Americans on Israel and the Iranian Nuclear Program

Dates of Survey: March 3-7, 2012  Margin of Error: +/- 4.5 percentage points
Sample Size: 727  MoE includes design effect of 1.5191

[DISPLAY]
In this survey, we'd like your opinions about some current issues. There is no right or wrong answer, so please answer the questions based on your knowledge or impressions. If you do not know the answer to a question, you can simply skip it and go on to the next question.

[SP]
Q1. As you may know, some people are calling for Israel to conduct a military strike against Iran’s nuclear program before it makes further progress. Others are arguing that it is better to wait for the newly-increased sanctions against Iran to take effect and that the US and other major powers should continue pursuing negotiations with Iran. Do you favor:

Israel conducting a military strike against
Iran’s nuclear program.......................................... 24%
Republicans................................................38
Democrats ..................................................17
Independents ..............................................17

The US and other major powers continuing
to pursue negotiations with Iran.............................69
Republicans................................................58
Democrats ..................................................79
Independents ..............................................67

Don’t know/Refused ................................................7
Q2. Do you think that Iran is:

Producing nuclear fuel strictly for its energy needs........................................................................6%
  Republicans................................................2
  Democrats ....................................................6
  Independents ..............................................10

Has decided to produce nuclear weapons and is actively working to do so.................................58
  Republicans................................................73
  Democrats ..................................................56
  Independents ..............................................44

Is developing some of the technical ability necessary to produce nuclear weapons, but has not decided whether to produce them.........................30
  Republicans................................................24
  Democrats ..................................................35
  Independents ..............................................32

Don’t know/Refused ..................................................6

Q3. How likely do you think it is that Iran will eventually develop nuclear weapons?

Very likely ............................................................ 49%
  Republicans................................................63
  Democrats ..................................................44
  Independents ..............................................39

Somewhat likely ......................................................40
  Republicans................................................33
  Democrats ..................................................49
  Independents ..............................................37

Not very likely ..........................................................4
  Republicans..................................................2
  Democrats ....................................................4
  Independents ................................................5
Q4. Suppose Iran develops nuclear weapons. Do you think that:

A. Iran would be likely to use them against Israel because it is so hostile toward Israel ........ 62%
   - Republicans: 80
   - Democrats: 56
   - Independents: 50

Iran would be deterred from striking Israel for fear of being destroyed in a nuclear retaliatory strike.......................................................... 32
   - Republicans: 17
   - Democrats: 41
   - Independents: 36

Don’t know/Refused ................................................ 6

Q5. If Iran develops nuclear weapons, which of the following concerns you the most:

Iran would actually use nuclear weapons against the US or its allies.......................... 44%
   - Republicans: 57
   - Democrats: 39
   - Independents: 35

This would lead other countries in the region to develop nuclear arms, leading to an arms race ......................................................... 19
   - Republicans: 11
   - Democrats: 26
   - Independents: 18
Iran would feel emboldened to pursue aggressive policies toward the US and its allies ................... 24
   Republicans .................................................. 26
   Democrats ..................................................... 23
   Independents ............................................... 23

None of these ....................................................... 9
   Republicans ...................................................... 4
   Democrats ..................................................... 9
   Independents .................................................. 15

Don’t know/Refused .................................................. 4

[MP, DO NOT ALLOW THE RESPONDENT TO SELECT MORE THAN 2]
[PLEASE DO NOT SHOW THE STANDARD MP TEXT (“SELECT ALL THAT APPLY”) OR MODIFY TO SAY SELECT TWO.]

Q6. If Iran were to develop nuclear weapons, which TWO of the following do you think is most likely to occur:

   Iran would actually use nuclear weapons against the US or its allies .................. 47%
      Republicans .................................................. 61
      Democrats .................................................... 40
      Independents ............................................... 38

   This would lead other countries in the region to develop nuclear arms, leading to an arms race ...... 44
      Republicans .................................................. 45
      Democrats .................................................... 50
      Independents ............................................... 33

   Iran would feel emboldened to pursue aggressive policies toward the US and its allies ............ 52
      Republicans .................................................. 60
      Democrats .................................................... 54
      Independents ............................................... 39

   Stability would increase, since both Iran and Israel would be deterred by the other’s ability to destroy them ............................................. 8
      Republicans .................................................. 5
      Democrats .................................................... 10
      Independents ............................................... 10
Currently there is some debate about what stance the US should take in relation to the possibility that Israel might attack Iran’s nuclear program. You will see three arguments on this issue. Please select how convincing you find each of them.

