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**Clinton Ratings Dip**  
**CONTINUED PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR KOSOVO, BUT WORRIES GROW**

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## **Clinton Ratings Dip**

### **CONTINUED PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR KOSOVO, BUT WORRIES GROW**

Americans remain supportive of military action in Yugoslavia, but unease about the situation is growing. A solid majority of the public continues to approve of NATO air strikes against Serbia. Humanitarian concern for the plight of the Kosovars is broad, and only a minority of Americans say that U.S. military involvement in the Balkans is taking too much attention away from domestic concerns. However, the public is increasingly worried about the financial costs and doubts the long run effectiveness of NATO efforts in Yugoslavia. In addition, increased criticism of President Clinton's handling of foreign policy is contributing to a decline in his job approval ratings.

Support for U.S. participation in NATO air attacks in the Balkans stands at 62%, a level almost identical to that found in a Pew Research Center survey conducted during the first week of the conflict. However, the new poll finds more people *very worried* that U.S. troops might suffer casualties (66% compared to 55% in March) and an even greater increase in concern about the financial costs of sending troops (38% compared to 21%). Nearly two-thirds (63%) are also very worried that American forces could be involved in Kosovo for a long time.

Echoing these concerns, 53% of Americans say that the air strikes are making the Serbs less likely to agree to a peace plan, and 52% say the attacks will not secure Serbian support for a peace agreement even over the long run. Two-thirds of the public believes ground troops will be needed, but nearly three-quarters say it is very important that Clinton get congressional approval for such action.

The situation in Yugoslavia is taking a toll on opinion of Bill Clinton. Approval of his handling of foreign policy slipped to 51% from 56% in mid-March, and his job approval rating fell to 56% from 62% over that period. This is Clinton's lowest approval rating since June 1997, and all of the recent decline has occurred among those who disagree with his stewardship of foreign affairs. These are the principal findings of a new nationwide Pew Research Center survey conducted April 15-18, 1999.

#### **The Conflict in Kosovo**

	March 1999	April 1999
<i>Air strikes ...</i>	%	%
Approve	60	62
Disapprove	29	29
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100
<i>Very serious problem for the U.S. ...</i>		
Conflict in Kosovo	38	57
<i>Very worried ...</i>		
U.S. troops might suffer casualties	55	66
About financial cost of sending troops	21	38

**Public Divides Over Troops, Wants Congressional Approval**

Although majorities support the air war against the Serbs, the issue of ground troops divides Americans — so much so that opinion shifts with small changes in question phrasing. The public divides evenly (47% in favor and 48% opposed) when asked about sending U.S. ground troops to Kosovo, if the air strikes do not stop Serbian attacks there. But when the same question is reinforced with the phrase "to try to end the conflict in Kosovo," a narrow 51%-42% consensus emerges in favor of ground troops.

Support for both air strikes and ground troops is generally higher among men than women. Two-thirds (67%) of men support the air campaign, for instance, compared to 57% of women. The air strikes continue to draw majority support across party lines — 66% of Democrats, 64% of Independents, and 57% of Republicans say they support the bombings.

Despite the divide over sending ground troops to Kosovo, 65% of Americans think ground forces *will* be required because the air strikes alone will not force the Serbians to agree to a peace plan. And if U.S. ground troops are sent to Kosovo, 72% of Americans say it is *very important* that Clinton get approval from Congress first. Even among rank-and-file Democrats, 69% say Clinton should get congressional approval before sending in ground troops. An equally-large majority of all Americans (72%) say it is very important that Clinton get congressional approval to continue bombing, if the air strikes continue for at least several more weeks.

Indeed, concerns about both the risk of casualties and the financial costs of sending ground troops to Kosovo have increased substantially since the first week of the bombing. Two-thirds of Americans (66%) now say they are very worried that U.S. troops might suffer casualties in Kosovo, up from 55% in March. The increase in concern about both issues is sharper among Republicans and Independents than among Democrats. Today, 72% of Republicans say they are very worried about troop casualties, up from 57% in March.

