

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

AMERICANS ON THE IRAQ WAR AND THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

March 31, 2003

INTRODUCTION

After months of seeking to get UN Security Council approval for military action against Iraq, on March 17 President Bush announced that the US would proceed even without such approval. On March 19 bombing began and ground forces crossed into Iraq.

Numerous polls showed a strong rise in public support for this action. But it is not entirely clear how robust this support is and how much it is simply a 'rally around the President' effect. For many months leading up to the decision to invade, various polls had shown majorities saying that UN approval and major allied participation were conditions they required in order to support an Iraq war. Where do Americans stand with this concern now?

The president and many commentators have argued strongly that if the UN did not finally approve the use of military force in Iraq to topple Saddam Hussein, it would become irrelevant in world affairs. After the president's decision, commentators asserted that the UN has lost credibility in the eyes of the public. Polls in the last few months have shown a significant decline in how Americans rate the UN's performance. Is this a sign of a wider turning away from the UN on the public's part? Perhaps most significant, do Americans feel that the fact that the US has proceeded without UN approval sets a precedent, such that the US should feel more free to use military force without UN approval?

Currently there is a debate about whether the US or the UN should play the leading role in governing postwar Iraq. Where does the public come down on this question? And does the public think the UN has a role to play in dealing with other problem areas, such as North Korea and Iran?

The administration has argued publicly and forcefully that winning the war in Iraq will have positive effects in other important areas, such as the war on terrorism or the Israel-Palestinian conflict. Does the public—given its surge of support for the war—expect these benefits from it that the administration has sketched out?

Americans have received much seemingly contradictory information through the media about world opinion on the Iraq war. On the one hand are the well-known images of millions of demonstrators in the streets of world capitals; on the other hand, the administration points to a growing number of countries (49 at this writing) joining a coalition of the willing dedicated to overturning the Iraqi regime. What is Americans' perception of world public opinion? If world public opinion were in fact negative about the war, would Americans see this as a problem for the US?

Though the war has only entered its second week, discussion has begun within the policy community amid some surprise that the war is not yet over. Inevitably the question will arise whether to use greater air power in more

locations, thus increasing the chances of more civilian deaths, but also possibly shortening the war. How will the public react to such a choice?

Those planning and thinking about the postwar occupation of Iraq have to take public attitudes into account; hence there is much speculation about how long the public would support maintaining a large US presence in Iraq. Do Americans feel the US has a responsibility to remain in Iraq after the war? What time frame does the average American imagine for this? Is the public optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects for a stable, democratic Iraq?

Finally, the strength of the public's rally around the president raises the question: is support for the Iraq war generalizing to engender greater support for a more confrontational approach to North Korea or Iran—countries designated by the president as members of an 'axis of evil'? Do Americans think that giving the 'axis of evil' designation has had any deterrent effect—acting

as warning shots across these countries' bows—or do they think that the 'axis of evil' designation has been counterproductive on North Korean and Iranian behavior?

In an effort to understand American attitudes on these issues in more depth, the Program on International Policy Attitudes and Knowledge Networks conducted a nationwide poll of 795 American adults over March 22-25, 2003. The margin of error for the full sample was plus or minus 3.5%. The poll was fielded using Knowledge Networks' nationwide panel, which is randomly selected from the entire adult population and subsequently provided internet access. For more information about this methodology see page 13, or go to www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.

Funding for this research was provided by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Key Findings:***Rally in Support of President's Decision***

A strong majority of Americans has rallied in support of the President's decision to go to war with Iraq. These higher levels of support appear to consist of some people who have changed their attitude about going to war and some who are supporting the President, rather than the policy choice. Overall, the public shows a moderate level of confidence that this decision was the right one.

Continuing Strong Support for UN

Despite the failure of the UN to approve action against Iraq, a very strong majority believes that this has not diminished the importance of the UN, and that in the future the US should feel no more free than before to use force without UN authorization. A modest majority would like to see the UN, rather than the US, govern a postwar Iraq, and very strong majorities favor the UN taking the lead in dealing with Iran and North Korea. A very strong majority rejects the idea that the US should seek to punish other members of the UN Security Council that did not support the US position.