Here is the first argument:

Q7. The US should discourage Israel from attacking Iran’s nuclear program. There are huge risks to US national interests, since Iran may attack US assets in retaliation, pulling the US into a war. Oil prices would skyrocket. Furthermore, US military leaders say the most that could be achieved would be to slow down Iran’s nuclear program a bit and probably just lead them to rebuild it underground.

Very convincing.................................................... 17%
   Republicans................................................12
   Democrats ..................................................26
   Independents ..............................................12

Somewhat convincing............................................54
   Republicans................................................55
   Democrats ..................................................58
   Independents ..............................................46

Somewhat unconvincing........................................17
   Republicans................................................22
   Democrats ..................................................10
   Independents ..............................................20

Very unconvincing............................................... 7
   Republicans................................................10
   Democrats ....................................................5
   Independents ...............................................7

Don’t know/Refused ................................................5
Q8. The US should take a neutral stance. Israel has a right to take actions it sees as necessary for its own defense. Meanwhile, the US should think about its own interests and make a clear statement distancing itself from whatever Israel may choose to do, to reduce the chance that Iran will retaliate against US targets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very convincing</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat convincing</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat unconvincing</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unconvincing</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/Refused</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q9. The US should encourage Israel to attack Iran’s nuclear program. Clearly Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons, and if Israel will take the heat for stopping or at least slowing down the program, all the better for the US. The risk of Iran acquiring nuclear weapons is of greater concern than the fallout from an Israeli strike.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very convincing</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat convincing</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Somewhat unconvincing ........................................33
  Republicans ................................................34
  Democrats ..................................................39
  Independents ..............................................23

Very unconvincing.................................................24
  Republicans ................................................22
  Democrats ..................................................28
  Independents ..............................................21

Don’t know/Refused .............................................5

Q10. So now, do you think the US should:

  Discourage Israel from attacking Iran’s nuclear program ............................................ 34%
    Republicans ................................................30
    Democrats ..................................................44
    Independents ..............................................24

  Take a neutral stance......................................46
    Republicans ................................................43
    Democrats ..................................................47
    Independents ..............................................50

  Encourage Israel to attack Iran’s nuclear program ...................................................14
    Republicans ................................................23
    Democrats .................................................. 7
    Independents ..............................................13

  Don’t know/Refused ...........................................6

Q11. In dealing with the problem of Iran’s nuclear program, do you think that the US should:

  Primarily act by itself.....................................20%
    Republicans ................................................28
    Democrats ..................................................11
    Independents ..............................................20
Try to primarily act through the UN
Security Council.....................................................74
  Republicans................................................69
  Democrats ..................................................86
  Independents ..............................................64

Don’t know/Refused ................................................6

Q12. Suppose Israel strikes and Iran retaliates by striking back at Israel, but Iran does not attack any US targets. What do you think the US should do?

  Provide whatever help Israel requests, including military forces ....................................................... 25%
    Republicans................................................41
    Democrats ..................................................16
    Independents ..............................................16

  Publicly support Israel’s actions, but not provide military support......................................................14
    Republicans................................................18
    Democrats ..................................................15
    Independents ................................................7

  Stay neutral and do not get involved......................22
    Republicans................................................14
    Democrats ..................................................25
    Independents ..............................................29

  Stay neutral and actively work to get both sides to stop the fighting .................................................27
    Republicans................................................21
    Democrats ..................................................34
    Independents ..............................................25

  Publicly oppose Israel’s actions...............................2
    Republicans..................................................1
    Democrats ....................................................3
    Independents ................................................1

  Actively distance the US from Israel by stopping military aid...............................................................4
    Republicans..................................................2
    Democrats ....................................................6
    Independents ................................................6
Q13. As you may know, the US government has recommended that Israel not strike Iran. If Israel strikes anyway, what do you believe the U.S. government’s reaction WOULD be?

