

Dec. 17, 2002 — Study #480

◆◆◆◆ LOS ANGELES TIMES® POLL ALERT ◆◆◆◆

HOW THE POLL WAS CONDUCTED

The Times Poll contacted 1,305 Americans nationwide by telephone Dec. 12–15. Telephone numbers were chosen from a list of all exchanges in the nation. Random-digit dialing techniques were used so that listed and unlisted numbers could be contacted. The entire sample was weighted slightly to conform with census figures for sex, race, age, education and region. The margin of sampling error for the entire sample is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For certain subgroups the error margin may be somewhat higher. Poll results can also be affected by other factors such as question wording and the order in which questions are presented.

NOTES

All answer frequencies are given in percentages. Totals may exceed 100% in questions where more than one response was accepted. Totals may be less than 100% where some answer categories are not shown. “–” indicates less than 0.5%. The wording of some questions has been abridged.

SELECTED RESULTS FROM THE TIMES POLL NATIONAL SURVEY December 12–15, 2002

(A full summary of results will be available at a later date through the Los Angeles Times Poll)

GUIDE TO COLUMN HEADINGS

ALL	All U.S. adults
DEM	Self-described Democrats
IND	Self-described independents
REP	Self-described Republicans
LIB	Political liberals
MOD	Political moderates
CON	Political conservatives
MEN	Men
WOM	Women

Q5: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling foreign affairs? (IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE) Do you (approve/disapprove) strongly or do you (approve/disapprove) somewhat?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Approve (Net)	<u>59</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>51</u>
Approve strongly	32	9	28	69	16	22	52	40	25
Approve somewhat	26	24	32	23	19	35	24	26	27
Disapprove (Net)	<u>35</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>40</u>
Disapprove somewhat	14	20	17	2	18	17	9	15	13
Disapprove strongly	22	38	20	3	39	19	11	16	27
Don't know	6	9	3	3	7	7	4	3	9

Q6: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the threat of terrorism in the country? (IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE) Do you (approve/disapprove) strongly or do you (approve/disapprove) somewhat?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Approve (Net)	<u>73</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>69</u>
Approve strongly	45	24	42	81	28	41	63	50	41
Approve somewhat	28	31	31	17	29	34	22	28	28
Disapprove (Net)	<u>23</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>26</u>
Disapprove somewhat	9	14	13	1	19	8	4	9	10
Disapprove strongly	14	25	12	–	20	13	9	11	16
Don't know	4	6	2	1	4	4	2	2	5

Q41: Do you think President Bush and his administration have formulated a clear policy for dealing with the war on terrorism, or do you think the Bush administration is reacting to events as they happen?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Clear policy	39	23	35	63	25	33	56	41	36
Reacting to events	54	68	60	31	70	56	39	52	55
Don't know	7	9	5	6	5	11	5	7	9

Q42: Congress passed the Homeland Security Act of 2002, which creates the Department of Homeland Security. Do you think the United States will be safer from terrorist attacks now that the Department of Homeland Security has been created, or less safe, or do you not think it makes a difference one way or the other?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
More safe	45	32	44	62	34	47	53	52	37
Less safe	6	7	5	1	5	7	6	5	7
No difference	43	52	45	35	55	39	37	38	49
Don't know	6	9	6	2	6	7	4	5	7

Q46: Thinking now about the advice George W. Bush is given on the subject of Iraq by his advisors... Do you believe that the president's advisors present a balanced view for and against military action in Iraq, or do you think his advisors mostly favor military action, or do you think his advisors mostly oppose military action in Iraq?

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>IND</u>	<u>REP</u>	<u>LIB</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOM</u>
Balanced view	20	10	19	33	11	15	34	22	18
Mostly favor military action	51	57	53	46	66	48	44	52	50
Mostly oppose military action	11	13	12	7	11	14	9	10	12
Don't know	18	20	16	14	12	23	13	16	20

Q47: George W. Bush formally laid out a strategic plan for America that includes the right to launch preemptive strikes on terrorist regimes, and which asserts the country's right to act alone. Do you think the United States should retain the right to launch a preemptive strike if it feels it is under threat, or not?

