



## PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY ATTITUDES

A joint program of the Center on Policy Attitudes and the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland

### PIPA BULLETIN: OCTOBER POLLING ON IRAQ

#### Polls Reviewed:

Newsweek, Oct 10-11, 2002

ABC News, Oct. 2-6, 2002

Pew Research Center, Oct. 2-6, 2002

CNN/USA Today/Gallup, Oct. 3-6, 2002

CBS News/New York Times, Oct. 2-5, 2002

Harris Interactive, Sept 24 - Oct. 2, 2002

Investor's Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 7-13, 2002

#### *Disarmament through Inspections*

**Consistent with polls prior to October, a strong majority wants to see continued efforts to pursue disarmament of Iraq through weapons inspections rather than military action. Only a small minority would want to proceed with military action if Iraq cooperates with the inspection process. A plurality feels that the Administration is moving too quickly to use force, rather than pursuing all of its diplomatic options first.**

In the October 2-6 CBS/New York Times poll, nearly two-thirds (63%) said they wanted to “give the UN more time to get weapons inspectors back in Iraq” rather than “take military action fairly soon” (preferred by 30%).

Only a small minority would want to proceed with military action if Iraq cooperates with the inspection process. In the October 2-6 Pew poll, while 62% favored “military action” initially, when asked to imagine Iraq “does cooperate with full and complete weapons inspections,” just 32% continued to support a military strike. Also, in a Harris poll, when those who favored taking military action (49%) were asked to assume Iraq “allows weapons inspectors to return to Iraq and they are free to find and destroy weapons of mass destruction,” support for military action dropped to less than 20%.<sup>i</sup>

President Bush, however, is perceived by a majority as being intent on removing Hussein, not just on disarmament. Asked, “In your opinion, is George W. Bush more interested in removing weapons of mass destruction from Iraq or more interested in removing Hussein from power in Iraq?” just 29% said in removing weapons, 53% said in removing Hussein, and another 13% volunteered “both” (CBS/New York Times). Among Republicans, however, only 37% thought Bush was more interested in removing Hussein and 39% said “removing weapons.”<sup>ii</sup>

A plurality feels that the Administration is moving too quickly to use force. According to the CNN/USA Today/Gallup survey, a majority does not believe that the US has “done all it can to solve the crisis with Iraq diplomatically.” Forty-nine percent felt it has not, while 46% felt the US has. The CBS/New York Times poll found that a plurality (50%) believes that in general “the

Bush Administration is too quick to get American military forces involved." Forty percent felt it "tries hard enough to reach diplomatic solutions." Though a majority said that the Administration's approach to Iraq is about right, in CBS/NYT and Pew polls about one-third of Americans felt the President is "moving too quickly" toward military action – more than three times the percentage who felt he is moving too slowly.<sup>iii</sup>

The public continues to be pessimistic that diplomacy will work. When asked to choose, 50% felt "diplomacy does not work with Iraq" and 44% felt it "still might work" (ABC). In the Pew poll, an overwhelming 85% felt that to "deal with the possible threat posed by Saddam Hussein...he has to be removed from power." Just 8% felt he could be disarmed but left in power" as after the Gulf War. Similarly, 70% thought that even if UN weapons inspections were to begin, eventually "regime change would still be necessary" (Investor's Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor).<sup>iv</sup>

### ***Taking Military Action Against Iraq***

**Support for invading Iraq has slipped to approximately half, though if the President does proceed three-quarters say they would support him. Strong majorities continue to support more limited forms of military action. When high numbers of casualties are assumed, support for military action drops below half.**

According to the Gallup survey, a slim majority continues to support "invading Iraq with US ground troops to remove Saddam Hussein from power." Fifty-three percent favor that now, compared with 57% in late September; 40% now are opposed, up from 38% in September. In the Newsweek survey, when asked about several kinds of military action, only 48% favored "Sending in large numbers of U.S. ground troops to ensure control of the country"--down from 50%.<sup>v</sup>

However, if the President chooses to proceed, three-quarters say they would support him. In the Gallup poll, when given three options, just 47% said that if President Bush decided to invade Iraq they would support that decision because they favor such an invasion. Another 27% said they would support the President, but did not really favor an invasion, and 22% said they would not support the decision and opposed invading Iraq.<sup>vi</sup>

