

## ARGUMENTS FOR WAR SURVEY

### PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES for KNIGHT-RIDDER NEWSPAPERS

#### FINAL TOPLINE

(1/7/03)

N= 1204 national adults, 18+ (margin of error plus or minus 3 percentage points)

Field period: January 3-6, 2003

*Job #: 22099*

**INTRODUCTION:** Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling for Princeton Survey Research. We're conducting an important national opinion survey about some things in the news for Knight-Ridder newspapers. **READ IF NECESSARY:** This survey is for research purposes ONLY – we're NOT selling anything.

May I please speak with the YOUNGEST MALE age 18 or older, who is now at home? **(IF NO MALE AT HOME NOW:** Then, may I please speak with the OLDEST FEMALE age 18 or older who is now at home) **(REPEAT INTRODUCTION IF RESPONDENT DID NOT ANSWER THE TELEPHONE.)**

NOTES: An asterisk indicates a value of less than .5%. Because percentages are rounded they may not total 100%.

- Q.1 To begin, please tell me whether or not you think each of the following is a serious threat to the security of the United States today. (First,) what about... **(INSERT—READ AND RANDOMIZE)?**

**READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN REPEAT AS NECESSARY:** Do you think they are a serious threat, or not?

	Yes, serious <u>threat</u>	No, not a serious <u>threat</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Al Queda, Osama Bin Laden's organization	90	6	4
b. Iraq	75	19	7
c. Iran	53	36	11
d. North Korea	54	35	11

- Q.2 Which do you think is the **BIGGEST** threat to the security of the United States today? **(ONLY READ CHOICES THAT APPLY)**

- 49 Al Queda (or)
- 21 Iraq (or)
- 13 North Korea (or)
- 4 Iran (or)
- 6 No group/country a serious threat
- 8 Don't know/Refused

- Q.3 Bush Administration military policy calls for attacking countries or groups that threaten the United States **BEFORE** there have been any actual attacks against Americans or U.S. interests. Do you think this policy is a **GOOD THING** because "pre-emptive strikes" are needed to deal with the threats we face after September 11th, or is a **BAD THING** because it goes against American ideals and sets a bad example that would encourage other countries to do the same?

- 45 Good policy
- 43 Bad policy
- 12 Don't know/Refused

- Q.4 Which **ONE** of the following do you think should be the **MOST IMPORTANT** priority for U.S. foreign policy today... **(READ AND ROTATE)**

- 49 The threat posed by Al Queda terrorists
- 27 The threat posed by Iraq
- 12 The threat posed by North Korea
- 11 **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know/Refused

- Q.5 Do you think dealing with **(INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q.4)** should be a bigger priority for the government in Washington than improving the economy, or not?

		Most Important Priority for U.S. Foreign Policy		
<u>Total</u>		<u>Iraq</u>	<u>North Korea</u>	<u>Al Queda</u>
40	Yes, should be bigger priority	52	42	42
39	No, should not	36	52	47
20	Don't know/Refused	12	6	11

- Q.6 Do you think the United States should or should NOT take military action to disarm Iraq and ensure it cannot threaten other countries with nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons?

66 Should  
26 Should not  
8 Don't know/Refused

- Q.7 Do you think the United States should or should NOT take military action to remove Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein from power?

63 Should  
28 Should not  
9 Don't know/Refused

- Q.8 As far as you know, does IRAQ now have... **(INSERT—READ AND ROTATE)**, or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Nuclear weapons	41	24	36
b. Chemical or biological weapons	62	9	29

- Q.9 As far as you know, does NORTH KOREA now have... **(INSERT—READ AND ROTATE)**, or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Nuclear weapons	59	13	28
b. Chemical or biological weapons	46	15	39

Q.10 North Korea has nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and recently revived its nuclear weapons program. Do you think the U.S. should treat North Korea like Iraq and prepare to take immediate military action to disarm the country OR that the North Korea situation should be resolved diplomatically without the use of military force?

- 15 Should prepare for military action
- 79 Should be resolved diplomatically
- 6 Don't know/Refused

Q.11 About 37,000 American military personnel are now stationed in SOUTH Korea. In the near future, which one of the following would you favor for the U.S. forces in South Korea...(READ)

<u>Current</u>	<u>11/00<sup>1</sup></u>
8 Withdraw all American military forces	15
11 Reduce American military forces	30
58 Maintain American military forces as the are now, OR	44
17 Increase American military forces?	6
6 Don't know/Refused	4

Q.12. Returning to the topic of Iraq.... Right now, which ONE of the following do you think is more important for the United States...(READ)

- 27 To move forward QUICKLY with military action as the only way to effectively deal with the threat posed by Iraq
- 68 To take more time to try to achieve our goals in Iraq WITHOUT going to war?
- 5 **(DO NOT READ)**Don't know/Refused

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<sup>1</sup> Trend for Q.11 from Harris Interactive.