	March 1999	April 1999
<i>Percent very worried about...</i>	%	%
U.S. troop casualties	55	66
Long-term commitment	--	63
Cost of sending troops	21	38
Relations with Russia	--	28

### ***Concerns About Killings in Kosovo***

Despite concern about the use of U.S. ground troops, Americans acknowledge the importance of trying to end the fighting in Yugoslavia. Nearly seven-in-ten (69%) say preventing the killing of Kosovo citizens is a *very important* reason for using U.S. troops in the region. Smaller majorities rate as very important ending starvation and a refugee problem (59%) and preventing a larger war in the region (56%). These numbers are essentially unchanged from the first week of the air strikes.

Some 46% of Americans say they are very worried about the conditions in which Albanian refugees are living. Nearly as many people express concern about the Serbian attacks on ethnic Albanians (44%) and the Serbian civilians who are being hurt or killed in air strikes (40%). Less than one-third (28%) are very worried about the impact of the Albanian refugees on other countries in the region. Women tend to express more concern than men about the refugees and victims. For example, 50% of women say they are very worried about the conditions in which the refugees are living, compared to 41% of men.

### ***Will the Bombing Work?***

Americans have begun to question the effectiveness of the air strikes. More than half (53%) say the bombings have made the Serbs less likely to agree to a peace plan, while 34% say the bombing has made the Serbs more likely to agree. Even looking ahead, 52% of Americans doubt the strikes will make the Serbs agree to a peace plan in the end.

<b>Will Air Strikes Bring Peace?</b>			
	<u>More Likely</u> %	<u>Less Likely</u> %	<u>Other/DK</u> %
<i>Air strikes are making peace agreement ...</i>	34	53	13=100
<i>In the end, air strikes will make peace agreement...</i>	35	52	13=100

With Clinton's overall job approval rating slipping to 56%, the president gets mixed grades for the way he has explained why U.S. and NATO forces are attacking the Serbs. Some 50% say Clinton has explained the situation well enough so they understand the reasons for the attacks, while 43% say he has not.

Similarly, 51% of Americans approve of Clinton's handling of the nation's foreign policy, while 39% do not. Notably, this is linked to the decline in Clinton's overall job approval. Among those who approve of his foreign policy, there has been no change in job approval. However, among those who disapprove of Clinton's foreign policy, there has been a 5 percentage point drop in Clinton job approval since March.

***Increased Concern over Kosovo***

As NATO enters its fifth week of bombing, the number of people who are concerned about the situation in Kosovo has increased sharply: 57% say that ethnic conflict in the province is a very serious problem for the U.S., up from 38% late last month. About the same number say Saddam Hussein’s presence in Iraq is a very serious problem, although worries over the testing of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan and China’s alleged theft of U.S. nuclear technology top the list of what makes Americans anxious — 65% of the public say each is a very serious problem confronting the U.S.

	March <u>1999</u>	April <u>1999</u>
<i>Very serious problem for the U.S.</i>	%	%
Nuclear weapons testing in		
India and Pakistan	68	65
Allegations China stole		
U.S. nuclear technology	68	65
Saddam Hussein in Iraq	58	59
<b>Ethnic conflict in Kosovo</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>57</b>

A solid 59% majority of Americans say that it is important for the United States to pay a lot of attention to the situation in Kosovo. Only 35% feel that U.S. efforts to end the fighting are taking too much attention away from domestic issues.

***No Kosovo Overload***

American interest in NATO air strikes remains high: 41% of the public says they are following the story very closely, a number little changed from the 43% who followed it late last month. Americans express even greater interest in news about the three U.S. soldiers captured near Kosovo, with 47% saying they are following these stories very closely. Men express equal interest in both stories (50% and 52%, respectively), whereas women are more interested in news about the captive soldiers (42%) than about the air strikes (32%).