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>IND</u>	<u>REP</u>	<u>LIB</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOM</u>
Should retain right	64	49	61	85	49	64	78	69	59
Not retain right	25	36	30	9	40	26	14	25	24
Don't know	11	15	9	6	11	10	8	6	17

Q48: Thinking now about possible threats to the security of the United States... Do you think that going to war with Iraq would weaken the war on terrorism, or would it strengthen the war on terrorism, or would going to war with Iraq have no effect on the war on terrorism one way or the other?

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>IND</u>	<u>REP</u>	<u>LIB</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOM</u>
Weaken	25	33	28	14	38	28	14	25	26
Strengthen	37	24	36	55	28	30	50	41	34
No effect	29	33	29	23	31	31	27	28	29
Don't know	9	10	7	8	3	11	9	6	11

Q49: How closely have you been following the news that the United States is considering military action against Saddam Hussein and Iraq?

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>IND</u>	<u>REP</u>	<u>LIB</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOM</u>
Closely	84	79	82	92	86	81	86	89	78
Not closely	16	21	18	8	13	19	14	11	21
Don't know	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1

Q50: Overall, taking into consideration everything you have heard or read about the situation with Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, do you think that it is inevitable that the United States will take military action against Iraq, or do you think there is a possibility that will not happen, or do you think that the United States will definitely not take military action against Iraq? (IF INEVITABLE, OR DEFINITELY NOT) Do you feel strongly about that, or not so strongly?

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>IND</u>	<u>REP</u>	<u>LIB</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOM</u>
Inevitable:									
Feel strongly	49	50	45	50	50	51	48	47	52
Feel not so strongly	14	15	14	11	14	18	10	13	14
Might not happen	27	22	30	30	25	21	34	30	23
Definitely not:									
Feel not so strongly	3	1	6	3	3	-	3	4	2
Feel strongly	1	3	1	-	1	2	1	1	2
Don't know	6	9	4	6	7	8	4	5	7

Q51: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The United States should take military action against Iraq only if that military action has the support of the international community"? (IF AGREE/DISAGREE) Do you (agree/disagree) strongly, or (agree/disagree) somewhat?

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>IND</u>	<u>REP</u>	<u>LIB</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOM</u>
Agree (Net)	68	78	72	52	76	82	50	64	72
Agree strongly	44	56	47	29	59	49	30	40	49
Agree somewhat	24	22	24	22	17	33	20	24	23
Disagree (Net)	26	14	23	45	16	14	45	33	19
Disagree somewhat	13	10	11	19	9	8	20	14	11
Disagree strongly	13	4	13	26	7	6	25	19	8
Don't know	6	8	5	3	8	4	5	3	9

Q52: Iraq provided an inventory of material that could be used to make biological, chemical or nuclear arms to U.N. weapons inspectors last week. How confident are you that Iraq gave a truthful and complete list of their weapons to the United Nations Security Council?

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>IND</u>	<u>REP</u>	<u>LIB</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOM</u>
Confident	6	7	5	5	8	4	6	5	6
Not confident	92	90	94	93	89	94	93	94	90
Don't know	2	3	1	2	3	2	1	1	4

Q53: Some people say that if Iraq leaves anything out of the weapons declaration sent to the United Nations, the United States and its allies will be justified in going to war. Others say that the United States and its allies should go to war only if the United Nations finds a pattern of serious violations by Iraq. What do you think? Would war be justified if Iraq leaves a few items out of the weapons declaration, or would war be justified only if there is a pattern of serious violations by Iraq?