Expectations of Negative Consequences

Many more Americans believe that the US going to war with Iraq will have negative consequences for US foreign policy than believe it will have positive consequences. More believe that it will increase the likelihood that North Korea will make nuclear weapons, that feelings in the Muslim world toward the US will worsen, that the risk of terrorist attacks will increase, and that it will be harder for the US to get cooperation from other countries.

Perceptions of World Public Opinion

Among the American public there is no dominant view of how the majority of people in the world feel about the US going to war with Iraq. Most Americans think it would be a problem for the US if the majority of the world were opposed.

Conduct of War

A very strong majority favors trying to limit the number of Iraqi civilian casualties even if this means the war would last longer.

Post-War Reconstruction

Though only a minority would prefer to see the US govern post-war Iraq, overwhelming majorities say the US has the responsibility to remain in Iraq until there is a stable government, which the median respondent estimates will take 2 years. An overwhelming majority thinks it is important to bring democracy to Iraq and a strong majority believes this will eventually occur.

Dealing With North Korea and Iran

It does not appear that the support for war with Iraq has generalized to become broader support for a unilateral or confrontational approach with North Korea and Iran. A very strong majority favors an approach that is UN-based and emphasizes building better relations over implied military threats. Only a very small minority believes that labeling these countries members of the 'axis of evil' has decreased the likelihood that these countries will make nuclear weapons and approximately half believes that doing so has increased the likelihood.

Rally in Support of President's Decision

A strong majority of Americans has rallied in support of the President's decision to go to war with Iraq. These higher levels of support appear to consist of some people who have changed their attitude about going to war and some who are supporting the President, rather than the policy choice. Overall, the public shows a moderate level of confidence that this decision was the right one.

Consistent with the historical trend of rallying around the president at the time of war, a strong majority of Americans has rallied behind the President's decision to go to war with Iraq. Sixty-six percent said they favor the US going to war with Iraq, with 9% saying they favor doing so strongly and 27% saying that they favor it somewhat. Thirty-two percent were opposed.

Other polls have found similar levels of support, with some reaching into the mid-seventies range. Trend line questions have shown an upward movement that began after the President's speech and continued after the start of hostilities.

Some of this support for going to war appears to come from people who are supporting the President rather than the policy choice. Respondents were told, "As you may know, President Bush did not get UN Security Council authorization to invade, but decided to invade Iraq nonetheless," and asked, "How do you feel about this decision?" In this case 54% chose the option "I agree with this decision," but another 21% said "I do not agree with this decision, but I still support the president." Twenty-three percent chose the option that simply said they did not agree with the decision. Combining those who said they agree with the decision and those who do not agree but support the president, 75% showed a readiness to support the President's decision. This combined number is up from 62% in response to a similar question that PIPA/KN asked in February.

Other polls have also found evidence that some support for the war is derived from support for the President rather than the policy. Most recently, in a Pew poll 72% said they thought the decision to use military force against Iraq

was the right decision; however, only 50% (of the whole sample) said they thought this was "the best thing for the US to do," while 18% said they supported going to war because they "support Bush's decision because he is president" (4% were unsure).

Support for the President's Decision

As you may know, President Bush did not get UN Security Council authorization to invade, but decided to invade Iraq nonetheless. How do you feel about this decision?

I agree with this decision



I do not agree with this decision



I do not agree with this decision, but I still support the President



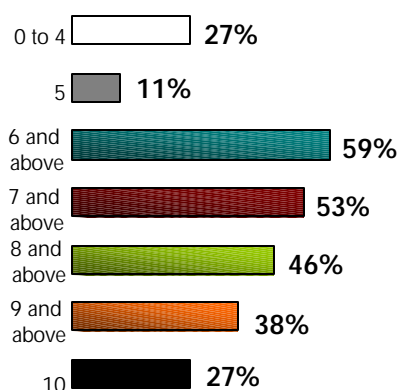
Some of the shift that has occurred since the onset of hostilities also appears to be derived from real attitude change, not just a desire to support the president. In three polls taken in November, January and February, PIPA/KN presented a scenario in which the president fails to get UN Security Council approval but proceeds to take action, and were given the same three response options as in the present poll. In the previous polls, the percentages saying they would agree with the President's choice ranged from 33-43%; this number jumped to 54% in the current poll. Still, some of this change may be due to a desire to support the president: even though respondents were given the option to say that they disagreed but supported the President, some may not have felt that choosing that option was the best way to signify support.