By and large, the public is satisfied with the amount of coverage the news media are giving the conflict in Kosovo: 67% say the military attacks are receiving the right amount of attention, just 21% say that it is getting too much and an even smaller minority (8%) saying it is getting too little.

	First <u>Choice</u>	Second <u>Choice</u>
<i>Pictures and stories</i>	%	%
<i>catching most attention?</i>		
Three U.S. soldiers	35	29
Refugees leaving Kosovo	30	26
Victims of violence	24	25
Air strikes and damage	8	15
Don’t know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100

News about the three captured U.S. soldiers garnered the most public interest: 35% say pictures and stories about the three soldiers caught their attention most. Pictures and stories about the refugees leaving Kosovo and of the victims of violence in the region were the most compelling to slightly fewer Americans (30% and 26%, respectively). And only 8% say that their attention was caught most by pictures and stories about the air attacks and damage in Serbia.

Few in the public have heard or read anything that candidates for the 2000 presidential race have said about the situation in Kosovo. Only one-in-ten people say they have read or heard about the views of Al Gore, Dan Quayle, George W. Bush, Elizabeth Dole, or Patrick Buchanan on Kosovo. The number is higher for John McCain: 17% are aware of his statements on the topic.

Among those who are aware of candidate statements on Kosovo, many more agree than disagree with them. Two exceptions involve statements by Dan Quayle and Patrick Buchanan: Support for their statements is divided, with as many Americans disagreeing as agreeing with their views.

Americans' knowledge of the region has increased over the past month. Today, 66% are able to correctly identify Kosovo as the province in Yugoslavia where there is conflict between Serbians and ethnic Albanians, compared to only 42% who could do so at the outset of the bombing.

### ***Other News***

In domestic news, reports about the sentencing of Dr. Jack Kevorkian to 10 to 25 years in prison garnered the very close attention of 22% of the public. Many more senior citizens followed the story very closely than did those under 65 (41% vs 18%).

Similarly, 20% of the public says that they paid very close attention to the news of an Arkansas judge holding President Clinton in contempt of court for his testimony in the Paula Jones lawsuit. Interest was higher among Republicans than among Democrats or Independents (29% vs. 16% and 19%, respectively).

**PERCENT FOLLOWING EACH  
NEWS STORY "VERY CLOSELY"**

	Capture Of U.S. Soldiers	Ethnic Conflict In Kosovo	Kevorkian Sentencing	Clinton Ruling	(N)
	%	%	%	%	
<i>Total</i>	47	41	22	20	(1000)
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	52	50	24	24	(481)
Female	42	32	21	17	(519)
<i>Race</i>					
White	48	41	23	21	(823)
*Hispanic	48	31	15	11	(64)
Black	34	32	15	15	(112)
<i>Age</i>					
Under 30	40	33	14	14	(222)
30-49	45	39	15	16	(375)
50+	53	47	34	28	(395)
<i>Education</i>					
College Grad.	49	51	21	25	(297)
Some College	44	39	20	20	(258)
High School Grad	50	36	24	20	(354)
< H. S. Grad.	38	38	21	15	(89)
<i>Region</i>					
East	50	44	25	22	(199)
Midwest	43	36	23	15	(236)
South	49	42	20	22	(344)
West	44	40	23	22	(221)
<i>Party ID</i>					
Republican	53	43	23	29	(284)
Democrat	44	41	25	16	(349)
Independent	44	40	18	19	(301)

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.

\* The designation, Hispanic, is unrelated to the white-black categorization. Note small sample size.

## PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL

March 1999 vs. April 1999

	----- March 1999 -----		----- April 1999 -----		Change in <u>Approval</u>
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	62	31	56	38	-6
<b>Sex</b>					
Male	61	33	54	42	-7
Female	62	30	58	34	-4
<b>Race</b>					
White	58	35	52	42	-6
Non-white	84	10	81	11	-3
Black	88	7	85	8	-3
<b>Race and Sex</b>					
White Men	58	36	50	46	-8
White Women	58	34	55	37	-3
<b>Age</b>					
Under 30	61	32	56	37	-5
30-49	62	31	55	39	-7
50-64	61	33	62	35	+1
65+	63	31	51	39	-12
<b>Education</b>					
College Grad.	56	38	53	43	-3
Some College	64	30	57	39	-7
High School Grad.	62	31	58	34	-4
<H.S. Grad.	67	25	54	37	-13
<b>Family Income</b>					
\$75,000+	52	44	57	42	+5
\$50,000-\$74,999	64	32	52	45	-12
\$30,000-\$49,999	64	31	56	38	-8
\$20,000-\$29,999	67	29	58	35	-9
<\$20,000	62	29	61	31	-1

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

Continued ...



	----- March 1999 -----		----- April 1999 -----		Change in <u>Approval</u>
	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	62	31	56	38	-6
<b>Region</b>					
East	67	26	61	35	-6
Midwest	65	28	55	40	-10
South	57	36	56	36	-1
West	61	33	52	41	-9
<b>Party ID</b>					
Republican	34	59	29	66	-5
Democrat	88	7	81	13	-7
Independent	61	32	54	40	-7
<b>Clinton Foreign Policy Approval</b>					
Approve	85	11	85	11	0
Disapprove	26	69	21	75	-5
<b>Air Strikes</b>					
Approve	70	25	65	30	-5
Disapprove	46	49	41	52	-5
<b>Worried about...</b>					
U.S. troops might suffer casualties					
Worried	61	33	54	39	-7
Not Worried	69	25	60	34	-9
Financial cost of U.S. troops					
Worried	60	34	51	42	-9
Not Worried	65	29	64	28	-1

## **ABOUT THIS SURVEY**

Results for the main survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,000 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period April 15-18, 1999. For results 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 3.5 percentage points. For results based on either Form 1 (N=500) or Form 2 (N=500), the sampling error is plus or minus 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.

## 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 three 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 five 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 1996). 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**  
**KOSOVO NEWS INTEREST INDEX**  
**— FINAL TOPLINE —**  
**April 15-18, 1999**  
**N=1,000**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
April, 1999	56	38	6=100
March, 1999	62	31	7=100
February, 1999	64	30	6=100
Mid-January, 1999	66	29	5=100
January, 1999	63	30	7=100
Late December, 1998	71	27	2=100
Early December, 1998	61	32	7=100
November, 1998	65	29	6=100
September 21-22, 1998	62	33	5=100
September 19-20, 1998	55	36	9=100
Early September, 1998	61	33	6=100
Late August, 1998	62	32	6=100
Early August, 1998	63	28	9=100
June, 1998	59	32	9=100
May, 1998	62	28	10=100
April, 1998	62	28	10=100
March, 1998	65	26	9=100
Early February, 1998	71	26	3=100
January, 1998	61	30	9=100
November, 1997	58	31	11=100
September, 1997	58	29	13=100
August, 1997	59	32	9=100
June, 1997	54	34	12=100
May, 1997	57	34	9=100
April, 1997	55	34	11=100
February, 1997	60	32	8=100
Early February, 1997	57	30	13=100
January, 1997	59	31	10=100
November, 1996	57	34	9=100
July, 1996	54	38	8=100
June, 1996	54	38	8=100
April, 1996	53	39	8=100
March, 1996	55	38	7=100
February, 1996	51	39	10=100
January, 1996	50	43	7=100
October, 1995	48	42	10=100
September, 1995	45	42	13=100
August, 1995	44	44	12=100
June, 1995	50	40	10=100
April, 1995	47	43	10=100
March, 1995	44	44	12=100

