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Public Staggered by Costs But Wants to Stay the Course

GIVE U.N. CONTROL, IN ORDER TO GET MORE FOREIGN TROOPS

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Public Staggered by Costs But Wants to Stay the Course
GIVE U.N. CONTROL, IN ORDER TO GET MORE FOREIGN TROOPS

Concerned by the rising costs and growing casualties of the U.S. military operation in Iraq, Americans are looking to the United Nations to assume a greater role in the country, even if that means ceding some authority over military decisions to the world body. Just over half (51%) believe that the United States should give up some military control to the United Nations in order to get other countries to deploy troops to Iraq.

There is even more support for the U.N. taking on significant responsibility for establishing a stable government in Iraq. Seven-in-ten Americans favor such a role for the U.N., up from 64% in April when major combat was winding down. Americans remain divided over whether the U.S. or the U.N. should have the *most* say in creating a new government, though a growing number (44%) wants the U.N. take the lead.

Despite the persistent attacks on U.S. forces in Iraq, the public remains solidly behind the mission. Nearly two-thirds of Americans (64%) think the U.S. should keep its troops in Iraq until a stable government is formed, while 32% want to withdraw the forces as soon as possible. The percentage of Americans who say the U.S. made the right decision in going to war has held steady at 63% since early August, and perceptions of how well the military operation is going have stabilized as well. However, as in recent months few (15%) believe things are going *very* well, which was the majority view in April.

At the same time, there is substantial public opposition to the rising cost of the military operation. Nearly six-in-ten Americans (59%) say they oppose President Bush's request for an additional \$87 billion for military and rebuilding costs in Iraq and Afghanistan while just 36% back the request. Notably, this is not just a case of "sticker shock." When a separate sample was asked whether they favor a "large amount" to support U.S. efforts in the two countries, with the total dollar amount not specified, there was nearly as much opposition to the spending (55%).

Support for Greater U.N. Role		
	Late	
<i>Significant U.N. role in rebuilding Iraq</i>	<u>April</u>	<u>Sept</u>
	%	%
Favor	64	70
U.N. has most say	39	44
U.S. has most say	19	22
Oppose	31	22
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100
<i>Give up some control to U.N. to get troop commitments</i>		
Yes		51
No		42
Don't know		<u>7</u>
		100

Not Just Sticker Shock		
<i>Bush request for Iraq funding...</i>	\$87 billion	A 'large amount'
	%	%
Favor	36	39
Oppose	59	55
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100

The latest Pew Research Center national survey of 1,500 adults, conducted Sept. 17-22, finds substantial doubt about whether President Bush has a plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion. More than half (58%) say the president does not have a clear plan for exiting Iraq, compared with less than a third (32%) who say he does. And many fewer are satisfied with the president's explanations of the current situation than was the case before the war. Just 30% say the president has "explained clearly" his plans for the end game in Iraq, compared with 49% who said he had explained the reasons for war clearly prior to military engagement.

	April	July	Aug	Sept
<i>Iraq war was...</i>	%	%	%	%
Right decision	74	67	63	63
Wrong decision	19	24	30	31
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100

A growing number of Americans also fault the president for not lining up more allied backing before going to war in Iraq. A narrow majority (53%) still feels Bush was right to order the attack when he did, but 42% say he should have waited for more allied support, up from 28% in April.

	April	Sept
<i>President Bush...</i>	%	%
Was right to use force when he did	65	53
Should have waited for more allies	28	42
Should not have used force (VOL)	2	1
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100

Still, Americans accept one of Bush's central premises for the war – that it helps in the struggle against global terrorism. A 54% majority believes the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism as opposed to 31% who think the Iraq conflict has hurt the fight against terrorism. But here again, opinions have shifted since spring. In May, Americans by three-to-one (65%-22%) said the war in Iraq helped, not hurt, the war in terrorism.

<i>Significant U.N. role in rebuilding Iraq</i>	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Favor	70	68	71	78
U.N. has most say	44	35	48	51
U.S. has most say	22	28	17	23
Oppose	22	26	21	17
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Give up some control to get troop commitments</i>				
Yes	51	37	63	53
No	42	57	29	42
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

Support 'Significant' U.N. Role

Partisanship continues to strongly influence opinions on almost every aspect of the war in Iraq and its aftermath. This also is seen in attitudes toward the U.N.'s role in Iraq, though there has been a narrowing of differences about U.N. involvement since April.