Americans show a moderate level of confidence that the decision to go to war was the right one. Respondents were asked, "How do you feel about the decision to go to war with Iraq without UN Security Council authorization? Please

answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being certain that it was the wrong decision, 10 being certain that it was the right decision, and 5 being unsure.” Fifty-nine percent gave a response on the ‘right decision’ side of the spectrum--above 5 (a bit less than the 66% saying that they favored going to war with Iraq), while 46% gave a response of 8 or higher and 27% gave a response of 10. The mean score was 6.32.

Confidence in Decision

How do you feel about the decision to go to war with Iraq without UN Security Council authorization? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being certain that it was the wrong decision, 10 being certain that it was the right decision, and 5 being unsure.



A modest majority of Americans appear to have accepted the administration’s argument that the US has the right to attack another country that it believes is critically threatening its security. Presented three options, 53% endorsed the one that said, “The US has the right to overthrow another government whether or not it has UN authorization, if the US believes doing so is critical for its security.” Thirty-seven percent chose options saying the US does not have such a right: 15% said that while the US did not have this right in general, Iraq was a special case, and 22% said that this prohibition applied in general and in the case of Iraq.

Continuing Strong Support for UN
Despite the failure of the UN to approve action against Iraq, a very strong majority believes that this has not diminished the

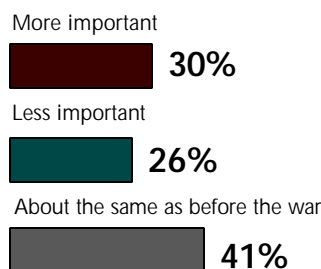
importance of the UN, and that in the future the US should feel no more free than before to use force without UN authorization. A modest majority would like to see the UN, rather than the US, govern a postwar Iraq, and very strong majorities favor the UN taking the lead in dealing with Iran and North Korea. A very strong majority rejects the idea that the US should seek to punish other members of the UN Security Council that did not support the US position.

Americans do not appear to believe that the fact that the UN Security Council did not authorize going to war with Iraq has undermined its future importance. Asked what the “the UN’s role in the world will be” “after the war with Iraq,” only 26% said it would be less important while 71% said it would be more important (30%) or “about the same as before the war” (41%).

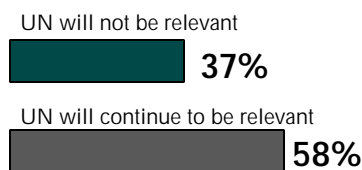
Even in a question that highlighted that “the US did not succeed in getting UN Security Council authorization,” only 37% endorsed the idea that “this means that the UN will not be relevant to matters of war and peace in the future,” while 58% said the UN will continue to be relevant.

Importance of UN

Do you think that in the period after the war with Iraq, the UN’s role in the world will be:



As you may know, the US did not succeed in getting UN Security Council authorization for war against Iraq. Do you think this means that the UN will not be relevant to matters of war and peace in the future, or do you think that the UN will continue to be relevant to matters of war and peace?



Americans also do not believe that the US should regard the choice to go to war without UN approval as a precedent that should make the US feel more free to do so in the future. Asked, “Do you think that in the future the US should or should not feel more free to use military force without UN authorization?” only 29% said that it should, while 66% said that it should not. This is similar to the percentages that, before hostilities started, insisted on getting UN approval for taking action against Iraq. An overwhelming majority of Democrats (77%), a very strong majority of Independents (67%) and a solid majority of Republicans (60%) said the US should not feel more free to use force without UN support in the future.