Following the pattern established over the past several months, other questions that ask about unspecified "military action" receive fairly solid majority support. In early October, Newsweek poll found 66% in support; CBS/New York Times found 67% would approve of military action; and Pew found 62% in favor. Only Harris found less than majority support, with just 49% wanting to "take military action to change the government in Iraq," while 27% were opposed and 24% not sure.<sup>vii</sup>

However, it is clear that this higher level of support for "military action" is not for a full-scale ground invasion, as almost certainly would be necessary. In the Newsweek survey, when asked about several kinds of military action, 68% supported "air strikes without any troops on the ground" and 70% supported the use of "special forces," but only 48% favored "sending in large numbers of U.S. ground troops to ensure control of the country."<sup>viii</sup>

When asked to consider the possibility of US casualties in a war against Iraq, the public continues to support the war, albeit by a very slim majority. In the CBS/New York Times poll, 54% said they would support “military action in Iraq” even if it would “result in substantial United States military casualties” (37% were opposed). Similarly, when the same poll asked a question that implied military success, 53% felt “removing Saddam Hussein from power is worth the potential loss of American life and the other costs of attacking Iraq,” while just 37% felt it is not worth it.

However, when a number of casualties is specified, it is clear that a majority only supports an effort that would yield casualties similar to the few hundred experienced in the 1991 Gulf War. According to CNN/USA Today/Gallup, 51% supported “invading Iraq” if asked to assume just 100 casualties; but support dropped to a minority of 46% with 1,000 casualties and plummeted to just 33% with 5,000 hurt or killed. Also, only a plurality supports taking action against Iraq if it would result in a ‘substantial Iraqi civilian casualties’ (49% to 40%; CBS/NYT).<sup>ix</sup>

The higher level of support for war when asked to consider unspecified casualties may be because a plurality believes the war would result in few American casualties. In the October Pew poll 50% said they expected “relatively few American casualties, while 40% said they expect “a large number.”<sup>x</sup>

Americans are divided about military action when asked to suppose that the US “would be involved in a war there for months or even years” (49% in favor and 44% opposed; CBS/NYT).<sup>xi</sup>

### ***Multilateral Support***

**Only a small minority supports invading Iraq without multilateral support. However with multilateral support, a strong majority supports an invasion.**

In the Harris survey, even among the 49% who said they supported military action against Iraq, fewer than half (46%) continued to support continued to support military action if there was “no agreement in the United Nations Security Council and no vote to authorize a military attack on Iraq.” Thus, less than a quarter of all respondents favored taking action without UN backing.<sup>xii</sup>

When presented with arguments for acting quickly versus waiting to build allied support, a majority supports waiting for allies. In the CBS/New York Times poll, 65% felt the US needs to “wait for its allies” while just 29% felt “Iraq presents such a clear danger to American interests that the United States needs to act now.” Even when told this might give Iraq “more time to prepare for an attack and try to develop weapons of mass destruction,” a plurality of 49% still wanted to get more support from allies, as opposed to 42% who preferred to take action “in the next month or so.”<sup>xiii</sup>

The Newsweek survey found that majorities say it is “important” for the US to get support from “most of our European allies” (60%) and “formal support from the United Nations (57%). A plurality (47%) feels it is important to obtain support from “most of the Arab countries that are friendly to the United States.”

Americans do not show a high level of confidence that America's allies will follow the US lead. About half (51%) felt that if the US takes action soon, "most of our traditional allies will join us." Forty-one percent said they either would not or that only some would (ABC News, Pew).<sup>xiv</sup>

With multilateral participation, very strong majorities show support for military action. In the Newsweek survey noted above, of all the scenarios presented for action against Iraq, "Organizing an international force to remove Saddam Hussein from power and take control of the country" received the highest level of support, at 72%.<sup>xv</sup>

### ***Congressional Authorization***

**Leading up to the vote on giving the President authority, a majority continued to oppose giving the President authority and a slight majority complained that Congress was not asking enough questions.**

Earlier polls have found that the majority opposed Congress giving the President the power to decide to go to war with Iraq. In a CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll, a modest majority (54%) said Congress should have the "final authority for deciding whether the US should invade Iraq"; 40% wanted the President to have final say. The CBS/New York Times survey asked, "Do you think the president should have to get the approval of Congress before taking military action against Iraq, or should he be able to make that decision himself?" Seventy percent said that the president should have to get approval. However, with both of these questions there may have been some confusion about whether the resolution being considered by Congress was approving military action, or foregoing the option of approving military action by giving the President the power to decide.