**Q.1 CONTINUED ...**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
February, 1995	44	44	12=100
December, 1994	41	47	12=100
November, 1994	48	40	12=100
October, 1994	41	47	12=100
Early October, 1994	38	47	15=100
September, 1994	41	52	7=100
July, 1994	45	46	9=100
June, 1994	42	44	14=100
May, 1994	46	42	12=100
March, 1994	45	42	13=100
January, 1994	51	35	14=100
Early January, 1994	48	35	17=100
December, 1993	48	36	16=100
October, 1993	44	42	14=100
September, 1993	49	35	16=100
Early September, 1993	43	43	14=100
August, 1993	39	46	15=100
May, 1993	39	43	18=100
Early May, 1993	45	37	18=100
April, 1993	49	29	22=100
February, 1993	56	25	19=100

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the nation's foreign policy? **[IF DON'T KNOW, ENTER AS DON'T KNOW. IF "DEPENDS", PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the nation's foreign policy? IF STILL DEPENDS, ENTER AS DON'T KNOW]**

		March	Sept	Sept	Jan	June	Oct	July	Oct	Sept	Aug	Newsweek
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>6/30-7/1</u>
		<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>
51	Approve	56	61	54	52	39	50	38	39	47	52	49
39	Disapprove	34	30	34	39	52	42	53	46	33	25	35
<u>10</u>	DK/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>16</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.3 Do you happen to know the name of the province in Yugoslavia where there is conflict between Serbians and ethnic Albanians? **(IF YES, ASK: Which province?)**

		<u>March 1999</u>
66	Kosovo	42
7	All other answers	8
<u>27</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>50</u>
100		100

Q.4 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 ITEMS]**

		Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	(VOL) <u>DK</u>
a.	NATO air strikes against Serbian forces	41	37	16	6	0=100
	March, 1999 <sup>1</sup>	43	32	15	9	1=100
	February, 1999 <sup>2</sup>	11	30	28	30	1=100
	Mid-January, 1999 <sup>3</sup>	9	21	24	44	2=100
	March, 1998 <sup>4</sup>	5	12	26	55	2=100
b.	The capture of three U.S. soldiers near Kosovo, Serbia	47	37	11	5	0=100
c.	The ruling by an Arkansas judge holding President Clinton in contempt of court for giving false testimony in the Paula Jones lawsuit	20	31	29	20	*=100
d.	The sentencing of Dr. Jack Kevorkian to 10 to 25 years in prison	22	34	26	18	0=100

**[ NO QUESTION 5 ]**

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<sup>1</sup> In March 1999, the story was listed "NATO air strikes against Serbian forces in Kosovo."

<sup>2</sup> In February 1999, the story was listed "NATO efforts to end ethnic conflict in Kosovo, Serbia."

<sup>3</sup> In Mid-January, the story was listed as "The massacre of 45 people in Kosovo, Serbia."

<sup>4</sup> In March 1998, the story was listed as "Ethnic conflict in Kosovo, Serbia."

**ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**

Q.6 Now I'm going to read a list of things that have been happening around the world. For each one, please tell me how serious a problem it is for the United States — very serious, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not at all serious. How serious a problem is ...**(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)** — very serious, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not at all serious?

		<u>Very Serious</u>	<u>Somewhat Serious</u>	<u>Not too Serious</u>	<u>Not at all Serious</u>	<u>DK/Refused</u>
a.	Allegations that China stole nuclear technology from the United States	65	21	8	3	3=100
	March, 1999	68	22	5	1	4=100
b.	The presence of Saddam Hussein in Iraq	59	27	10	2	2=100
	March, 1999	58	28	7	4	3=100

**ASKED ITEM (c) THURSDAY ONLY: [N=234]**

c.	Ethnic conflict in Kosovo	65	22	9	*	4=100
	March, 1999	38	35	12	6	9=100
d.	The testing of nuclear weapons in India and Pakistan	65	23	8	1	3=100
	March, 1999	68	23	4	1	4=100

**ASKED ITEM (e) FRIDAY-SUNDAY ONLY: [N=766]**

e.	Conflict between Serbians and ethnic Albanians in Kosovo	57	27	10	4	2=100
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Q.7 Do you approve or disapprove of NATO forces, including the United States, conducting air strikes against Serbia to force the Serbs to agree to the terms of the peace agreement and end the fighting in Kosovo?