Using Force Without UN Authorization

Do you think that in the future the US:

Should feel more free to use force without UN authorization



Should not feel more free to use force without UN authorization



Though the UN Security Council did not support the US position, a very strong majority appears to perceive the decisionmaking process as legitimate and rejects the idea that the US should seek to punish countries that did not support the US position. Respondents were presented arguments that (on one hand) “given how much the US has done for these countries and the importance of this vote for the US, the US should find economic and diplomatic ways to punish them,” and (on the other hand) that “these countries have a legitimate right to vote the way they see fit, and seeking to punish them will be seen as high-handed and further damage US relations with the world.” Considering this, 72% took the position that the US should not seek to punish those countries, including majorities of Democrats (77%) and Republicans

(60%). Twenty-five percent said the US should punish them.

Should US Punish Opposing Members of Security Council?

There is some debate about whether the US should seek to punish those countries on the UN Security Council that did not support the US position on going to war with Iraq. Some say that, given how much the US has done for these countries and the importance of this vote for the US, the US should find economic and diplomatic ways to punish them. Others say that these countries have a legitimate right to vote the way they see fit, and seeking to punish them will be seen as high-handed and further damage US relations with the world.



UN Role in Post-War Iraq

More broadly, Americans show support for the UN playing a leading role in a variety of key areas central to US security concerns. A modest majority favors the UN governing Iraq in the postwar reconstruction phase, while only a small minority favors the US doing so. Asked, “Once Saddam Hussein’s government is toppled and all hostilities have ceased, who do you think should be in charge of governing Iraq until a new Iraqi government is established?” only 30% chose the option of the US, while 52% chose the option of the UN. Respondents had the option to offer their own preference: 4% said the Iraqi people, 3% said a coalition of countries who fought the war, and only 1% said the Iraqi opposition in exile.

UN Dealing With North Korea and Iran

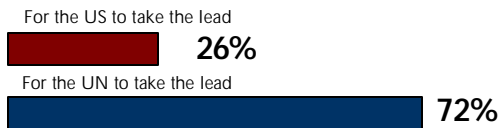
Despite the failure of the UN to effectively deal with the problem of Iraq, and the perceived likelihood, registered in numerous polls, that the US military will effectively deal with Iraq, strong majorities prefer to see the UN rather than the US take the lead in dealing with North Korea and Iran.

Asked, “When it comes to trying to stop North Korea from making nuclear weapons, which would be better?” 72% chose the option, “For the UN to take the lead” while just 26% chose the option, “For the US to take the lead.”

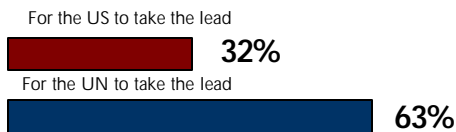
The problem of Iran was viewed similarly. Asked, “When it comes to trying to ensure that Iran does not make nuclear weapons and does not support Palestinian groups that use terrorism, which would be better?” 63% favored the UN taking the lead while 32% favored the US taking the lead.

Strong Majorities Prefer UN to Take Lead on Iran, North Korea

When it comes to trying to stop North Korea from making nuclear weapons, which would be better?



When it comes to trying to ensure that Iran does not make nuclear weapons and does not support Palestinian groups that use terrorism, which would be better?



Expectations of Negative Consequences

Many more Americans believe that the US going to war with Iraq will have negative consequences for US foreign policy than believe it will have positive consequences. More believe that it will increase the likelihood that North Korea will make nuclear weapons, that feelings in the Muslim world toward the US will worsen, that the risk of terrorist attacks will increase, and that it will be harder for the US to get cooperation from other countries.

When asked about the consequences of going to war with Iraq, relative to various US foreign policy concerns, few respondents saw these consequences as positive, while large percentages saw them as negative.