Asked whether Congress was "asking enough questions about Bush's policy toward Iraq," in early October, a slim majority (51%) felt that Congress was not, while just 20% believed they were asking too many and 17% the right amount. The Pew poll found, however, that only 15% felt that Congress was rushing through the debate. While more felt Bush was moving too quickly to make war against Iraq, those who felt there was an imbalance in Congress believed it was moving too slowly to debate the issue.<sup>xvi</sup>

No polls have yet asked for public reaction since the resolution passed both houses of Congress.

### ***Demands and Consequences of War***

**Americans lean toward a negative prognosis of the demands and consequences of a war with Iraq. A plurality or majority believes that the war will be long and costly, most Iraqi people will not turn against Saddam Hussein, it will lead to a larger war in the Middle East, the threat of terrorism against the US will increase, and that in the Middle East the image of the US will be hurt. However, only a minority say it would hurt the war on terrorism. A strong majority would support a major effort to rebuild Iraq after a war.**

Overall, Americans lean toward a negative prognosis of the costs of the war. Fifty-one percent felt a war against Iraq would likely be “a long and costly involvement” as opposed to a “fairly quick and successful effort” (43%) (CBS/New York Times). Consistent with this view, the Pew poll found that a plurality (45%) felt “most of the Iraqi people would support Saddam Hussein” if the US attacked; 37% felt they would “turn against” him.<sup>xvii</sup> A majority said that US action in Iraq is “likely to lead to a larger war between other countries in the Middle East” (60%). By more than 3 to 1 (50% to 16%), the public feels a war in Iraq will increase the threat of terrorism against the US (32% said it would be about the same). Nearly 8 in 10 felt the “image of the United States among Muslim nations” would be hurt (48% hurt “a lot”). And 37% felt it would make the US economy worse, compared to 23% who thought it would make it better and 31% who said it would be about the same.<sup>xviii</sup>

However, only a minority say action against Baghdad would “hurt” the war on terrorism. In the Pew poll, a slim majority said it would help rather than hurt (52% to 34%).<sup>xix</sup>

If the US wins a war against Iraq, a majority (60%) would favor a “major American effort to rebuild the country and establish a stable government” (Pew). So it appears that the hesitation about a long involvement does not revolve around the possible costs of “nation-building,” but around possible protracted military action.<sup>xx</sup>

### ***Relative Priority of Conflict with Iraq***

**While in recent polling the war on terrorism has generally ranked ahead of Iraq in priority, a new poll shows that, for a plurality, Iraq has pushed ahead. A slim majority thinks it is possible to address both problems simultaneously. Iraq still ranks low as a concern for voters in this year’s elections.**

It is perhaps no surprise, given the media coverage of the Iraq debate during the time these polls were conducted, that a plurality (46%) felt that “right now...disarming Iraq and removing Saddam Hussein” was a higher priority than “tracking down and capturing al Qaeda members,” while 30% said the latter was a higher priority (ABC News). In the CBS/NYT poll, a majority (56%) said the threat Iraq poses to the US is greater than it was two years ago; similarly, 63% called Saddam Hussein an “immediate threat” (Investor’s Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor).

A slim majority (53%) told ABC News that it feels the “US can handle the current war on terrorism and a war with Iraq at the same time.”<sup>xxi</sup>

The sense of urgency about dealing with Iraq appears unchanged since September. In the Investor’s Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor poll, 46% called it “very important” for the US to “take military action within the next six months”;<sup>xxii</sup> in September, PIPA found 47% saying it was “very urgent” “to resolve the problem of Iraq” (see “Conflict with Iraq—Relative Priority” on [www.americans-world.org](http://www.americans-world.org)).

