**

Q.35F2 In your opinion, if the U.S. takes military action against Iraq, how much, if at all, will it hurt the image of the United States in Western Europe? **[READ, IN ORDER]**

|     |                                              |
|-----|----------------------------------------------|
| 40  | A lot                                        |
| 31  | A little --OR--                              |
| 23  | Not much at all                              |
| 6   | Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL, DO NOT READ)</b> |
| 100 |                                              |

**NO QUESTION 36**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.37 If the U.S. takes military action against Iraq, would you favor or oppose a major American effort in Iraq after the war to rebuild the country and establish a stable government?

|            |             |              | Early Oct   |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| <u>Pre</u> | <u>Post</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>2002</u> |
| 63         | 64          | 63           | 60          |
| 30         | 28          | 30           | 32          |
| 7          | 8           | 7            | 8           |
| 100        | 100         | 100          | 100         |

Q.38 From your point of view, does the U.S. now have enough international support to use military force against Iraq or do you think it still has to convince more of its allies to go along?

| <u>Pre</u> | <u>Post</u> | <u>Total</u> |                                  |
|------------|-------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| 41         | 34          | 37           | Has enough international support |
| 52         | 58          | 56           | Still has to convince more       |
| 7          | 8           | 7            | Don't know/Refused (VOL.)        |
| 100        | 100         | 100          |                                  |

Q.39 Currently, some of our allies have said they do not support military action in Iraq. Is this because the leaders of these countries **[READ AND ROTATE]**?

| <u>Pre</u> | <u>Post</u> | <u>Total</u> |                                                                                          |
|------------|-------------|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 31         | 33          | 33           | Favor other ways of dealing with Saddam Hussein and Iraq<br><b>[or because they ...]</b> |
| 45         | 45          | 45           | Don't want to pay the costs and risk the casualties involved in war                      |
| 12         | 10          | 11           | Other/Mixed (VOL.)                                                                       |
| 12         | 12          | 11           | Don't know/Refused (VOL.)                                                                |
| 100        | 100         | 100          |                                                                                          |

Q.40 From what you have heard or read, what's your impression of what a war with Iraq would be like? Do you think it would be a long war or a quick one?

| <u>Pre</u> | <u>Post</u> | <u>Total</u> |                    | Late Aug<br><u>2002</u> | Early Jan<br><u>1991</u> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 41         | 43          | 43           | Long               | 52                      | 30                       |
| 52         | 49          | 49           | Quick              | 38                      | 57                       |
| 7          | 8           | 8            | Don't know/Refused | 10                      | 13                       |
| 100        | 100         | 100          |                    | 100                     | 100                      |

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=629]:**

Q.41F1 Have you heard too much, too little, or the right amount about the views of Americans who oppose taking military action in Iraq?

|     |                    | Late Jan<br><u>1991</u> <sup>15</sup> | Early Jan<br><u>1991</u> | Sept<br><u>1990</u> |
|-----|--------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 24  | Too much           | 47                                    | 18                       | 15                  |
| 42  | Too little         | 13                                    | 42                       | 40                  |
| 30  | Right amount       | 33                                    | 31                       | 35                  |
| 4   | Don't know/Refused | 7                                     | 9                        | 10                  |
| 100 |                    | 100                                   | 100                      | 100                 |

**NO QUESTION 45 THRU 46**

<sup>15</sup>

In Late January 1991 the question was worded, "...Americans who oppose the War in the Gulf?" In Early January 1991 and September 1990 the question was worded, "...Americans who oppose sending U.S. forces to the Gulf?"

**ASK ALL:**

And in general...

Q.47 Thinking about a possible war with Iraq, how worried are you that [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE] – a great deal, a fair amount, or not much? ... How worried are you that [INSERT NEXT ITEM, REPEAT RESPONSE CATEGORIES FOR EACH ITEM]?<sup>16</sup>