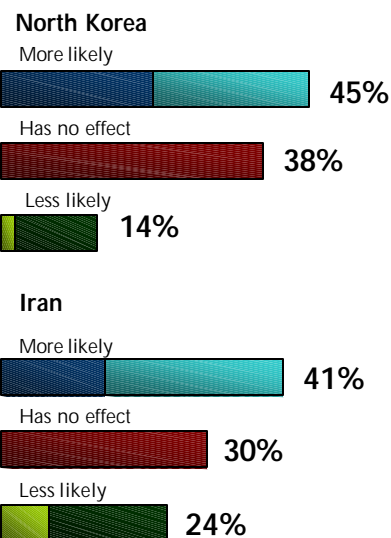
One key area of discussion is how the US going to war with Iraq might affect potential nuclear proliferators. Some have argued that doing so would deter them potential proliferators from building weapons lest they come to the same fate as Iraq, while others have argued that doing so would increase their desire to acquire such weapons so as to deter the US from attacking them.

Asked in the poll how the US having gone to war with Iraq would affect the likelihood that North Korea would make nuclear weapons only 14% thought it reduced the likelihood, while 45% thought it increased the likelihood. Thirty-eight percent said it has no effect one way or the other.

Asked about Iran, just 24% thought it would reduce the likelihood that Iran would make nuclear weapons, while 41% thought it would increase the likelihood. Thirty percent said it has no effect.

Impact of Iraq War on Nuclear Proliferation

Do you think that the fact that the US has gone to war with Iraq makes it more likely, makes it less likely, or has no effect on the likelihood that North Korea/Iran will make nuclear weapons?



Respondents were also asked, “how things will be after the war with Iraq is over.” In nearly

every case, the more negative scenario prevailed.

Only 12% assumed that “in the Muslim world, feelings toward the US will be...better,” while 48% assumed they would be worse (unchanged, 38%). Apparently the assumption that the “liberation” of the Iraqi people would invoke favorable feelings in other Muslim people has not taken hold with many Americans.

Only 21% said they thought the “risk of terrorist attacks against the US” will be lower, while 51% assumed it will be higher (unchanged, 27%).

Only 15% assumed that it will be easier “for the US to get cooperation from other countries on important international issues in general.” Thirty-seven percent assumed that it will be harder, and 45% that it will be no different.

The effort “to find a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict” was predicted to easier by just 16%, harder by 30% and no different by 50%.

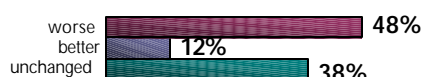
Pessimism About Consequences of Iraq War

I would like you to think now about how things will be after the war with Iraq is over. At that time do you think:

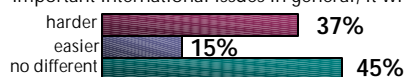
The risk of terrorist attacks against the US will be:



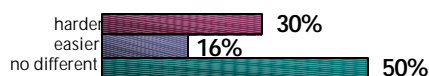
In the Muslim world feelings toward the US will be:



For the US to get cooperation from other countries on important international issues in general, it will be:



Trying to find a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict will be:



For the US to get cooperation from other countries in the war on terrorism, it will be:



The only area in which the percentage predicting it would be easier was higher (though not

significantly so) than the percentage predicting it would be harder was, “For the US to get cooperation from other countries in the war on terrorism.” Twenty-nine percent said it would be easier, 25% harder, and 44% no different.

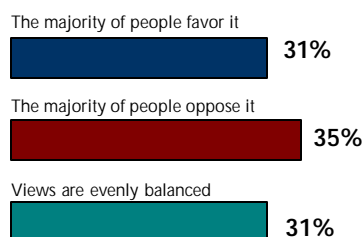
Perceptions of World Public Opinion

Among the American public there is no dominant view of how the majority of people in the world feel about the US going to war with Iraq. Most Americans think it would be a problem for the US if the majority of the world were opposed.

Interestingly, despite widespread reporting of international criticism of US actions against Iraq, among the American public there is no dominant view of the direction of world public opinion on this issue. When asked for their impression of “how all the people in the world feel about the US going to war with Iraq,” the public is quite divided in its perceptions. Thirty-one percent thought a world majority favors the US going to war; another 35% thought a world majority opposes it; and 31% opted for saying that “views are evenly balanced.”