When asked what issue they would “most like to hear the candidates” in their state or district talk about, just 4% named Iraq in their first three choices (Pew).<sup>xxiii</sup>

***Iraq's Possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction***

**Overwhelming majorities believe that Saddam Hussein is at least close to having nuclear weapons and that unless something is done, it is likely that he will use some type of weapons of mass destruction against the US.**

In the Pew poll, 65% said they believe that Saddam Hussein is close to acquiring nuclear weapons, while another 14% volunteered that he already has them. Only 11% said that he is a long way from acquiring them and 10% said they don't know.

Asked in the Harris poll, "If there is no attack on Iraq, no weapons inspections and Saddam Hussein remains in power, how likely do you think it is that he will use nuclear, biological or chemical weapons in an attack against the United States?" an overwhelming majority (72%) felt it is very (40%) or somewhat (32%) likely that Saddam Hussein will use them.<sup>xxiv</sup>

***Iraq's Possible Links to Terrorists***

**The majority of Americans who say they think Saddam Hussein was involved in helping the September 11 terrorists has increased. Americans are divided, however, over whether the US has offered enough evidence of Iraq's links to terrorism to justify a military campaign.**

The Pew poll found a full two-thirds (66%) saying they "believe that Saddam Hussein helped the terrorists in the September 11 attacks," while just 21% said they "don't...think he was involved."<sup>xxv</sup> This is a marked rise from August, when Gallup found a slimmer 53% saying they believed "Saddam Hussein was personally involved in the September 11 attacks." (For a full discussion of the earlier data, see "Conflict with Iraq—Iraq's Possible Links to Terrorists" at [www.americans-world.org](http://www.americans-world.org).)

Such a 13-point shift in a short time suggests that the frequent comments of Bush Administration officials suggesting a link between Iraq and September 11 have made headway with the public. Yet—interestingly—slightly fewer Americans today than in December 2001 think that the US has substantiated the link enough to justify action. The October poll of Investors' Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor asked: "In your mind, is there enough of a link between Iraq and terrorism to justify a US military campaign to try to topple the regime of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, or does the US need to offer more evidence?" Fifty percent said the link was sufficient while 45% said the US needed to offer more evidence. Back in December 2001, a clear majority (55%) said there was enough of a link, and only 34% said the US needed to offer more evidence.<sup>xxvi</sup>

Taking these findings together, it appears that more Americans than before feel that a link between Iraq and September 11 is likely—and thus, logically enough, more Americans are expectant that the US will provide clear evidence of this link.

<sup>i</sup> Should the U.S. take military action against Iraq fairly soon or should the U.S. wait and give the United Nations more time to get weapons inspectors back into Iraq?

Total

Take military action soon 30%

Give U.N. more time 63

Organization: CBS News/New York Times

Date: October 5, 2002

If Saddam Hussein does cooperate with full and complete weapons inspections, would you favor or oppose using military force against Iraq?

(IF FAVOR MILITARY ACTION - 62%)

51 Favor (31% of total)

43 Oppose

6 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew

Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

"Would you tend to favor or oppose a U.S.-led military attack on Iraq under each of the following situations?" (Asked of those who said U.S. should take military action—49%)

Favor Opp

Saddam Hussein allows weapons inspectors to return to Iraq and they are free to find and destroy weapons of mass destruction	38	40
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Organization: Harris

Sept 24- Oct 2, 2002

<sup>ii</sup> In your opinion, is George W. Bush more interested in removing weapons of mass destruction from Iraq or more interested in removing Hussein from power in Iraq?

Total GOP Dem Ind

Remove weapons	29%	39%	22%	29%
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Remove Hussein	53	37	67	51
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Both	13	18	8	15
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Organization: CBS News/New York Times

Date: October 3-5, 2002

<sup>iii</sup> Do you think the U.S. has done all it can do to solve the crisis with Iraq diplomatically, or not?

Yes 46%

No 49

Organization: CNN/USA Today/Gallup

Date: Oct 6, 2002

In its dealings with foreign countries and its handling of international problems, do you think the Bush administration tries hard enough to reach diplomatic solutions, or is it too quick to get American military forces involved?