	<u>ALL</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>IND</u>	<u>REP</u>	<u>LIB</u>	<u>MOD</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOM</u>
Leaves a few items out	22	13	21	34	14	19	31	27	17
Pattern of serious violations	63	68	66	54	70	65	57	59	66
Depends on what's left out (Vol.)	6	7	5	7	5	8	5	8	5
Don't know	9	12	8	5	11	8	7	6	12

Q54: How likely do you think it is that Iraq is currently developing weapons of mass destruction?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Likely	90	84	91	96	90	89	92	90	90
Unlikely	7	12	5	3	8	6	6	7	6
Don't know	3	4	4	1	2	5	2	3	4

Q55: How likely do you think it is that U.N. weapons inspectors will find Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, if there are any?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Likely	38	41	38	36	44	37	35	38	37
Unlikely	59	55	59	62	53	59	63	59	59
Don't know	3	4	3	2	3	4	2	3	4

Q56: Suppose U.N. weapons inspectors conduct inspections in Iraq and find no evidence of weapons of mass destruction. Would you then favor or oppose invading Iraq with U.S. ground troops in an attempt to remove Saddam Hussein from power? (IF FAVOR/OPOSE) Do you strongly (favor/oppose) it, or only somewhat?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Favor (Net)	41	37	39	51	36	30	53	37	45
Favor strongly	25	19	27	32	22	16	34	27	23
Favor somewhat	16	18	12	19	14	14	19	10	22
Oppose (Net)	49	56	53	37	58	56	38	55	43
Oppose somewhat	22	17	25	25	19	27	21	26	18
Oppose strongly	27	39	28	12	39	29	17	29	25
Don't know	10	7	8	12	6	14	9	8	12

Q57: Suppose U.N. weapons inspectors find no evidence of weapons of mass destruction. Do you think George W. Bush has already provided enough clear evidence to go to war with Iraq, or does the president need to provide more hard evidence before war is declared on Iraq?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Has provided enough	23	15	23	37	13	17	35	25	21
Needs to provide more	72	78	73	60	84	77	60	72	71
Don't know	5	7	4	3	3	6	5	3	8

Q58: Do you think war with Iraq would be good for the U.S. economy, or will it be bad for the economy, or will it make no difference to the economy one way or the other?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Good	28	21	26	37	27	28	28	29	26
Bad	45	51	46	37	53	41	41	42	47
No difference	20	21	19	22	13	25	22	24	17
Don't know	7	7	9	4	7	6	9	5	10

Q59: If the United States were to take military action against Iraq, do you think that is more likely to stabilize the situation in the Middle East, or do you think it is more likely to destabilize that region, or do you think it would not have an effect on that region one way or the other?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Stabilize	20	10	20	29	12	20	27	26	15
Destabilize	51	56	53	44	62	49	46	46	55
No effect	19	24	20	18	18	21	20	21	18
Don't know	10	10	7	9	8	10	7	7	12

Q60: If the United States takes military action against Iraq, do you think the threat of terrorism against Americans at home and abroad would be reduced, or do you think an attack on Iraq would increase the threat of terrorism against Americans, or don't you think military action against Iraq would affect the threat of terrorism against Americans at home and abroad?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Reduced	15	11	11	22	12	13	21	17	13
Increased	67	74	73	60	74	68	60	67	67
No effect	12	9	11	14	9	13	14	14	11
Don't know	6	6	5	4	5	6	5	2	9

(NEXT TWO QUESTIONS ROTATED)

Q61: Do you think George W. Bush is considering an attack against Iraq more because Saddam Hussein is a threat to the United States, or do you think an attack is being considered more for political gain?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Hussein a threat	56	35	57	82	35	53	76	59	54
Political gain	34	55	35	9	58	35	16	33	35
Don't know	10	10	8	9	7	12	8	8	11

Q62: Do you think the Bush administration is considering an attack against Iraq more because Saddam Hussein is a threat to the United States, or more because the United States wants to protect its oil interests?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Hussein a threat	50	29	51	76	28	47	71	50	50
Oil interests	37	55	38	14	62	35	21	40	34
Don't know	13	16	11	10	10	18	8	10	16

Q63: Suppose President George W. Bush decides to order U.S. troops into a ground attack against Iraqi forces. Would you support or oppose that decision? (IF SUPPORT/OPOSE) Would you (support/oppose) it strongly, or (support/oppose) it somewhat?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Support (Net)	58	35	58	85	40	55	74	64	52
Support strongly	30	13	30	52	20	23	45	39	22
Support somewhat	28	22	28	33	20	32	29	25	30
Oppose (Net)	35	54	36	11	56	37	19	33	37
Oppose somewhat	13	16	17	5	17	16	8	14	12
Oppose strongly	22	38	19	6	39	21	11	19	25
Don't know	7	11	6	4	4	8	7	3	11