| Sheffield Chair | Sadat Chair
|-----------------|-----------------
| Americans 3/12  | Israelis 2/12   |

It would support Israel diplomatically, but not provide military assistance .......................................................... 32% 27%
Republican........................................................................35
Democrat ...........................................................................43
Independent ........................................................................15

It would join the war on Israel’s behalf ......... 22 ........................................ 39
Republican .................................................................... 29
Democrat ............................................................................18
Independent .........................................................................20

It would stay neutral .............................................................. 30 .................................. 14
Republican ........................................................................ 24
Democrat ..............................................................................30
Independent .........................................................................37

It would punish Israel by reducing its current support to Israel ...................................................... 10 .................................. 15
Republican ........................................................................ 10
Democrat .............................................................................9
Independent .........................................................................12

Don’t know/Refused ....................................................5 5

Q14. If Israel were to strike Iran’s nuclear facilities, in your estimation, how long would an armed conflict between Iran and Israel last?

| Sheffield Chair | Sadat Chair
|-----------------|-----------------
| Americans 3/12  | Israelis 2/12   |

Days ............................................................................ 9% 18%
Republican .................................................................... 14
Democrat ...........................................................................8
Independent .........................................................................6

* Israelis were asked “Given America’s recommendation that Israel not strike Iran, what do you believe the U.S. government’s reaction would be if Israel strikes anyway?”
Q15. If Israel were to strike Iran’s nuclear facilities, in your view, how would this affect the Iranian government?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Americans 3/12</th>
<th>Sadat Chair Israelis 2/12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It would be weakened</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would be strengthened</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would have no effect</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/Refused</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q16. What do you believe the likely outcome would be if Israel were to strike Iran:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome Description</th>
<th>Americans 3/12</th>
<th>Sadat Chair 2/12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It would delay Iran’s capabilities to develop nuclear weapons by 1-2 years</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>It would delay Iran’s capabilities by 3-5 years</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would delay Iran’s capabilities by more than 5 years</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Democrats</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>It would accelerate Iran’s nuclear program</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would have no effect on Iran’s nuclear program</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/Refused</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEMOGRAPHICS

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:

- Republican ............................................................ 25%
- Independent ............................................................ 18
- Democrat ............................................................... 30
- Other ................................................................. 3
- No preference ...................................................... 20
- Don’t know/Refused ............................................... 4

D1a. Do you think of yourself as closer to the:

- Republican Party .................................................. 10% *
- Democratic Party .................................................... 8
- Neither ................................................................. 24
- Don’t know/Refused ............................................... 4

D1-D1a. Overall party identification combined

- Republican Party/Lean Republican .................................. 35%
- Democratic Party/Lean Democrat ..................................... 38
- Independent ........................................................... 28

D2. Did you vote for a candidate for Congress in the last election in 2010?

- Yes ................................................................. 59%
- No ................................................................. 36
- Don’t know/Refused ............................................... 5

* Percent of total
D3. Do you typically vote in the PRIMARY elections for a political party?

Yes ................................................................. 53%
No ....................................................................... 43

Don’t know/Refused .............................................. 4

D4. Of the candidates for President currently running, which do you prefer?

Barack Obama ..................................................... 35%
Newt Gingrich ...................................................... 7
Rick Santorum ..................................................... 12
Mitt Romney ....................................................... 17
Ron Paul ............................................................. 7
Other ................................................................. 15

Don’t know/Refused .............................................. 6

Age

18-29 ................................................................. 22%
30-44 ................................................................. 25
45-59 ................................................................. 28
60+ ................................................................. 25

Education

Less than high school ........................................... 13%
High school ....................................................... 30
Some college ..................................................... 28
Bachelor’s degree or higher .............................. 28

Race / Ethnicity

White, Non-Hispanic ...................................... 67%
Black, Non-Hispanic ....................................... 11
Other, Non-Hispanic ....................................... 6
Hispanic .......................................................... 15
2+ Races, Non-Hispanic ................................. 1

Gender

Male ................................................................. 48%
Female ........................................................... 52
Race / Ethnicity

Northeast ............................................................... 18%
Midwest ................................................................. 22
South ................................................................. 37
West ................................................................. 23