Total

Tries hard enough to reach      40%  
 Too quick                        50  
 Organization: CBS News/New York Times  
 Date: October 3-5, 2002

In your opinion, is George W. Bush moving too quickly toward a war with Iraq, is he not moving quickly enough or is he moving at about the right speed?

	Total
Too quickly	35%
Not quickly enough	10
About right	52

Organization: CBS News/New York Times  
 Date: October 3-5, 2002

What's your opinion of how George W. Bush is handling the situation with Iraq is he moving toward military action too quickly, is he moving too slowly, or is he giving the situation careful thought?

34 Moving too quickly  
 10 Moving too slowly  
 51 Giving careful thought  
 5 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew  
 Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

<sup>iv</sup> Which of these two statements comes closer to your opinion?

Diplomacy does not work with Iraq and it's about time for the U.S. to stop talking and take military action	50%
Diplomacy with Iraq still might work; U.S. should hold off on military action, keep trying for a diplomatic solution	44

Organization: ABC News  
 October 3-5, 2002

What do we have to do to deal with the possible threat posed by Saddam Hussein? Do you think he can be disarmed but left in power, or do you think he has to be removed from power?

8 Disarmed, but left in power  
 85 Think he has to be removed from power  
 1 Neither / Not a threat / No action needed (VOL.)  
 1 Other (VOL.)  
 5 Don't Know/Refused

Organization: Pew  
 Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

In the event that UN weapons inspections begin, do you think an Iraqi regime change would still be necessary or not?

Necessary                        70%

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Not necessary 20

Not sure/refused 11

Organization: Investor's Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor

Dates: Oct. 7-13, 2002

v

"Please tell me whether or not you would support the following kinds of U.S. military action against Iraq and its leader Saddam Hussein. What about [see below]? Would you support this kind of military action or not?"

	Would Support %	Would Not %	Don't Know %
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"Using air strikes against Iraq without any troops on the ground"

10/10-11/02	68	25	7
9/26-27/02	67	27	6
9/12-13/02	70	24	6
8/28-29/02	63	30	7

"Sending in commandos or special forces to capture Saddam Hussein or work with local anti-Saddam forces"

10/10-11/02	70	21	9
9/26-27/02	72	21	6
9/12-13/02	76	19	5
8/28-29/02	70	23	7

"Sending in large numbers of U.S. ground troops to ensure control of the country"

10/10-11/02	48	42	10
9/26-27/02	50	42	8
9/12-13/02	55	37	8
8/28-29/02	49	45	6

Organization: Newsweek

Dates: As noted

<sup>vi</sup> Would you favor or oppose invading Iraq with US ground troops in an attempt to remove Saddam Hussein from power?

Now	9/22	9/16	9/8	8/21
Favor	53%	57%	57%	58%
Oppose	40	38	39	36

Organization: CNN/USA Today/Gallup

Date: Oct 3-6, 2002

If President Bush decided to invade Iraq with US ground troops in an attempt to remove Saddam Hussein from power, which of the following would best describe your reaction?

Support Bush's decision; think the U.S. should invade Iraq 47%

Support Bush's decision, even though don't think U.S. should invade Iraq 27

Not support Bush's decision; U.S. shouldn't invade Iraq

22

Organization: CNN/USA Today/Gallup

Date: Oct 3-6, 2002

<sup>vii</sup> Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule? Do you feel strongly about this, or do you think you might change your mind?

		Mid-Sept 2002	Late Aug 2002	June 2002	Nov 2001	Feb 2001	Gallup June 1993
62	Favor	64	64	59	74	52	70
49	Feel Strongly						
12	Might Change mind						
1	Don't know/Refused						
28	Oppose	23	21	34	20	42	27
17	Feel Strongly						
11	Might Change mind						
*	Don't know/Refused						
10	Don't know/Refused	13	15	7	6	6	3

Organization: Pew

Date: October 3-6, 2002

"In the fight against terrorism, the Bush Administration has talked about using military force against Saddam Hussein and his military in Iraq. Would you support using military force against Iraq, or not?"

	Would Support	Would Not	Don't Know
	%	%	%
10/10-11/02	66	26	8
9/26-27/02	63	29	8
9/12-13/02	67	26	7
8/28-29/02	62	31	7
4/02	68	24	8

Organization: Newsweek

Date: as noted

Do you approve or disapprove of the United States taking military action against Iraq to try to remove Saddam Hussein from power?