(ASKED OF THOSE WHO SUPPORT GROUND ATTACK)

Q64: What is the main reason you would support a U.S. ground attack against Iraq? (ACCEPTED UP TO TWO REPLIES) (TOP FIVE RESPONSES SHOWN)

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Hussein is threat to U.S.	27	28	24	28	36	25	26	26	30
Remove Hussein from power	27	24	23	31	28	22	30	27	26
Eliminate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction	23	22	21	21	16	25	25	27	19
Fight terrorism	15	16	13	20	15	17	14	13	17
Trust Bush	9	4	8	12	7	7	11	12	5

The number of possible casualties in a ground war with Iraq has been estimated at between 100 American soldiers, if the Iraqi military offers little resistance, to as many as 5,000 American soldiers if the Iraqi Republican Guard fight an effective urban defense. With this in mind...

Q65: Would you still support sending ground troops to fight in Iraq if it meant that up to 100 American soldiers would be killed in battle, or not?

(IF YES) **Would you still support sending ground troops if up to 500 American soldiers were killed in battle or not?**

(IF YES) **Up to 1,000?**

(IF YES) **Up to 5,000?**

(IF YES) **Would you say you would support sending ground troops to fight in Iraq no matter what it cost in American casualties, or not?**

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
No	18	37	16	8	31	21	11	11	26
Up to 100	5	2	3	7	6	6	4	3	7
Up to 500	6	6	8	7	8	6	5	4	9
Up to 1,000	10	9	13	7	14	11	8	9	11
Up to 5,000	8	3	7	11	4	10	10	12	4
More than 5,000 but not unlimited	14	11	16	15	8	11	20	16	13
Unlimited	29	21	26	38	22	26	34	38	18
Don't know	10	11	11	7	7	9	8	7	12

Combined Results of Q63 & Q65:

Support sending troops to Iraq...									
even if casualties	42	18	42	72	25	39	60	53	32
but not if casualties	10	13	9	7	12	11	8	7	14
but if casualties,									
don't know	6	4	6	6	3	5	6	4	6
Oppose sending troops	35	54	37	11	56	37	19	33	37
Don't know	7	11	6	4	4	8	7	3	11

(ASKED OF EVERYONE)

Q66: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "If the United States and its allies remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq, the United States and its allies must then stay to help the Iraqis rebuild a new government and help rebuild their economy"?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Agree	70	67	69	76	77	67	71	77	64
Disagree	24	23	26	21	20	27	24	19	28
Don't know	6	10	5	3	3	6	5	4	8

Q67: What is your impression of the United Nations?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Favorable	52	58	50	50	67	52	44	52	53
Unfavorable	23	11	21	37	13	17	38	30	16
Haven't heard enough	20	25	25	10	17	24	16	14	25
Don't know	5	6	4	3	3	7	2	4	6

Q68: Would you say that Saudi Arabia and the U.S. are enemies, or would you say the two countries are unfriendly but not enemies, or would you say that Saudi Arabia and the U.S. are friendly but not allies, or would you say that they are close allies—or haven't you heard enough about that yet to say?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Enemies	6	5	8	6	11	4	4	8	5
Unfriendly	19	18	21	19	17	19	21	19	19
Friendly	41	41	37	43	43	42	44	45	38
Allies	5	5	7	5	6	5	6	7	3
Haven't heard enough	22	25	20	21	19	22	20	14	29
Don't know	7	6	7	6	4	8	5	7	6

Q69: Students and others have recently staged protests opposing a U.S. war against Iraq. Do you think that people who protest against war in Iraq are loyal Americans or not?

	ALL	DEM	IND	REP	LIB	MOD	CON	MEN	WOM
Yes	70	72	73	61	80	69	63	72	67
No	18	14	16	29	12	16	26	18	19
Don't know	12	14	11	10	8	15	11	10	14

Tables compiled by RAY ENSLOW