Q.13 Please tell me if you would support or oppose U.S. military action against Iraq in each of the following circumstances. (First,) what if... **(INSERT—READ ITEMS IN ORDER)**? (Would you support or oppose U.S. military action in this circumstance?)

	<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. The United States JOINED TOGETHER with its major allies to attack Iraq, with the FULL SUPPORT of the United Nations Security Council	83	13	5
b. The United States and ONE OR TWO of its major allies attacked Iraq, WITHOUT the support of the United Nations	47	45	9
c. The United States ACTED ALONE in attacking Iraq, WITHOUT the support of the United Nations	34	59	7

Q.14a If taking military action against Iraq means keeping U.S. military forces in Iraq for ONE YEAR after the fighting stops to help maintain order and establish a new government; would you support or oppose U.S. military action?

*Based on Form A (n=601)*

80 Would support  
16 Would oppose  
5 Don't know/Refused

Q.14b If taking military action against Iraq means keeping U.S. military forces in Iraq for FIVE YEARS after the fighting stops to help maintain order and establish a new government; would you support or oppose U.S. military action?

*Based on Form B (n=603)*

66 Would support  
26 Would oppose  
7 Don't know/Refused

Q.15 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake in Iraq and 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?

<u>Current</u>	<u>12/02<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>10/02</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>8/02</u>
46 Explained clearly	48	48	52	37
48 Not clearly enough	45	45	37	52
7 Don't know/Refused	7	7	11	11

<sup>2</sup> Trends from Pew Research Center.

Q.16 If Iraq responds to a U.S. attack with chemical or biological weapons, would you support using NUCLEAR WEAPONS against Iraq, or not?

- 46 Yes, would support
- 45 No, would not
- 9 Don't know/Refused

Q.17 What if Iraq attacks ISRAEL with chemical or biological weapons? Do you think Israel would be justified to respond by using nuclear weapons against Iraq?

- 60 Yes, justified
- 30 No, not justified
- 9 Don't know/Refused

Q.18 Please try to answer my next questions about Iraq to the best of your knowledge. But if you're not sure of an answer – that's okay – just tell me and I'll go to the next question. Do you think Iraq and Al Queda – Osama bin Laden's organization – are allied and working together to plan new acts of terrorism, or not?

- 65 Yes
- 16 No
- 19 Don't know/Refused

Q.19 As far as you know, how many of the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist hijackers were Iraqi citizens...(READ)

- 21 Most of them
- 23 Some of them
- 6 Just one
- 17 None
- 33 Don't know/Refused

Q.20 Now thinking about more recent events, please tell me whether – as far as you know— each of the following happened or did NOT happen over the past few months? (First,) as far as you know... **(INSERT--READ ITEMS IN ORDER)**

	Yes, <u>Happened</u>	Did not <u>happen</u>	DK/ <u>Ref</u>
a. Did President Bush win the approval of Congress to use military force against Iraq?	60	15	26
b. Did Iraq agree to allow United Nations weapons inspectors into the country to look for evidence of banned nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons?	85	5	9
c. Did the Bush Administration publicly release evidence that Iraq was involved in the planning and funding of the September 11 <sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks?	23	40	37
d. Did Saddam Hussein publicly threaten to use chemical or biological weapons against Israel if attacked by the United States?	26	25	49

Q.21 Iraq says it no longer has banned nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. Do you think Iraq is probably telling the truth and no longer has such weapons, is probably hiding A FEW banned weapons, or is probably hiding MANY banned weapons?

- 1 Telling the truth
- 26 Hiding a few banned weapons
- 65 Hiding many banned weapons
- 7 Don't know/Refused

Q.22 If Iraq IS hiding banned weapons, how likely do you think it is that the United Nations weapons inspectors there will be able to find them? Is it... **(READ)**

- 4 Very likely
- 28 Somewhat likely
- 40 Not too likely, OR
- 25 Not at all likely
- 3 Don't know/Refused

Q.23 Do you think you have a good understanding of the arguments for and against going to war with Iraq?