		<u>March 1999</u>
62	Approve	60
29	Disapprove	29
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>
100		100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=500]**

Q.8 If the air strikes do not stop Serbian military attacks in Kosovo, would you favor or oppose sending U.S. ground troops to Kosovo along with troops from other NATO countries?

47	Favor
48	Oppose
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=500]**

Q.9 If the air strikes do not stop Serbian military attacks in Kosovo, would you favor or oppose sending U.S. ground troops to Kosovo along with troops from other NATO countries to try to end the conflict in Kosovo?

51 Favor  
42 Oppose  
7 Don't know/Refused  
100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.10 Do you think the air strikes WILL be enough to make Yugoslav president Milosevic comply fully with the peace plan, OR do you think NATO ground forces WILL be required?

		----- Newsweek -----		
		<u>4/8-9/99</u>	<u>4/1-2/99</u>	<u>3-25-26/99</u>
19	Air strikes will be enough	15	12	21
65	Ground forces will be required	71	71	60
<u>16</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>19</u>
100		100	100	100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=500]**

Q.11 If the air strikes against Serbia continue for at least several more weeks, in your opinion how important is it that President Clinton get the approval of Congress to continue the military action in Kosovo — very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?

72 Very important  
19 Somewhat important  
5 Not too important  
3 Not at all important  
1 Don't know/Refused  
100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=500]**

Q.12 If U.S. ground troops are required to stop the Serbian military attacks in Kosovo , in your opinion how important is it that President Clinton get the approval of Congress before sending U.S. troops to Kosovo — very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?

72 Very important  
17 Somewhat important  
5 Not too important  
4 Not at all important  
2 Don't know/Refused  
100



**ASK ALL:**

Q.13 Do you think Bill Clinton has explained the situation well enough so that you feel you understand why the United States and its NATO allies have launched air strikes against Serbian military targets, or hasn't he?

				----- CBS News -----	
		<u>3/28/99</u>		<u>3/24/99</u>	
50	Clinton has explained situation well enough	41		50	
43	Clinton has not explained situation well enough	45		33	
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u>		<u>17</u>	
100		100		100	

Q.14a From what you've heard or read, do you think the NATO air strikes in Yugoslavia are making the Serbs more likely to agree to a peace agreement, or less likely to agree to a peace agreement?

34	Making Serbs more likely to agree to peace
53	Making Serbs less likely to agree to peace
4	<b>(VOL)</b> No difference
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.14b Looking ahead, in the end do you think the NATO air strikes in Yugoslavia will make the Serbs agree to a peace agreement, or don't you think the strikes will make the Serbs agree to a peace agreement?

35	Will make Serbs agree to peace
52	Will not make Serbs agree to peace
2	<b>(VOL)</b> No difference
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.15 Do you think U.S. efforts to end the fighting in Kosovo are taking too much attention away from domestic concerns here in the United States, OR do you think it's important for the U.S. to pay a lot of attention to the situation in Kosovo now?

35	Efforts are taking too much attention away from domestic concerns
59	Important for the U.S. to pay a lot of attention to the situation in Kosovo
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.16 Here are some reasons being given for using U.S. troops to help secure peace in Kosovo, Serbia. For each one, please tell me whether, in your opinion, it is a very important reason, a somewhat important reason, a not too important reason, or not at all important reason for the use of U.S. troops. How about... **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)** — is this a very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important reason for the use of U.S. troops?