	Total	GOP	Dem	Ind
Approve	67%	85%	57%	65%
Disapprove	27	10	38	29

Organization: CBS News/New York Times

Date: October 5, 2002

"Overall, do you think we should or should not take military action to change the government in Iraq?"

Should take military action	49
Should not take military action	27

Don't know	24
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Organization: Harris Interactive

Date: Sept 24- Oct 2, 2002

viii

"Please tell me whether or not you would support the following kinds of U.S. military action against Iraq and its leader Saddam Hussein. What about [see below]? Would you support this kind of military action or not?"

	Would Support %	Would Not %	Don't Know %
<b>"Using air strikes against Iraq without any troops on the ground"</b>			
10/10-11/02	68	25	7
9/26-27/02	67	27	6
9/12-13/02	70	24	6
8/28-29/02	63	30	7

"Sending in commandos or special forces to capture Saddam Hussein or work with local anti-Saddam forces"

10/10-11/02	70	21	9
9/26-27/02	72	21	6
9/12-13/02	76	19	5
8/28-29/02	70	23	7

"Sending in large numbers of U.S. ground troops to ensure control of the country"

10/10-11/02	48	42	10
9/26-27/02	50	42	8
9/12-13/02	55	37	8
8/28-29/02	49	45	6

Organization: Newsweek

Dates: As noted

<sup>ix</sup> Suppose U.S. military action in Iraq would result in substantial United States military casualties, then would you favor or oppose the U.S. taking military action against Iraq?

	Total
Favor	54%
Oppose	37

Organization: CBS News/New York Times

Date: October 5, 2002

Do you think removing Saddam Hussein from power is worth the potential loss of American life and the other costs of attacking Iraq or not?

Total GOP Dem Ind

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Worth it	53%	71%	39%	54%
Not worth it	37	18	52	36

Organization: CBS News/New York Times

Date: October 5, 2002

Would you favor or oppose invading Iraq with U.S. ground troops in an attempt to remove Saddam Hussein from power if you knew that:

	Favor	Opp
There would be 100 U.S. casualties	51%	42%
There would be 1,000 U.S. casualties	46	48
There would be 5,000 U.S. casualties	33	60

Organization: CNN/USA Today/Gallup

Date: Oct 3-6, 2002

Suppose U.S. military action in Iraq would result in substantial Iraqi civilian casualties, then would you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against Iraq?

	Total	GOP	Dem	Ind
Favor	49%	65%	38%	48%
Oppose	39	22	48	41

Organization: CBS News/New York Times

Date: October 2-5, 2002

\* 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?

- 40 A large number of U.S. casualties
- 50 Relatively few American casualties
- 10 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew

Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

<sup>xi</sup> Suppose U.S. military action in Iraq meant that the United States would be involved in a war there for months or even years, then would you favor or oppose the United States taking military action against Iraq?

	Total	GOP	Dem	Ind
Favor	49%	70%	35%	48%
Oppose	44	23	60	43

Organization: CBS News/New York Times

Date: October 5, 2002

<sup>xii</sup> "Would you tend to favor or oppose a U.S.-led military attack on Iraq under each of the following situations?" (Base: Should take military action – 49%)

	Favor	Oppose	Don't Know	% of All Adults who Favor
There is no agreement in the United Nations Security Council and no vote to authorize a military attack on Iraq	46	29	25	23

Organization: Harris Interactive

Date: Sept 24 – Oct 2, 2002

xiii Which statement do you agree with more? Iraq presents such a clear danger to American interests that the United States needs to act now, even without the support of its allies, or the United States needs to wait for its allies before taking any action against Iraq?

	Total
U.S. needs to act now	29%
U.S. needs to wait	65

Organization: CBS News/New York Times

Date: October 5, 2002

"Which ONE of the following statements comes closer to your opinion about how soon the U.S. should take military action against Iraq? It is important to take military action in the next month or so, even if many of our allies continue to oppose it. OR, It would be better to delay military action to try to get more support from our allies, even if it gives Saddam more time to prepare for an attack and try to develop weapons of mass destruction."