| <i>Great Deal</i> |             |    |                                                                                   | A Great Deal | A Fair Amount | Not Much    | DK/Ref.     |
|-------------------|-------------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| <u>Pre</u>        | <u>Post</u> |    |                                                                                   | <u>Deal</u>  | <u>Amount</u> | <u>Much</u> | <u>Ref.</u> |
| 56                | 54          | a. | U.S. forces might sustain a lot of casualties                                     | 55           | 25            | 18          | 2=100       |
|                   |             |    | Late October, 2002                                                                | 52           | 28            | 18          | 2=100       |
|                   |             |    | Late January, 1991                                                                | 57           | 30            | 12          | 1=100       |
| 67                | 66          | b. | Iraq might use biological or chemical weapons against U.S. troops                 | 66           | 24            | 9           | 1=100       |
|                   |             |    | Late October, 2002                                                                | 59           | 26            | 13          | 2=100       |
| 44                | 47          | c. | Many Iraqi civilians might be killed                                              | 47           | 28            | 23          | 2=100       |
|                   |             |    | Late October, 2002                                                                | 40           | 30            | 27          | 3=100       |
|                   |             |    | Late January, 1991                                                                | 33           | 35            | 28          | 4=100       |
| 55                | 57          | d. | This might increase the chances of a terrorist attack within the U.S.             | 57           | 25            | 16          | 2=100       |
|                   |             |    | Late October, 2002                                                                | 51           | 26            | 20          | 3=100       |
|                   |             |    | Late January, 1991 <sup>17</sup>                                                  | 33           | 38            | 28          | 1=100       |
| 40                | 38          | e. | It will take a long time to make Iraq a stable and peaceful country after the war | 40           | 30            | 26          | 4=100       |
|                   |             |    | Late October, 2002                                                                | 43           | 25            | 27          | 5=100       |
| 46                | 44          | f. | It might lead to an all-out war in the Middle East                                | 46           | 26            | 26          | 2=100       |
|                   |             |    | Late October, 2002                                                                | 46           | 27            | 25          | 2=100       |

**ASK ALL:**

All in all...

Q.50 If you had to choose, what should get a higher priority now? [READ AND ROTATE]

| <u>Pre</u> | <u>Post</u> | <u>Total</u> |                                                                       | <u>Late Aug 2002</u> | <u>Early June 2002</u> | <u>Oct Jan 2002</u> | <u>Oct Nov 2001</u> | <u>Late 15-21 2001</u> | <u>10-14 2001</u> | <u>Sept 2001</u> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 44         | 46          | 46           | Building our defenses at home to prevent future terrorist attacks     | 51                   | 51                     | 44                  | 42                  | 37                     | 36                | 33               |
|            |             |              | OR                                                                    |                      |                        |                     |                     |                        |                   |                  |
| 41         | 39          | 39           | Taking military action to destroy terrorist networks around the world | 30                   | 34                     | 40                  | 42                  | 48                     | 45                | 44               |
| 9          | 7           | 8            | Both (VOL)                                                            | 13                   | 8                      | 12                  | 11                  | 13                     | 13                | 16               |
| 6          | 8           | 7            | Don't know/Refused                                                    | 6                    | 7                      | 4                   | 5                   | 2                      | 6                 | 7                |
| 100        | 100         | 100          |                                                                       | 100                  | 100                    | 100                 | 100                 | 100                    | 100               | 100              |

<sup>16</sup> Trend questions were asked after the onset of the Gulf War in 1991.

<sup>17</sup> In 1991 the item was "terrorists might strike within the U.S."

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=629]:**

Q.51F1 Do you think the partnership between the U.S. and Western Europe should remain as close as it has been or do you think that the U.S. should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past?

|            |                    | ----- April 2002 <sup>18</sup> ----- |              |                |               |
|------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
|            |                    | <u>Britain</u>                       | <u>Italy</u> | <u>Germany</u> | <u>France</u> |
| 62         | Remain as close    | 48                                   | 36           | 44             | 33            |
| 29         | More independent   | 47                                   | 59           | 51             | 60            |
| 9          | Don't know/Refused | 5                                    | 5            | 5              | 7             |
| <u>100</u> |                    | <u>100</u>                           | <u>100</u>   | <u>100</u>     | <u>100</u>    |

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=625]:**

Q.52F2 Do you think the partnership between the U.S. and Western Europe is as close as it has been in the past, or are they moving apart?

|            |                           |
|------------|---------------------------|
| 24         | As close as it has been   |
| 66         | Moving apart              |
| 10         | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |
| <u>100</u> |                           |

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<sup>18</sup>

In April 2002 the question was worded, "Do you think the partnership between the U.S. and Western Europe should remain as close as it has been or do you think that Western Europe should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past?"