Republicans are now much more supportive of the U.N. playing a significant role in

establishing a stable government in Iraq, though most oppose sharing military control with the world body. Roughly two-thirds of Republicans (68%) currently favor the U.N. having a significant political role, up from 57% in April. However, only about a third (35%) want the U.N. to take the lead in establishing a stable government in Iraq, little changed from April (32%). And a majority of Republicans (57%) oppose giving up control over military decisions in Iraq to get other nations to provide troops.

Independents, by comparison, have become more supportive of the U.N. playing a political role and are willing to see the U.N. take the lead in forming a government. Just over half of independents (51%) believe the U.N. should have the most say in establishing an Iraqi government, up from 39% in April. As many independents as Democrats now support the U.N. taking the political lead in Iraq (51% vs. 48%).

Growing Partisan Gap

While Republicans remain committed to the war, support among Democrats and independents has slowly declined over the summer. In April, after the fall of Baghdad, fully 58% of Democrats endorsed the decision to go to war. Democratic support for military action has dropped 15 points to 43%; fully half now say it was the wrong decision. Independent support for the war has also slipped 10 points since April (from 73% to 63%), while Republican remains very high (85%), and is only slightly lower than in April (92%).

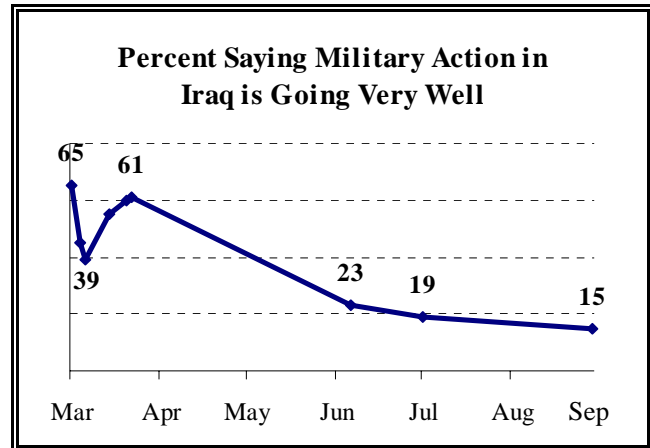
The party split over current policy is just as stark. Republicans overwhelmingly believe the U.S. must keep troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there. Barely half of Democrats (52%) agree.

Democrats also believe the president should have waited to get the support of more major allies before taking military action in Iraq. Nearly two-thirds (64%) hold that view now, up from 43% in April. Most independents (54%) and Republicans (76%) think the timing of military action was appropriate.

Democrats Question Current Commitment				
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>War was...</i>	%	%	%	%
Right decision	63	85	43	63
Wrong decision	31	9	50	33
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>What to do now...</i>				
Keep troops in Iraq	64	81	52	64
More troops needed	34	39	31	36
Enough there now	25	33	18	24
Don't know	5	9	3	4
Bring troops home	32	16	44	33
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100

Differing Perceptions

Nearly half of Americans (47%) now see the U.S. military effort in Iraq as going *fairly well*, while just 15% believe it is going *very well*. As the war was ending in April the consensus view, shared by roughly six-in-ten Americans, was that things were going very well.



Republicans continue to have a much rosier view of the war effort than do Democrats. Many more Republicans than Democrats feel things are going at least fairly well in the country (84% vs. 48%). More than six-in-ten Republicans (62%) say there have been fewer casualties than they anticipated. By contrast, most Democrats (51%) say there have been more casualties than expected.

The public overwhelmingly believes that the Iraqi people are happy to be rid of Saddam Hussein. By nearly eight-to-one (79%-10%), people believe Iraqis are happy to be rid of the dictator and this view is shared across the political spectrum. But Americans are split over how Iraqis are reacting to current U.S. policies in the country. By a 47% to 39% margin, Americans think most people in Iraq oppose current U.S. policies in the country.