		<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Somewhat Important</u>	<u>Not too Important</u>	<u>Not at all Important</u>	<u>DK/ Refused</u>
a.	To prevent a larger war involving other countries in that part of Europe	56	24	11	7	2=100
	March, 1999	53	29	9	6	3=100
b.	To prevent the killing of citizens in Kosovo	69	19	6	5	1=100
	March, 1999 <sup>5</sup>	67	21	4	6	2=100
c.	To end starvation and a major refugee problem in that region	59	26	8	5	2=100
	March, 1999 <sup>6</sup>	56	29	6	6	3=100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=500]**

Q.17 How worried are you **(INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS)** — very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?

		<u>Very Worried</u>	<u>Somewhat Worried</u>	<u>Not too Worried</u>	<u>Not at all Worried</u>	<u>DK/ Refused</u>
a.	That U.S. troops in Kosovo might suffer casualties	66	25	5	3	1=100
	March, 1999	55	31	9	3	2=100
b.	About the financial cost of sending U.S. troops to Kosovo	38	35	16	11	*=100
	March, 1999	21	33	26	17	3=100
c.	That U.S. troops could be involved in Kosovo for a long time	63	25	9	3	*=100
d.	That U.S. attacks against Serbian forces are hurting our relations with Russia	28	31	21	18	2=100

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<sup>5</sup> March 1999 trend was worded, “To prevent the killing of innocent citizens in Kosovo.”

<sup>6</sup> March 1999 trend was worded, “To prevent starvation and a major refugee problem in that region.”

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=500]**

Q.18 How worried are you (**INSERT ITEM; ROTATE ITEMS**) — very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?

		<u>Very Worried</u>	<u>Somewhat Worried</u>	<u>Not too Worried</u>	<u>Not at all Worried</u>	<u>DK/ Refused</u>
a.	That Serbian civilians are being hurt or killed by U.S. and NATO air strikes	40	38	16	5	1=100
b.	About the attacks on ethnic Albanians by Serbian forces in Kosovo	44	39	10	4	3=100
c.	About the impact of ethnic Albanian refugees on other countries in the region	28	44	18	7	3=100
d.	About the conditions in which ethnic Albanian refugees are living	46	41	8	3	2=100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.19 Thinking about the news coverage of the situation in Yugoslavia, which pictures and stories have caught your attention most — (**READ LIST; ROTATE ITEMS**)

Q.19a And after that, which pictures and stories have caught your attention the next most — (**READ LIST except item selected in Q.19; ROTATE ITEMS**)

<u>First Choice</u>	<u>Second Choice</u>	
30	26	Pictures and stories about the refugees leaving Kosovo;
8	15	Pictures and stories about the air attacks and damage in Serbia;
24	25	Pictures and stories about the victims of violence in Kosovo;
35	29	Pictures and stories about the three captured U.S. soldiers
<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	

- Q.20 Have you read or heard anything about what **(INSERT NAME; ROTATE ITEMS)** has said concerning U.S. and NATO efforts to end the fighting in Kosovo?
- Q.21 Overall, do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with what **(REPEAT NAME)** has said concerning U.S. and NATO efforts to end the fighting in Kosovo?

		<b>BASED ON THOSE WHO HEARD/READ:</b>						
		Yes, heard	No,	DK/	Mostly	Mostly	DK/	
		<u>Or Read</u>	<u>Have not</u>	<u>Refused</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
a.	Al Gore	12	87	1=100	59	34	7=100	(137)
b.	John McCain	17	82	1=100	61	25	14=100	(191)
c.	Dan Quayle	10	89	1=100	38	38	24=100	(116)
d.	George W. Bush	11	88	1=100	70	23	7=100	(111)
e.	Elizabeth Dole	12	87	1=100	63	21	16=100	(126)
f.	Patrick Buchanan	10	89	1=100	44	43	13=100	(109)

- Q.22 Do you think the media is giving too MUCH attention to the military attacks in Kosovo, too LITTLE attention, or about the right amount?

21	Too much attention
8	Too little attention
67	About the right amount
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	