Perception of World Public Opinion

Thinking about how all the people in the world feel about the US going to war with Iraq, do you think:

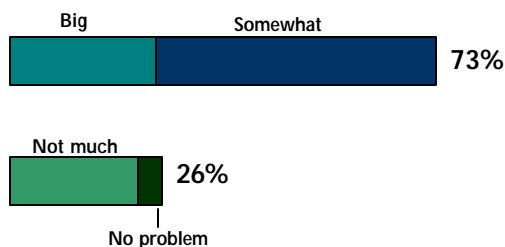


If the public was more aware of this criticism it appears that they would be concerned about it. The full sample was next asked, “If a majority of the people in the world do oppose the US war with Iraq, how much of a problem do you think this is for the US?” A very large majority -- 73% -- said it would be a “big problem” (25%) or “somewhat of a problem” (48%). Only about a

quarter (26%) saw it as being “not much of a problem” (22%) or “not a problem at all” (4%).

Priority of World Public Opinion

If a majority of the people in the world do oppose the US with Iraq, how much of a problem do you think this is for the US?



Curiously, other findings in this poll suggest that many Americans have some awareness that world public opinion takes a dim view of US foreign policy. Asked their impressions of how “people in other countries would rate how well the US is managing its foreign policy,” 52% thought people in other countries would give a negative rating (0-4 on a 10 point scale). Another 19% thought people in other countries would give a neutral rating (5); only 25% thought they would give a positive rating (6-10). The mean estimate was 4.10. Asked the same question about people in European allied countries, 48% thought Europeans would give a negative rating; 20% thought they would give a neutral rating; and just 27% thought they would give a positive rating (the mean was 4.31). If we compare these findings with the public’s divided perception (just discussed) of world public opinion on the Iraq war, it suggests some reluctance among Americans to connect their impression that US policy is unpopular abroad to their impression of world attitudes toward the Iraq war.

Conduct of War

A very strong majority favors trying to limit the number of Iraqi civilian casualties even if this means the war would last longer.

A primary question in the conduct of the war is whether to place a higher priority on seeking a

shorter war—through intense and broad bombing and ground action—or on saving more civilian lives by limiting the range of military targets. Both priorities are likely to play a role in the public’s perception of success.

PIPA asked: “Do you think the US should try to limit the number of deaths of Iraqi civilians, even if this would mean the war would last longer, or try to get the war over as soon as possible, even if this would mean that there would be more deaths of Iraqi civilians?” A strong 63% majority said the US should try to limit the numbers of deaths of Iraqi civilians, even if this meant a longer war. About a third (32%) chose the opposite course in the hope of a shorter war.

As the war continues, issues may arise about the health side effects of using specific munitions in combat—as they did after the Gulf War in the context of the “Gulf War syndrome.” PIPA asked a question that presented arguments from a current controversy over the use of depleted uranium in artillery shells:

Proponents say that such shells are especially effective against tanks and other hardened targets, and could thus save US lives. Opponents say that because the depleted uranium releases radioactive particles on impact, using the shells is too great a health risk for US troops and Iraqi noncombatants.

Respondents were then asked whether such shells should be used. Given these arguments, a 60% majority said the US should not use artillery shells with depleted uranium; 31% said the US should do so.

Post-War Reconstruction

Though only a minority would prefer to see the US govern post-war Iraq, overwhelming majorities say the US has the responsibility to remain in Iraq until there is a stable government, which the median respondent estimates will take 2 years. An overwhelming majority thinks it is important to bring

democracy to Iraq and a strong majority believes this will eventually occur.

As discussed above, a modest majority would rather see the UN in charge of governing Iraq after the war, while less than a third want to see the US in this position. Nonetheless, an overwhelming majority thinks the US will have the responsibility to stay in Iraq after the war. Eighty-five percent said the US “will have the responsibility to remain in Iraq as long as necessary until there is a stable government” (does not have responsibility: 12%). This essentially unchanged from when the question was asked by PIPA/KN in February (86% will have responsibility).