<i>Iraqi reaction to Hussein's overthrow</i>		%
Happy he's gone		79
Wish Saddam remained		10
Don't know		<u>11</u>
		100
<i>Iraqi View of U.S. policies</i>		
Support		39
Oppose		47
Don't know		<u>14</u>
		100

Concerns: Cost and Casualties

Overall, Americans are far more worried about the costs, in both dollars and lives, than about other possible consequences of the military operation in Iraq. On the heels of the president's request for an additional \$87 billion, fully 43% say they worry a great deal that the cost of the war in Iraq is difficult for the U.S. to afford. By comparison, just a third (34%) worried a great deal about this in April after the fall of Baghdad.

Many (43%) also worry that U.S. forces might sustain a lot more casualties, a worry that was prevalent both before and during the military engagement in late March of this year. And 42% worry a great deal that U.S. troops will be involved in the Mideast for years to come, a concern that has grown slightly since the start of the war.

The public is far less worried that the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq will increase the risk of another terrorist attack in the U.S. Just 28% worry a great deal about this today. In February, prior to the war, fully 57% worried that taking military action might increase the chances of a terrorist attack in this country.

	Feb	March	April	Sept
<i>Worry a great deal about...</i>	%	%	%	%
Cost is difficult to afford	--	--	34	43
A lot more U.S. casualties	55	43	--	43
Long troop commitment	--	37	--	42
Increases US terrorism risk	57	34	--	28
Long-term rift with allies	--	--	15	24

While only about one-in-four (24%) worry a great deal that the war will cause a long-term rift between the U.S. and its allies, this concern has grown somewhat since April, when only 15% of Americans worried about a diplomatic breakdown with traditional allies.

Majority Opposes More Spending

Opposition to the president’s funding request for the military and reconstruction effort is broad, but there are significant partisan and demographic differences in attitudes to the proposal. Conservative Republicans back the funding request by more than two-to-one (66%-30%), but moderate and liberal Republicans are divided (46% favor, 48% oppose). As might be expected, Democrats, both conservative and liberal, overwhelmingly oppose the proposal.

<i>New spending on war and reconstruction</i>	Favor	Oppose	DK
	%	%	%
Men	44	52	4=100
Women	32	61	7=100
White	41	53	6=100
Black	18	79	3=100
Hispanic	44	51	5=100
Conservative Repub	66	30	4=100
Mod/Lib Republican	46	48	6=100
Independent	37	57	6=100
Cons/Mod Democrat	23	73	4=100
Liberal Democrat	22	70	8=100

Roll Back Tax Cuts to Pay War Costs

Congress will soon take up the question of whether to approve the additional spending and will confront difficult choices about where to find the necessary money, given the growing federal budget deficit. Of the three principal options available, a 41% plurality favors postponing or reducing last year’s tax cuts as the best way to finance the new spending. The other two options – cutting spending on domestic programs and adding to the budget deficit – attract roughly equal levels of support (18% and 19%, respectively). This division of opinion on first-choice options has changed very little since prior to the start of the war.

In addition to those who prefer

	Best Way	Willing To Do	Un-willing	DK
	%	%	%	%
Postpone tax cuts	41	16	38	5=100
Add to deficit	19	20	55	6=100
Cut domestic	18	13	64	5=100

postponing or reducing the tax cuts, another 16% are willing to see this done. Thus a majority of 57% sees this as an acceptable option for paying the costs of the war and reconstruction; 38% are opposed to tampering with the tax cuts. In contrast, 64% are unwilling to cut domestic spending and 55% are unwilling to add to the deficit. All told, 14% of the public would not support any of the three options.

Compared with Republicans, Democrats and independents are much more opposed paying for the war with cuts in domestic spending, and are somewhat more opposed to adding to the deficit. And fewer Republicans would choose to postpone the tax cuts as their first option. But overall, partisan differences are not dramatic. A majority of Republicans (55%) are willing to see the tax cuts as at least part of the source of the funding; at the same time, about one-third of Democrats (35%) are opposed to delaying or reducing the tax cuts.