	10/10-11	9/26-27	9/12-13
	%	%	%
Important to take action in next month or so	42	41	44
Better to try to get more support from allies	49	48	48
Should not attack Iraq at any time (vol.)	2	3	2
Don't know	7	8	6

Organization: Newsweek

Date: as noted

xiv

"...How important is it that Bush first get [see below] before taking military action against Iraq? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all important?"

	Very %	Some- what %	Not Too %	Not At All %	Don't Know %
<b>"Support from most of our European allies"</b>					
10/10-11/02	60	29	5	4	2
9/26-27/02	58	28	6	6	2

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9/12-13/02	57	30	5	6	2
8/28-29/02	58	28	7	5	2
<b>"Formal support from the United Nations"</b>					
10/10-11/02	57	28	6	7	2
9/26-27/02	59	25	4	10	2
9/12-13/02	55	28	6	9	2
8/28-29/02	55	26	8	9	2
<b>"Support from most of the Arab countries that are friendly to the United States"</b>					
10/10-11/02	47	33	8	9	3
9/26-27/02	52	30	7	9	2
9/12-13/02	48	31	8	11	2
8/28-29/02	51	30	8	8	3

Organization: Newsweek

Date: as noted

And in your opinion, if the U.S. takes military action against Iraq, will most of our traditional allies join us, or won't they?

- 51 Most allies will join us
- 33 They will not
- 8 Mixed / some will, some won't (VOL.)
- 8 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew

Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

xv

"Please tell me whether or not you would support the following kinds of U.S. military action against Iraq and its leader Saddam Hussein. What about [see below]? Would you support this kind of military action or not?"

"Organizing an INTERNATIONAL force to remove Saddam Hussein from power and take control of the country"

10/10-11/02	72	21	7
9/26-27/02	69	23	8
9/12-13/02	75	20	5
8/28-29/02	69	25	6

Organization: Newsweek

Date: as noted

xvi

Who do you think should have the final authority for deciding whether the United States should invade Iraq with ground troops?

	All	LVs
Congress	54%	54%
President Bush	40	38

Organization: CNN/USA Today/Gallup  
October 3-6, 2002

Do you think the president should have to get the approval of Congress before taking military action against Iraq, or should he be able to make that decision himself?

	Total	GOP	Dem	Ind
Get approval	70%	59%	79%	69%
His decision	28	38	19	29

Organization: CBS/New York Times  
Date: October 2-5, 2002

Overall, is Congress asking too many questions about President Bush's policy toward Iraq, or isn't Congress asking enough questions?

	Total	GOP	Dem	Ind
Too many questions	20%	32%	15%	18%
Not enough questions	51	30	63	54
About the right amount	17	25	13	15

Organization: CBS/New York Times  
Date: October 2-5, 2002

More likely to vote for your Rep. from Congress if he/she voted:

	All	LVs	9/16
In favor of sending ground troops to Iraq	33%	34%	26%
Against sending ground troops to Iraq	22	25	16
Would not make a difference to your vote either way	40	39	56

Organization: CNN/USA Today/Gallup  
October 3-6, 2002

Q. What's your opinion of how Congress is handling the debate about possible military action in Iraq--are they rushing through the debate, are they moving too slowly, or are they giving it careful thought?

- 15 Rushing through the debate
- 24 Moving too slowly
- 51 Giving careful thought
- 10 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew  
Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

If the United States does get militarily involved in Iraq, which of the following would be the more likely: a fairly quick and successful effort or a long and costly involvement?

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	Total	GOP	Dem	Ind
Quick/successful effort	43%	52%	35%	45%
Long and costly involvement	51	41	62	48
Organization: CBS News/New York Times				
Date: October 5, 2002				

Q. 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?

- 45 Most will support Hussein
- 37 Most will turn against Hussein
- 18 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew

Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

xviii Do you think that a war between the United States and Iraq is likely to lead to a larger war between other countries in the Middle East?

	Total
Yes, likely	60%
No, not likely	36
Organization: CBS News/New York Times	
Date: October 5, 2002	

If the United States takes military action against Iraq, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United States will increase, decrease or stay about the same?

