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

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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”		
	Pre-Blix %	Post Blix %
<i>U.S. has enough international support for war</i>		
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.

Women Favor Force Less, And Worry Much More			
	<u>Men</u> %	<u>Women</u> %	<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.

	Early 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.

	Aug 02	Sept 02	Oct 02	Dec 02	Jan 03	Feb 03
<i>Has Bush explained clearly?</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	37	52	48	48	42	52
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%).

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

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.

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

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).

<i>U.S. has enough international support for war?</i>	<u>Total</u> %	<i>Military action</i>	
		<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

	<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.

	Early Jan '91	Late 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).

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

<i>Why some allies oppose war...</i>	<i>View on Military action</i>		
	----- Favor -----		
	without allies	only with allies	Oppose
	%	%	%
Avoiding costs/risks	55	54	28
Favor other approaches	21	34	54
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.

<i>How worried about...</i>	Great deal %	Fair amount %	Not much %	DK/Ref %
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

	Very worried %	Some-what %	Total %
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%).

Iraq Dominates News Interest	
	Followed Very Closely
	%
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.

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
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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 over <u>Iraq</u> %	High Price of Gas [^] %	Space Shuttle Columbia Disaster [^] %	U.N. Inspectors in Iraq %	Condition of U.S. Economy %	Code Orange Alert %	State of the Union Address [^] %	N.Korea's Nuclear Program [^] %	Bush's Economic Plan [^] %	(N)
Total	62	53	46	43	42	40	36	33	26	(1254)
Sex										
Male	66	53	46	49	44	37	38	42	28	(609)
Female	59	52	46	38	39	42	33	26	24	(645)
Race										
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)
Age										
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)
Education										
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)
Region										
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)
Party ID										
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)

[^] 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>			<i>(N)</i>
	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>Should Get UN</i>	<i>Not</i>	<i>DK</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Resolution</i>	<i>Needed</i>	<i>%</i>	
Total	67	26	7=100	57	33	10=100	(1254)
Sex							
Male	73	23	4	53	40	7	(609)
Female	63	28	9	60	27	13	(645)
Race							
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)
Race and Sex							
White Men	77	19	4	50	42	8	(516)
White Women	67	24	9	61	27	12	(544)
Sex and Military Service							
Male Veterans/Active	79	17	4	48	45	7	(176)
Male Non-Veterans/Non-Active	70	25	5	55	38	7	(432)
Age							
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)
Sex and Age							
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)
Education							
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)
Family Income							
\$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>Resolution</u>	<u>Needed</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>(N)</u>
Total	67	26	7=100	57	33	10=100	(1254)
Region							
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)
Religious Affiliation							
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)
Community Size							
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)
Party ID							
Republican	87	10	3	38	51	11	(409)
Democrat	54	38	8	70	22	8	(396)
Independent	64	30	6	60	31	9	(375)
Party and Ideology							
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)
Bush Approval							
Approve	89	8	3	47	44	9	(698)
Disapprove	37	55	8	73	20	7	(437)
Marital Status							
Married	72	22	6	55	37	8	(684)
Unmarried	63	29	8	58	29	13	(563)
Parental Status							
Parent	70	24	6	62	31	7	(417)
Non-Parent	66	27	7	54	35	11	(834)
Labor Union							
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 Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all 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 ¹	48	29	15	6	2=100
Early January, 1991	59	31	7	2	1=100

¹ 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...

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
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 ²	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 ³	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 ⁴	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 ⁵	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 ⁶	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

² 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."

³ 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."

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

⁵ 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."

⁶ 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 Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all 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 ⁷	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 closely %	Fairly closely %	
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
Clinton: February, 1998*	58	32	10=100
Clinton: September, 1996*	55	25	20=100
Clinton: October, 1994*	59	33	8=100
Bush, Sr.: 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 2003	Dec 2002	Early Oct 2002	Late Aug 2002	June 2002	Jan 2002	Dec 2001	Oct 15-21 2001	Oct 10-14 2001	Early Oct 2001
34	18	31	20	16	32	20	13	29	27	28
41	50	42	46	46	44	42	39	42	40	45
17	23	18	22	25	17	28	27	18	19	15
7	8	8	11	12	7	9	19	10	12	11
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

⁷

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]**

	<u>Very Worried</u>	<u>Somewhat Worried</u>	<u>Not too Worried</u>	<u>Not at all Worried</u>	(VOL.) <u>Already a Victim</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
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
Gallup: 9/14-15/01 ⁸	18	33	35	13	*	1=100
Gallup: 9/11/01 ⁹	23	35	24	16	1	1=100
Gallup: August, 1998	10	22	38	29	--	1=100
Gallup: July, 1996	13	26	34	27	--	*=100
Gallup: April, 1995 ¹⁰	14	28	33	24	--	1=100

ASK ALL:

Q.17 Since the terrorist attacks of September 11th 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> ¹¹ <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
100		100

NO QUESTION 19

⁸ 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..."

⁹ 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..."

¹⁰ 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?"

¹¹ 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 2003	Dec 2002	Early Oct 2002	Mid-Sept 2002	Late Aug 2002	Early Jan 1991 ¹²
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
1	2	1	Don't know/Refused	1	1	1	3	2	2
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 2003	Dec 2002	Nov 2002	Oct 2002	Mid- Oct 2002	Late Sept 2002	Aug 2002	----- Gallup ¹³ -----				
		2003	2002	2002	2002	2002	2002	2002	June 2002	Nov 2001	Feb 2001	June 1993	March 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
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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
	100

¹² 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?”

¹³ 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 <u>2003</u>	Dec <u>2002</u>	Late Oct <u>2002</u>	Mid-Sept <u>2002</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>	<i>NY Times</i> <u>Aug 1990</u> ¹⁴
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>
<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.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.)
<u>100</u>	

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]**

<u>Pre</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Total</u>	
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.)
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

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]**

<u>Pre</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Total</u>	
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)
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

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?

<u>Pre</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Total</u>	
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
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

¹⁴ 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 11th attacks, or don't you think he was involved?

<u>Pre</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Total</u>		Early Oct <u>2002</u>
58	57	57	Helped the terrorists	66
25	27	27	Was not involved	21
17	16	16	Don't know/Refused	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?

<u>Pre</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Total</u>		Early Oct <u>2002</u>
46	42	44	Most will support Hussein	45
37	40	39	Most will turn against Hussein	37
17	18	17	Don't know/Refused	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 (VOL, DO NOT READ)
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?

<u>Pre</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Total</u>		Early Oct <u>2002</u>
63	64	63	Favor	60
30	28	30	Oppose	32
7	8	7	Don't know/Refused	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 [or because they ...]
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 <u>2002</u>	Early Jan <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 <u>1991</u> ¹⁵	Early Jan <u>1991</u>	Sept <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

¹⁵ 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]?¹⁶

<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 ¹⁷	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

¹⁶ Trend questions were asked after the onset of the Gulf War in 1991.

¹⁷ 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 ¹⁸ -----			
		<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>	

¹⁸

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?"