- 66 Yes, good understanding
- 31 No, not a good understanding
- 3 Don't know/Refused

**READ INTRO BEFORE ASKING Q.24/25:** We'd like your views on some different arguments for and against war with Iraq... **ROTATE ORDER OF Q.24 & 25 BY FORM. IF FORM A, ASK Q.24-25 IN ORDER. IF FORM B, ASK Q.25 BEFORE Q.24.**

Q.24 (First/Next) please tell me whether you think each of the following is a good reason, or is NOT a good reason FOR going to war with Iraq. What about this possible reason...(INSERT—READ AND RANDOMIZE)? Is this a good reason or NOT a good reason (for going to war with Iraq)?

	<u>Good reason</u>	<u>Not a good reason</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
a. It is necessary to prevent Iraq from developing and using nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons against the United States or our allies	75	20	5
b. It will remove a potential source of support and funding for Al Queda and other terrorists groups	63	30	7
c. It is necessary to protect U.S. oil supplies in the Mideast region	47	49	5
d. Iraq is an immediate threat to Israel, our strongest ally in the region	53	39	8
e. Iraq and Saddam Hussein have a recent history of threatening neighboring countries, such as the 1990 invasion of Kuwait	54	41	5
f. It is necessary to remove a dictator from power who is said to have used chemical or biological weapons against his own people	67	28	5
g. Removing Saddam Hussein from power would encourage other Mideast countries to become more democratic	50	43	6
h. It is necessary to prevent a terrorist attack on the United States that would seriously hurt the U.S. economy	67	28	6



Q.25 (First/Next) please tell me whether you think each of the following is a good reason, or is NOT a good reason AGAINST going to war with Iraq. What about this possible reason...(INSERT—READ AND RANDOMIZE)? Is this a good reason or NOT a good reason (against going to war with Iraq)?

	<u>Good reason</u>	<u>Not a good reason</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
a. It will divert attention and resources from the more important goal of killing or capturing Osama Bin Laden and others responsible for the September 11 <sup>th</sup> attacks	36	55	9
b. There is no proof that Iraq has, or is currently developing nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons	40	50	11
c. It will seriously hurt U.S. relations with our Western allies	39	52	9
d. It will seriously hurt U.S. relations with Arab and Islamic countries	37	53	10
e. It will lead to Iraqi attacks against Israel	35	56	10
f. It will result in many innocent Iraqi civilians being killed or seriously injured	46	48	6
g. It will result in many U.S. military personnel being killed or seriously injured	49	44	6
h. It will seriously hurt the U.S. economy	37	55	7

**DEMOGRAPHICS:****D1. RECORD RESPONDENT'S SEX:**

- 48 Male
- 52 Female

**D2. Finally, I have just a few questions we will use to describe the people who took part in our survey... In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?**

- 29 Republican
- 30 Democrat
- 33 Independent
- 1 Other party (**VOL.**)
- 4 No party/Not interested in politics (**VOL.**)
- 2 Don't know
- 1 Refused

**D3. What is your age?**

- 21 18-29
- 40 30-49
- 22 50-64
- 16 65 and over
- 1 Refused

**D4. What is the LAST grade or class that you COMPLETED in school? (**DO NOT READ**)**

- 2 None, or grade 1 to 8
- 12 High school incomplete (grade 9-11)
- 32 High school graduate
- 5 Business, technical or vocational school after high school
- 24 Some college, but no four-year degree
- 15 College graduate, four-year degree
- 10 Post-graduate or professional schooling after college
- \* Don't know
- \* Refused

- D5. Are you, yourself, of Hispanic or Latino background, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?
- 9 Yes
  - 90 No
  - \* Don't know
  - 1 Refused
- D6. What is your race? Are you white, black, Asian or some other race? **(IF RESPONDENT SAYS HISPANIC ASK: Do you consider yourself a white Hispanic or a black Hispanic? CODE AS WHITE (1) OR BLACK (2). IF RESPONDENTS REFUSED TO PICK WHITE OR BLACK HISPANIC, RECORD HISPANIC AS "OTHER," CODE 4)**
- 81 White
  - 11 Black/African-American
  - 2 Asian
  - 4 Other or mixed race **(SPECIFY)**
  - \* Don't know
  - 1 Refused
- D7. Last year – that is, in 2002, what was your TOTAL household income from all sources, before taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. **(READ)**
- 7 Less than \$10,000
  - 13 \$10,000 to under \$20,000
  - 13 \$20,000 to under \$30,000
  - 20 \$30,000 to under \$50,000
  - 16 \$50,000 to under \$75,000
  - 10 \$75,000 to under \$100,000
  - 10 \$100,000 or more
  - 5 Don't know **(DO NOT READ)**
  - 8 Refused **(DO NOT READ)**

That completes the interview. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. Have a nice day/evening.