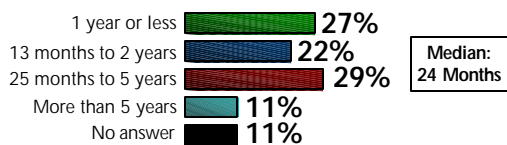
To achieve a stable government in Iraq the median estimate was that this would take two years. However in the February PIPA/KN poll the median estimate was that the US will need to keep troops in Iraq for 3 years. In the current poll 67% thought that Iraq will have a stable government in 5 years, while 28% said they thought it would be unstable and chaotic.

Post-War Iraq: Establishing Stability

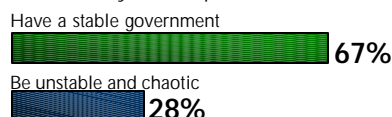
Once Saddam Hussein’s government is toppled and hostilities have ceased, do you think the US will or will not have the responsibility to remain in Iraq as long as necessary until there is a stable government?



How long do you think it will take to establish a stable government in Iraq after the end of hostilities?



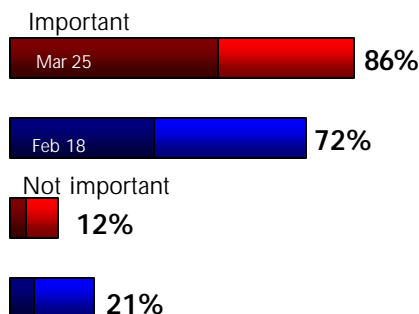
Five years from now, do you think it is more likely that Iraq will:



An overwhelming majority thinks it is important to bring democracy to Iraq. Eighty-six percent thought this was important (52% very important). Only 12% saw it as not very important (8%) or not important at all (4%). The percentage saying that this is important is up 12 percentage points from the February PIPA/KN poll.

Post War Iraq: Creating Democracy

How important do you think it is to bring democracy to Iraq?



Five years from now, do you think it is more likely that Iraq will:



Further, a strong majority believes that the establishment of democracy is likely. Sixty-three percent said that in five years Iraq’s government was likely to be a democratic one.

Dealing With North Korea and Iran

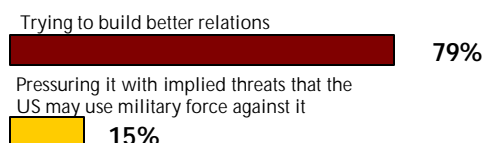
It does not appear that the support for war with Iraq has generalized to become broader support for a unilateral or confrontational approach with North Korea and Iran. A very strong majority favors an approach that is UN-based and emphasizes building better relations over implied military threats. Only a very small minority believes that labeling these countries members of the ‘axis of evil’ has decreased the likelihood that these countries will make nuclear weapons and approximately half believes that doing so has increased the likelihood.

In a period of sharply rising support for a war, the question naturally arises whether this might lead to a generalizing of support for an approach that emphasizes unilateralism, confrontation and the use of military force. In particular the question arises of whether Americans would be inclined to extend such an approach to dealing with North Korea and Iran--the other countries designated as part of an 'axis of evil' by President Bush in early 2002. The poll results show that this has not occurred.

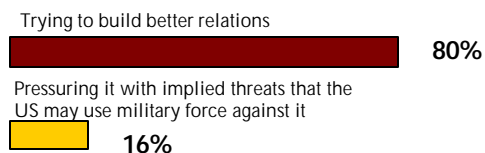
As mentioned above, a very strong majority favors an approach to North Korea and Iran that emphasizes is UN-based, rather than having the US take the lead. A strong majority of 72% favored the UN taking the lead (the US: 26%) in dealing with North Korea and 63% favored the UN taking the lead (the US: 32%) in dealing with Iran. Majorities of Republicans, Democrats and Independents favored a UN-based approach for both countries.