	Total
Increase	50%
Decrease	16
About the same	32
Organization: CBS News/New York Times	
Date: October 5, 2002	

How do you think a war with Iraq would affect the U.S. economy – would it make the economy better, would it make it worse or would it be about the same as it is now?

	Total
Better	23%
Worse	37
Same	31
Organization: CBS News/New York Times	
Date: October 5, 2002	

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?

- 48 A lot
- 29 A little --OR--
- 17 Not much at all
- 6 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew

Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

<sup>xix</sup> 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?

- 52 Help
- 34 Hurt
- 14 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew

Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

<sup>xx</sup> 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?

- 60 Favor
- 32 Oppose
- 8 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew

Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

<sup>xxi</sup> What do you think should be a higher priority for the United States right now?

Disarming Iraq and removing Saddam Hussein from power	46%
Tracking down and capturing al Qaeda members	30
Both (vol.)	13
Neither (vol.)	6
No opinion	6

Organization: ABC News

Date: Oct 2-6, 2002

Compared to two years ago, is the threat Iraq poses to the United States greater today, less today or is the threat Iraq poses to the U.S. about the same as it was two years ago?

	Total	GOP	Dem	Ind
Greater	56%	70%	45%	57%
Less	4	7	5	2
Same	36	23	48	33

Organization: CBS News/New York Times

Date: October 2-5, 2002

Do you believe Saddam Hussein is an immediate threat to the US or not?

Immediate threat	63%
Not an immediate threat	31
Not sure/refused	5

Organization: Investor's Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor

Date: Oct. 7-13, 2002

Do you think the U.S. can handle the current war on terrorism and a war with Iraq at the same time?

Yes 53

No 40

No opinion 7

Organization: ABC News

Date: Oct 2-6, 2002

<sup>xxii</sup> How important do you think it is for the United States to take military action within the next six months in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? Would you say...

Very important 46%

Somewhat important 29

Not very important 13

Not at all important 9

Not sure/refused 3

Organization: Investor's Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor

Dates: Oct. 7-13, 2002

<sup>xxiii</sup> What one issue would you most like to hear the candidates in your state or district talk about this fall? [OPEN ENDED; PROMPT ONCE WITH "What would you name second?" ACCEPT UP TO THREE MENTIONS]

		June 2002	Early 1998	Oct 1998	Early Sept	June 1998
40	Economy/Economic issues	7	6	8		4
21	Education issues	20	24	20		20
16	Jobs/Employment	6	3	4		5
11	Dealing with terrorism/terrorists	9	*	1		--
10	Taxation	12	8	11		13
9	Health care	13	8	6		5
6	Foreign policy/Internatl. relations	7	1	2		2
4	Balanced budget	4	3	2		3
4	Iraq	--	--	--		--
	Crime/Crime control/All other					
4	crime issues	6	7	9		14
3	Caring for seniors/Elder care	3	2	1		--
3	National security	12	1	1		1
24	Others					
11	No answer/DK/Refused	16	2	21		18

Organization: Pew

Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

<sup>xxiv</sup>

What's your opinion based on what you've heard or read: Is Saddam Hussein close to having nuclear weapons, or is he a long way from getting nuclear weapons?

65 Close to having nuclear weapons

11 Long way from getting nuclear weapons

14 Already has nuclear weapons (VOL.)

10 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew

Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

"If there is no attack on Iraq, no weapons inspections and Saddam Hussein remains in power, how likely do you think it is that he will use nuclear, biological or chemical weapons in an attack against the United States?"

Very likely	40
Somewhat likely	32
Not very likely	17
Not at all likely	4
Don't know	7

Organization: Harris  
Sept 24- Oct 2, 2002

xxv

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?

- 66 Helped the terrorists
- 21 Was not involved
- 13 Don't know/Refused

Organization: Pew

Date: Oct. 2-6, 2002

<sup>xxvi</sup> In your mind, is there enough of a link between Iraq and terrorism to justify a US military campaign to try to topple the regime of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein or does the US need to offer more evidence?

- |                           |     |
|---------------------------|-----|
| There is enough of a link | 50% |
| Need more evidence        | 45  |
| Not sure                  | 5   |

Organization: Investor's Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor

Dates: October 7-13, 2002