Skepticism about the President’s Iraq Plan

Despite the belief that the war in Iraq was the right decision, a majority of the public now believes that the president does not have a clear plan for bringing the situation there to a successful conclusion. An even larger majority believes he has not explained his plans clearly.

Just a third of Americans (32%) say the president has a clear plan; 58% think he does not. These opinions are strongly shaped by partisanship: a solid majority of Republicans (58%) saying he does have a plan, while only 18% of Democrats agree. Independents are closer to Democrats in this judgment. Only three-in-ten independents say the president has a clear plan for a successful conclusion.

Partisan differences are also evident on the question of how well the president has communicated with the nation about his plans. Yet even Republicans, most of whom say the president has a plan, are divided over whether he has explained his plans clearly (46% say yes, 46% no).

Majority Believes Bush Has No Clear Plans for Iraq End Game				
<i>Clear plan for successful conclusion?</i>	<u>All</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %
Has a clear plan	32	58	30	18
Does not	58	35	59	76
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Explained plan clearly?</i>				
Explained clearly	30	46	29	15
Not clearly	63	46	65	79
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,500 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period September 17 - 22, 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 either Form 1 (N=757) or Form 2 (N=743), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 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.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing one or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. The use of replicates also insures that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate. Again, this works to increase the representativeness of the sample.

At least 10 attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home." If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who is at home." This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 2002). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone. The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
SEPTEMBER 2003 NEWS INTEREST INDEX
FINAL TOPLINE
September 17 - 22, 2003
N=1,500

Q.1 THROUGH Q.29 HELD FOR RELEASE

Now thinking about Iraq...

Q.30 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

		Early					----- March 2003 -----				Late
		Aug	July	---- April ----							Jan
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>10-16</u>	<u>8-9</u>	<u>2-7</u>	<u>28-4/1</u>	<u>25-27</u>	<u>23-24</u>	<u>20-22</u>	<u>1991</u>
63	Right decision	63	67	74	74	72	69	74	74	71	77
31	Wrong decision	30	24	19	19	20	25	21	21	22	15
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.31 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

		Early					--- March 2003 ---			
		Aug	July	---- April ----						
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>10-16</u>	<u>8-9</u>	<u>2-7</u>	<u>25-4/1</u>	<u>23-24</u>	<u>20-22</u>	
15	Very well	19	23	61	60	55	39	45	65	
47	Fairly well	43	52	32	32	37	46	41	25	
26	Not too well	24	16	3	3	3	8	6	2	
9	Not at all well	11	5	1	3	2	2	2	1	
<u>3</u>	DK/Ref.	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Q.32 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

IF "KEEP TROOPS IN IRAQ" (1 IN Q.32) ASK:

Q.33 Do you think more coalition troops are needed in Iraq right now, or do you think there are already enough troops there to do the job?

64	Keep troops in Iraq
34	More troops needed
25	Have enough there to do the job
*	Reduce number of troops (VOL.)
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
32	Bring troops home
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

Q.34F1 Do you favor or oppose the United Nations playing a significant role in establishing a stable government in Iraq?

IF FAVOR UN ROLE (“1” IN Q.34F1) ASK:

Q.35F1 Who should have the most say in establishing a stable government in Iraq... the United States and its military allies or the United Nations?

		April 8-16 <u>2003¹</u>	April 8-9 <u>2003</u>
70	Favor	64	62
22	United States and its allies	19	18
44	United Nations	39	38
2	Both (VOL.)	3	2
1	Neither (VOL.)	2	2
1	Don't know/Refused	1	2
22	Oppose	31	31
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Q.36F2 In order to get other countries to provide more troops, should the U.S. give up some control of military decisions in Iraq to the United Nations, ...OR should the U.S. and its current allies retain full control of military decisions in Iraq, even if it means fewer countries provide troops?

51	Give up some control
42	Maintain full control
<u>7</u>	Don't know
100	

Q.37F1 As you may know, George W. Bush has requested an additional 87 billion dollars from Congress for military and rebuilding costs in Iraq and Afghanistan. Do you favor or oppose this additional spending?

Q.38F2 As you may know, George W. Bush has requested a large amount from Congress for military and rebuilding costs in Iraq and Afghanistan. Do you favor or oppose this additional spending?

Combined		Q37F1 “\$87 billion <u>dollars</u> ”	Q38F2 “A large <u>amount</u> ”
<u>Net</u>			
37	Favor	36	39
57	Oppose	59	55
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100

¹ In April 2003 the question was worded: “Would you favor or oppose the United Nations playing a significant role in establishing a stable government in Iraq after the war?”

ASK ALL:

Q.39 **[FORM 2 LEAD WITH:** The president’s request was for 87 billion dollars.] Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for the cost of the war and reconstruction? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

		Aug 2003 ²	Late March 2003	Feb 2003	Feb 2002
19	Add to the budget deficit	15	20	23	24
18	Reduce spending on domestic programs [OR]	23	16	21	22
41	Postpone or reduce last year’s tax cuts	41	40	40	42
7	None (VOL)	4	5	1	2
1	Two of them, or all three (VOL)	1	1	1	*
3	Other (VOL)	4	5	2	1
<u>11</u>	Don’t know/Refused	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100

IF NOT ‘3’ IN Q.39 ASK:

Q.40a Would you be willing to see the government postpone or reduce last year’s tax cuts to help pay for the cost of the war and reconstruction, or would you be opposed to this?

BASED ON TOTAL [N=1500]:

(41)	BEST way to pay (3 in Q.39)
16	Willing to see
38	Opposed to
<u>5</u>	Don’t know/Refused
100	

IF NOT ‘1’ IN Q.39 ASK:

Q.40b Would you be willing to see the government add to the budget deficit to help pay for the cost of the war and reconstruction, or would you be opposed to this?

BASED ON TOTAL [N=1500]:

(19)	BEST way to pay (1 in Q.39)
20	Willing to see
55	Opposed to
<u>6</u>	Don’t know/Refused
100	

IF NOT ‘2’ IN Q.39 ASK:

Q.40c Would you be willing to see the government reduce spending on domestic programs to help pay for the cost of the war and reconstruction, or would you be opposed to this?

BASED ON TOTAL [N=1500]:

(18)	BEST way to pay (2 in Q.39)
13	Willing to see
64	Opposed to
<u>5</u>	Don’t know/Refused
100	

² In August 2003 the question was worded: “Over the past year, the budget for military defense and homeland security has been increasing. Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for these increases?” In Late March 2003 the question was worded: “Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for the cost of the war in Iraq?” In February 2003 and 2002 the question was worded: “As you may know, President Bush has proposed large increases in the budget for military defense and homeland security. Which one of the following do you think is the BEST way to pay for these increases, if they are to happen?”

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

Q.41F1 Do you think George W. Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

32	Has a clear plan
58	Doesn't have a clear plan
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Q.42F2 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly his plans for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or do you think he has not explained his plans clearly enough?

		March <u>2003</u> ³	Feb <u>2003</u>	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> Aug <u>1990</u> ⁴
30	Explained clearly	49	53	42	48	48	52	37	50
63	Not clearly	47	40	53	45	45	37	52	41
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	4	7	5	7	7	11	11	9
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.43 Do you think President Bush should have waited to get more of our major allies to join us before taking military action in Iraq, or do you think he was right to use military force when he did?

		April <u>2003</u>
42	Should have waited	28
53	Right to use force when he did	65
1	Should not have done it at all (VOL.)	2
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5
100		100

Q.44 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

		May <u>2003</u>	April <u>2003</u> ⁵	Early Oct <u>2002</u>
54	Helped	65	63	52
31	Hurt	22	22	34
7	No effect (VOL.)	6	--	--
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	7	15	14
100		100	100	100

³ From 2002 through March 2003, the question was worded: "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?"

⁴ 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 ..."

⁵ In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?" In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

Q.45F1 Based on what you've seen and read, are MOST of the Iraqi people happy Saddam Hussein has been removed from power, or do MOST wish he were still in power?

79	Most are happy Saddam has been removed
10	Most wish he were still in power
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Q.46F2 Based on what you've seen and read, do MOST people in Iraq support or do most oppose America's current policies in Iraq?

39	Support
47	Oppose
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.47 So far, has the U.S. suffered more casualties in Iraq than you expected before the war began, or fewer casualties than you expected?

42	More than expected
49	Fewer than expected
4	About as expected (VOL.)
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

FOR COMPARISON ONLY:

From what you have heard or read, what's your impression of what a war with Iraq would be like? Do you think the U.S. will suffer a large number of casualties, or do you think there will be relatively few American casualties?

Early Oct	
<u>2002</u>	
40	A large number of U.S. casualties
50	Relatively few American casualties
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.48 In re-building Iraq, how good a job are the U.S. and its allies doing in taking into account the needs and interests of the Iraqi people? Is the coalition doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job in taking into consideration the interests and needs of the Iraqi people?

		<u>May 2003</u>
9	Excellent	18
36	Good	41
35	Only fair	26
11	Poor	6
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL)	<u>9</u>
100		100

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

Q.49F2 How worried are you that [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] – a great deal, a fair amount, or not much? ...
 How worried are you that [INSERT NEXT ITEM, REPEAT RESPONSE CATEGORIES FOR EACH ITEM]?

		A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Not Much	DK/ Ref.
a.F2	U.S. forces might sustain a lot more casualties	43	36	19	2=100
	March 28-April 1, 2003 ⁶	47	36	15	2=100
	March 25-27, 2003	44	39	16	1=100
	March 23-24, 2003	43	36	20	1=100
	March 20-22, 2003	35	35	28	2=100
	February, 2003	55	25	18	2=100
	Late October, 2002	52	28	18	2=100
	Late January, 1991	57	30	12	1=100
b.F2	U.S. troops will be involved in the Mideast for years to come	42	36	20	2=100
	March 28-April 1, 2003	42	37	19	2=100
	March 25-27, 2003	37	37	24	2=100
	March 23-24, 2003	37	34	27	2=100
	March 20-22, 2003	33	34	29	4=100
	Late January, 1991	38	30	29	3=100
c.F2	The presence of U.S. forces in Iraq increases the risk of another terrorist attack in the U.S.	28	29	41	2=100
	March 28-April 1, 2003 ⁷	39	43	17	1=100
	March 25-27, 2003	40	37	23	*=100
	March 23-24, 2003	34	42	23	1=100
	March 20-22, 2003	35	38	25	2=100
	February, 2003	57	25	16	2=100
	Late October, 2002	51	26	20	3=100
	Late January, 1991	33	38	28	1=100
d.F2	The war will cause a long-term rift between the U.S. and its allies	24	33	40	3=100
	April 8-9, 2003 ⁸	15	29	52	4=100
e.F2	The cost of the war in Iraq is difficult for us to afford	43	34	22	1=100
	April 10-16, 2003	33	38	27	2=100
	April 8-9, 2003 ⁹	34	32	32	2=100

⁶ In April 2003 and earlier, the question was worded: "U.S. forces might sustain a lot of casualties."

⁷ In April and March 2003 and 1991 the question was worded: "Terrorists might strike within the U.S." In February 2003 and Late October 2002 the item was worded: "This might increase the chances of a terrorist attack within the U.S."

⁸ In April 2003 the question was worded: "The war will cause a major rift between the U.S. and its allies."

⁹ In April 2003 the question was worded: "... will be difficult..."

FORM 1 ONLY [N=757]:

And beyond Iraq...

Q.50F1 How well is the military effort to destroy the terrorist groups in Afghanistan going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

		Late ¹⁰		Early	Oct	Oct
		Aug	Jan	Nov	15-21	10-14
		<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>
11	Very well	22	38	30	38	45
51	Fairly well	43	51	45	45	35
23	Not too well	18	6	12	9	6
7	Not at all well	4	3	4	2	4
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

FORM 2 ONLY [N=743]:

And beyond Iraq...

Q.51F2 How much of a danger is the current government in North Korea to stability in Asia and world peace? A great danger, moderate danger, small danger or no danger at all?

		May	Nov
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>
35	Great danger	38	21
41	Moderate danger	39	44
13	Small danger	11	15
5	No danger at all	5	4
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>7</u>	<u>16</u>
100		100	100

¹⁰ In 2002 and 2001 the question wording did not include "in Afghanistan."