Iran and North Korea: Building Relations vs. Military Threats

Do you think the US should deal with the government of North Korea primarily by:



Do you think the US should deal with the government of Iran primarily by:



On the US's bilateral relations with North Korea and Iran, overwhelming majorities prefer an approach that emphasizes building better relations over one that makes implied military threats. Almost four out of five respondents -- 79% -- thought "the US should deal with the government of North Korea primarily by trying to build better relations," while only 15% thought the US should deal with North Korea primarily by "pressuring it with implied threats

that the US may use military force against it." Support for a diplomatic approach was shared by at least 70% of Democrats, Republicans and Independents. Asked the same question about Iran, an overwhelming 80% thought the US should deal with the Iranian government "primarily by trying to build better relations," and just 16% preferred to primarily work with implied threats. Again, majorities of Democrats (74%) and Republicans (56%) favored the diplomatic approach.

Only a very small minority believes that labeling these countries members of the 'axis of evil' has decreased the likelihood that these countries will make nuclear weapons and approximately half believes that doing so has increased the likelihood. Respondents were asked:

You may recall that, as well as Iraq, President Bush has named North Korea and Iran as members of an "axis of evil." Do you believe that doing this makes it more likely, makes it less likely, or has no effect on the likelihood that North Korea will make weapons of mass destruction?

A mere 4% thought the labeling made it less likely that North Korea would make nuclear weapons, while almost half -- 48% -- thought that the 'axis of evil' designation makes North Korea more likely to make weapons of mass destruction. Forty-four percent thought this has no effect on North Korea.

The same question was asked about Iran, with very similar results: just 10% thought the label makes it less likely that Iran will make nuclear weapons, 47% thought naming Iran as part of an 'axis of evil' makes it more likely, and 39% thought it has no effect.

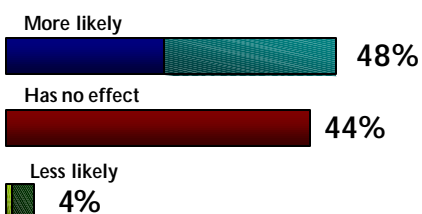
As discussed above, only a small percentage believes that the fact that the US has gone to war with Iraq to stop it from making weapons of mass destruction is likely to deter North Korea and Iran from making nuclear weapons (North Korea 14%, Iran 24%). A much larger

percentage believes that going to war with Iraq actually increases the likelihood that they make nuclear weapons (North Korea 45%, Iran 41%).

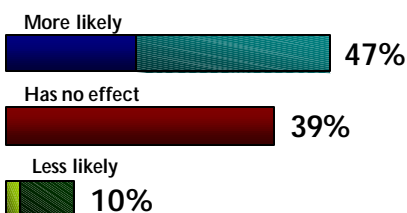
Dealing with North Korea and Iran: Axis of Evil Label

You may recall that, as well as Iraq, President Bush has named North Korea and Iran as members of an "axis of evil." Do you believe that doing this makes it more likely, less likely or has no effect on the likelihood that North Korea/Iran will make weapons of mass destruction?

North Korea



Iran



METHODOLOGY

The poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks, a polling, social science, and market research firm in Menlo Park, California, with a randomly selected sample of its large-scale nationwide research panel. This panel is itself randomly selected from the national population of households having telephones and subsequently provided internet access for the completion of surveys (and thus is not limited to those who already have internet access). The distribution of the sample in the web-enabled panel closely tracks the distribution of United States Census counts for the US population on age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, geographical region, employment status, income, education, etc.

The panel is recruited using stratified random-digit-dial (RDD) telephone sampling. RDD provides a non-zero probability of selection for

every US household having a telephone. Households that agree to participate in the panel are provided with free Web access and an Internet appliance, which uses a telephone line to connect to the Internet and uses the television as a monitor. In return, panel members participate in surveys three to four times a month. Survey responses are confidential, with identifying information never revealed without respondent approval. When a survey is fielded to a panel member, he or she receives an e-mail indicating that the survey is available for completion. Surveys are self-administered.

For more information about the methodology, please go to:

www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp