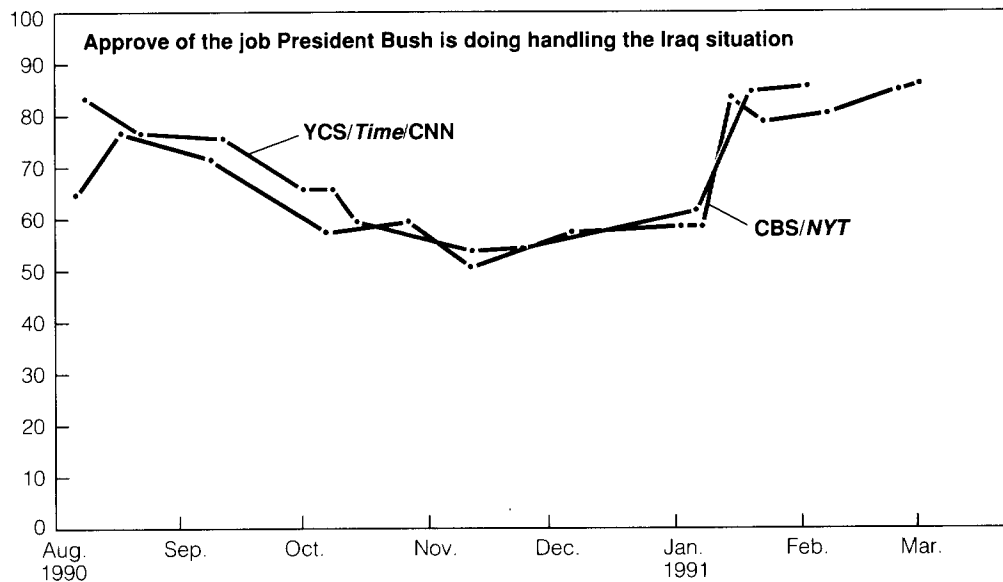


AMERICAN OPINION ON THE GULF

Between August 1990 and early March 1991, pollsters such as Gallup and ABC News/*Washington Post* posed some 4,000 questions to the American people. An extraordinary 80% of those dealt with the situation in the Persian Gulf. This immense collection shows solid public support for U.S. actions throughout the months-long ordeal—as illustrated on the following pages.

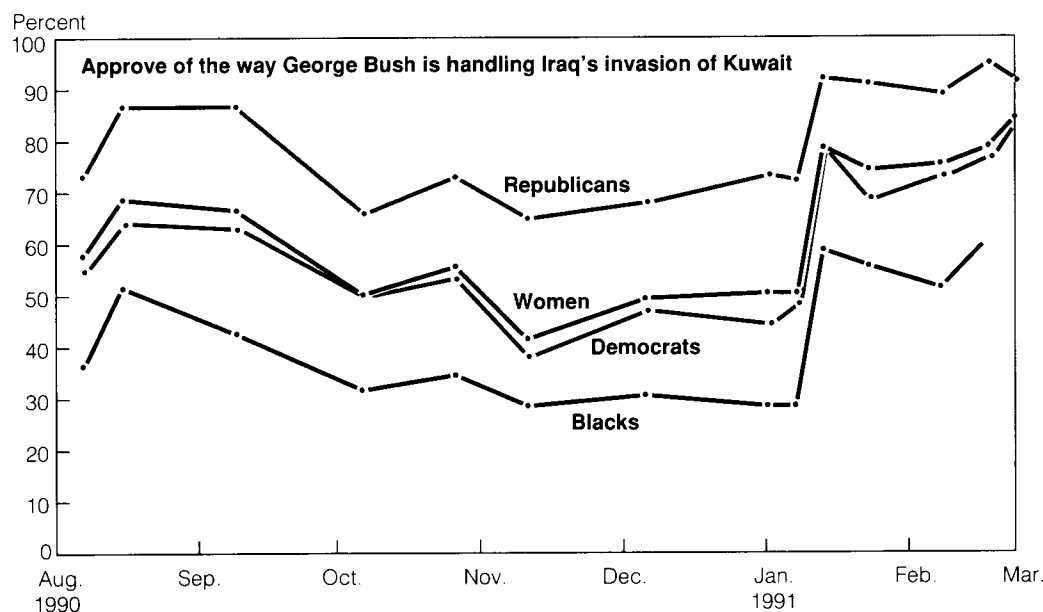
Question: **Do you think President Bush is doing a good job or a poor job of handling (the crisis/the war) with Iraq? (YCS/Time/CNN) Do you approve of the way George Bush is handling Iraq's invasion of Kuwait? (CBS/NYT)**



	YCS/Time/CNN		CBS/NYT
1990		1990	
Aug. 9	83%	Aug 7-8*	64%
Aug. 23	76	16-19	76
Sep. 13	75	Sept. 10	71
Oct. 3	65	Oct. 8-10	57
Oct. 10	65	28-31	59
Oct. 15-17	59	Nov. 13-15	50
Nov. 14	53	Dec. 9-11	57
Nov. 27-28	54	1991	
1991		Jan. 5-7	58
Jan. 10	61	11-13	58
Jan. 24	84	17-20	83
Feb. 7	85	27-28*	78
		Feb. 12-13	80
		24-25	85
		Feb. 28-Mar. 1**	86

Note: * = CBS News poll. ** = New York Times poll.
Source: Surveys by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for Time and Cable News Network and by CBS News/New York Times.

Question: **Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling Iraq's invasion of Kuwait?**



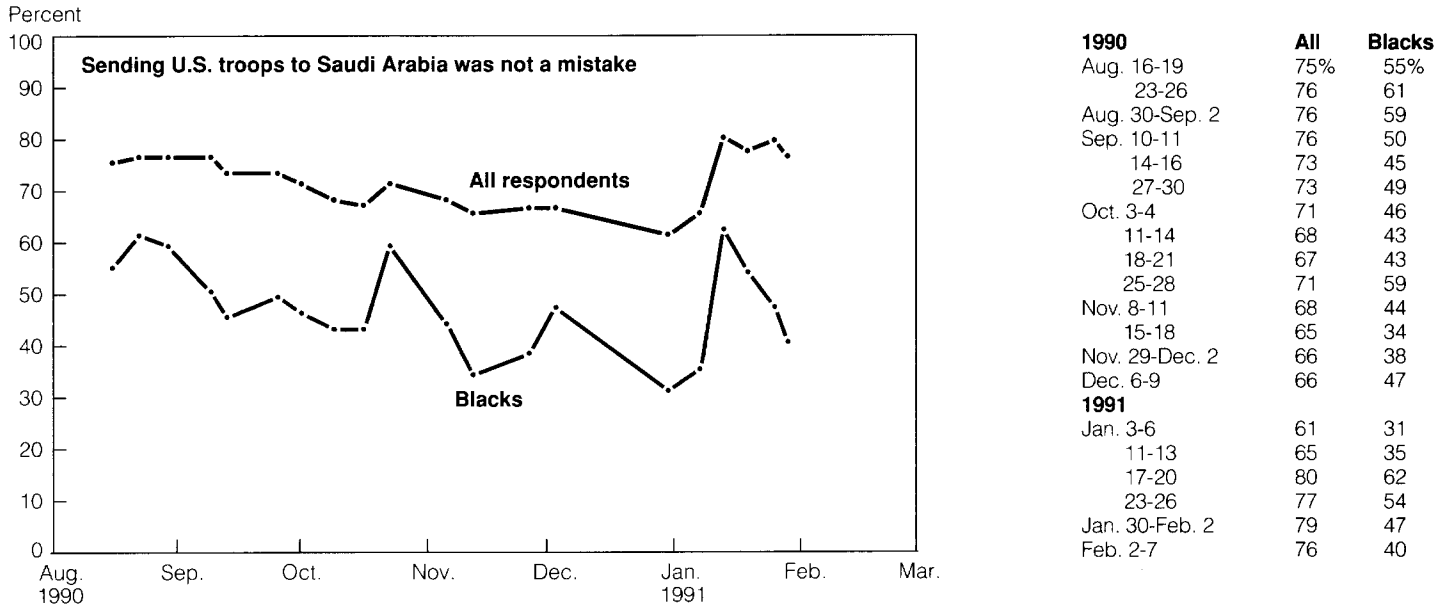
Selected groups

	Women	Blacks	Republicans	Democrats
1990				
Aug. 7-8*	57%	36%	73%	54%
Aug. 16-19	68	51	87	64
Sep. 10	66	42	87	63
Oct. 8-10	50	31	66	50
Oct. 28-31	55	34	73	53
Nov. 13-15	41	28	65	38
Dec. 9-11	49	30	68	47
1991				
Jan. 5-7	50	28	73	44
Jan. 11-13	50	28	72	49
Jan. 17-20	78	58	92	78
Jan. 27-28*	74	55	91	68
Feb. 12-13	75	51	89	73
Feb. 24-25	79	60	95	77
Feb. 28-Mar. 1**	84	NA	92	84

Note: * = CBS News poll. ** = New York Times poll.
Source: Surveys by CBS News and The New York Times

While there have been some differences among groups (blacks in particular have been less supportive and women moderately less supportive but consistently so), the main story here is one of a public backing Bush policies firmly from the beginning.

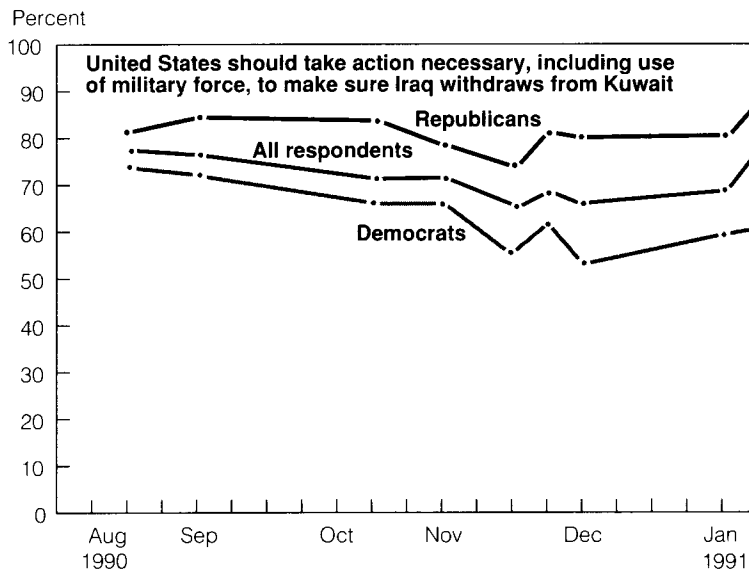
Question: **In view of the developments since we first sent our troops to Saudi Arabia, do you think the United States made a mistake in sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or not?**



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization.

Question: **Do you agree or disagree that the United States should take all action necessary, including the use of military force, to make sure that Iraq withdraws its forces from Kuwait?**

	All	Rep.	Dem.
1990			
Aug. 17-20*	76%	81%	75%
Sep. 6-9	75	84	73
Oct. 10-14	70	83	66
Nov. 2-4*	70	78	67
14-15	65	74	55
Nov. 30-Dec. 2	67	81	62
Dec. 9*	65	80	52
1991			
Jan. 4-6	68	80	59
9	75	86	61



Note: * = ABC News poll. Sample for survey conducted November 2-4 was of likely voters.

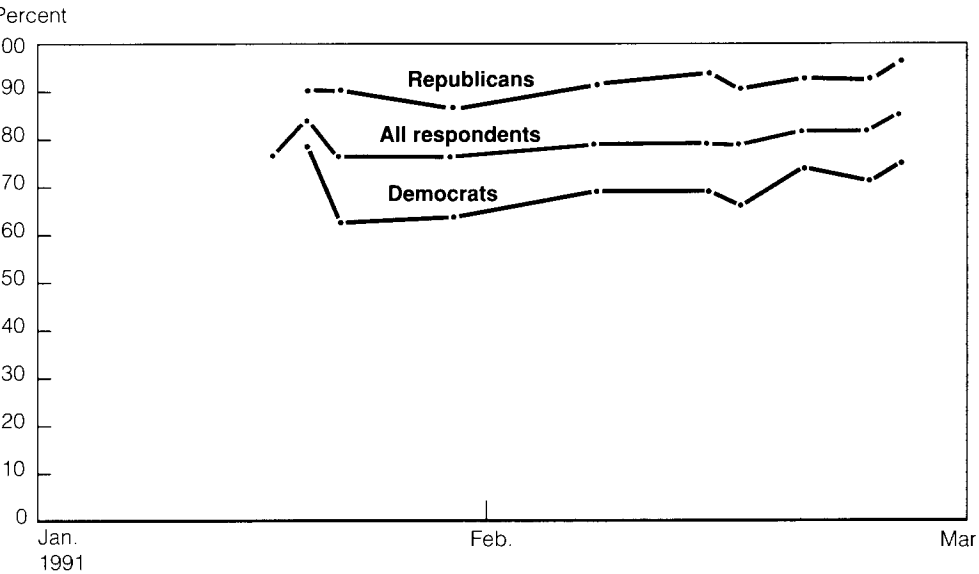
Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post.

Going to War: Attitudes Over Time and ...

Democrats were less supportive of the decision to go to war than Republicans, but both groups were positive.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the United States having gone to war with Iraq?

Approve of the United States having gone to war with Iraq



Approve of the United States having gone to war with Iraq

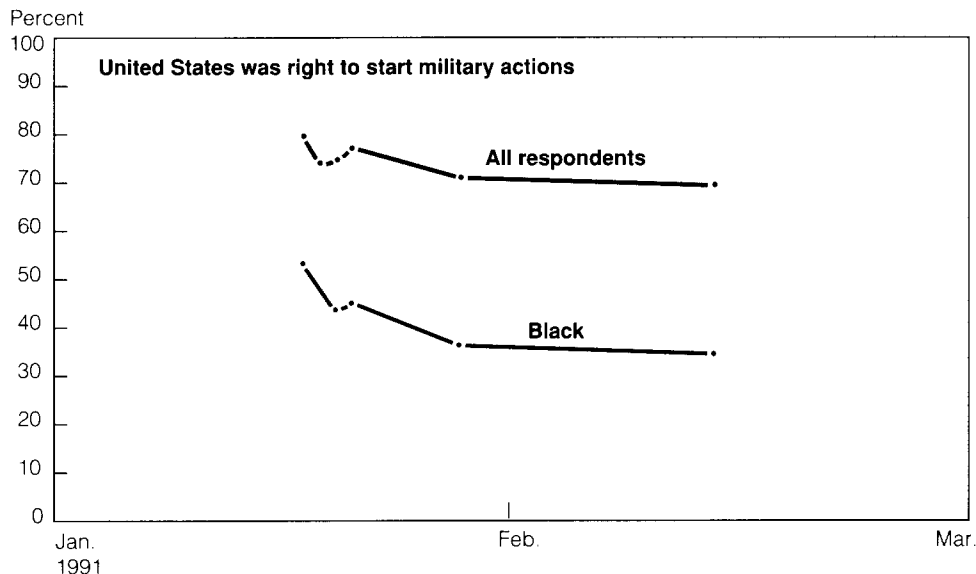
	All	Rep.	Dem.
Jan. 16, 1991	76%	NA	NA
18*	83	90%	79%
20	76	90	63
23-27	75	86	64
Feb. 1-5	78	91	69
8-12	78	93	69
14	78	90	66
18	81	92	74
22	81	92	71
24	84	96	75

Note: * = ABC News poll. NA = Not available.
Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post.

Question: Do you think the United States did the right thing in starting military actions against Iraq, or should the United States have waited longer to see if the trade embargo and other economic sanctions worked?

United States was right to start military action

	All	Black
Jan. 17, 1991	79%	52%*
Jan. 18	73	—
Jan. 19	74	43
Jan. 20	76	44
Jan. 27-28**	70	35
Feb. 12-13	68	33



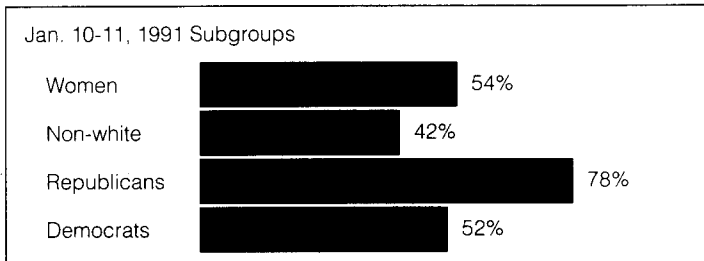
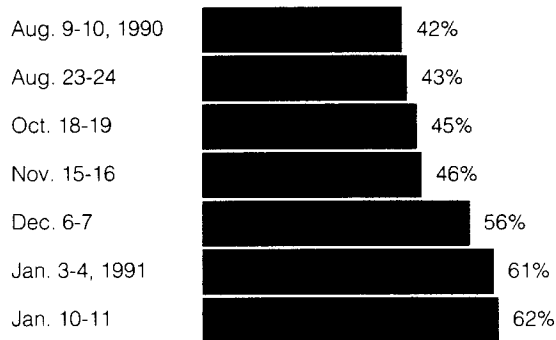
Note: * = January 17 and 18 responses combined. ** = CBS News poll.
Source: Surveys by CBS News/New York Times.

Among Different Groups

By October, doubts that sanctions would work were mounting, and support for the use of force was increasing. Of those who disapproved of George Bush's handling of the crisis in November, more than four in ten said that he was moving too *slowly*.

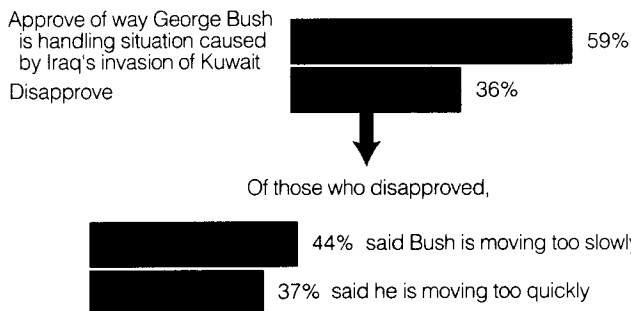
Question: **Now that U.S. forces have been sent to Saudi Arabia and other areas of the Middle East, do you think they should engage in combat if Iraq refuses to leave Kuwait and restore its former government?**

U.S. forces should engage in combat if Iraq refuses to leave Kuwait and restore its former government



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for *Newsweek*, latest that of January 10-11, 1991

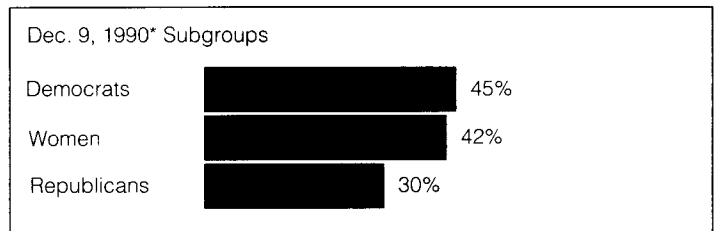
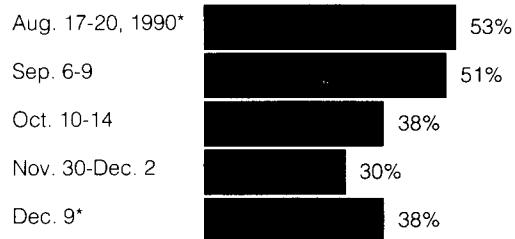
Question: **Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the situation caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait?**



Source: Surveys by ABC News/*Washington Post*, November 14-15, 1990

Question: **Most of the world's countries are participating in an economic boycott of Iraq. The boycott is designed to put economic pressure on Iraq so that it will withdraw from Kuwait. Just your best guess. Do you think the economic boycott will make Iraq withdraw from Kuwait, or not?**

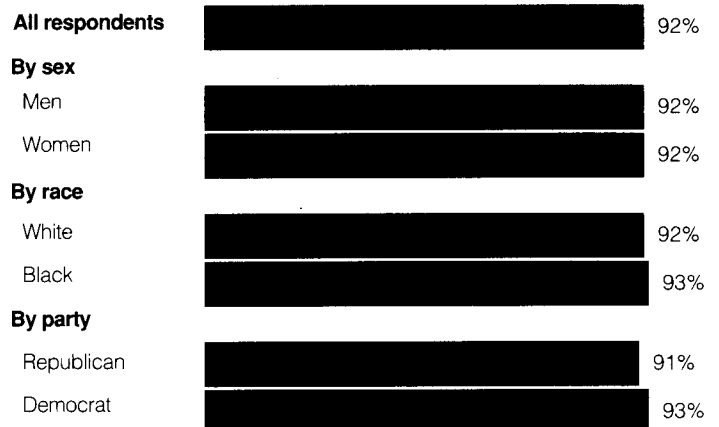
Economic boycott will make Iraq withdraw from Kuwait



Note: * = ABC News poll.
Source: Surveys by ABC News/*Washington Post*, latest that of December 9, 1990.

Question: **From what you have heard or read about Saddam Hussein, do you believe that he will surrender when it is clear that he cannot win, or do you think he will fight to the very end?**

Saddam Hussein will fight to the very end, not surrender

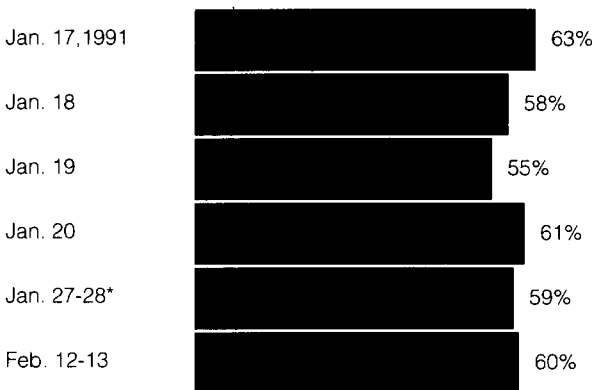


Source: Survey by the Wirthlin Group, January 21-23, 1991.

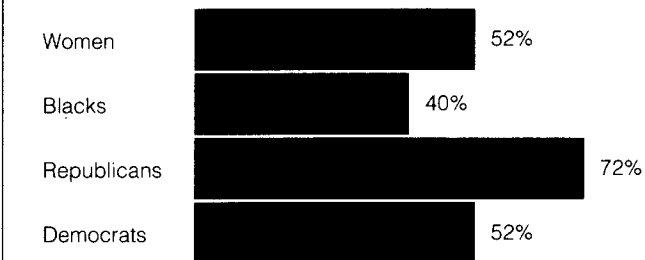
The costs of war weighed heavily on Americans, as they have in past conflicts. A bare majority of women and Democrats, and only four in ten blacks, said that war would be worth the sacrifice. But more than seven in ten in the public overall said consistently that U.S. involvement wasn't a mistake.

Question: **Given the loss of life and other costs of war in the Persian Gulf, do you think the war to defeat Iraq is likely to be worth the cost or not?**

War to defeat Iraq will be worth the costs



Feb. 12-13, 1991 Subgroups



Note: * = CBS News poll.

Source: Surveys by CBS News/New York Times, latest that of February 12-13, 1991.

Question: **The United Nations has authorized the use of force in the Persian Gulf only to remove Iraqi troops from Kuwait. What do you think the United States should do? Should the U.S. stop fighting when Iraqi troops leave Kuwait, or should the U.S. continue fighting until Saddam Hussein is removed from power?**

The United States should continue fighting until Saddam Hussein is removed from power

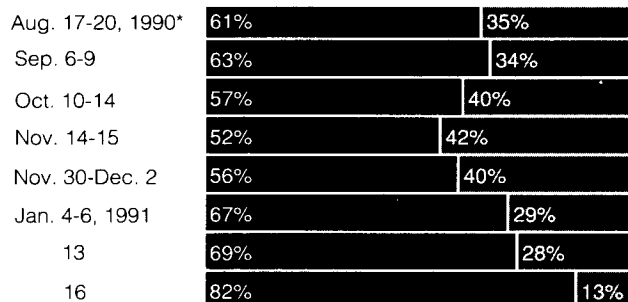
1991



Source: Surveys by CBS News/New York Times

Question: **Do you think war between the United States and Iraq would be a relatively short war lasting a few weeks or months or do you think such a war would last for a long time, a year or more?**

■ War between the United States and Iraq would be relatively short ■ Long war



Note: * ABC News poll.

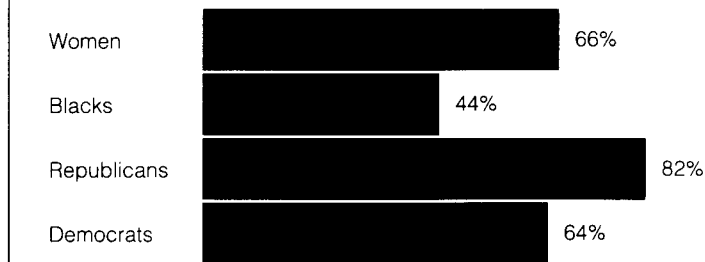
Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post.

Question: **Do you think the United States made a mistake getting involved in the war against Iraq, or not?**

United States did not make a mistake getting involved in the war against Iraq



Feb. 12-13, 1991 Subgroups



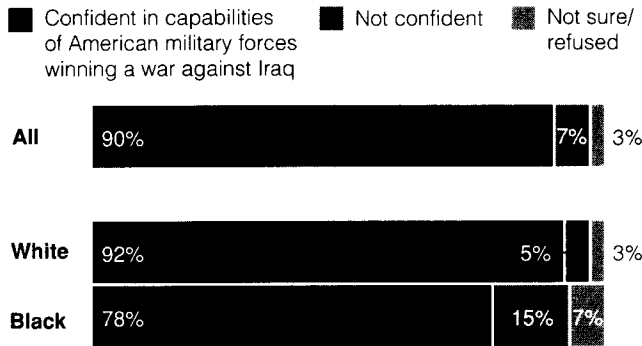
Note: * = CBS News poll.

Source: Surveys by CBS News/New York Times, latest that of February 12-13, 1991.

Confidence In the Military

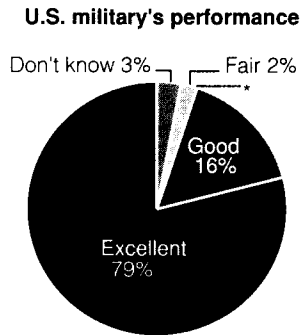
Since 1973 when the question shown below was first asked, confidence in the military has been relatively high. The military (85%) outranks churches (62%) and all other principal social institutions in terms of confidence in it.

Question: **How confident are you in the capabilities of the American military forces in the Persian Gulf winning a war against Iraq—are you very confident, somewhat confident, or not very confident, or not confident at all in the capabilities of the American military forces winning a war against Iraq?**



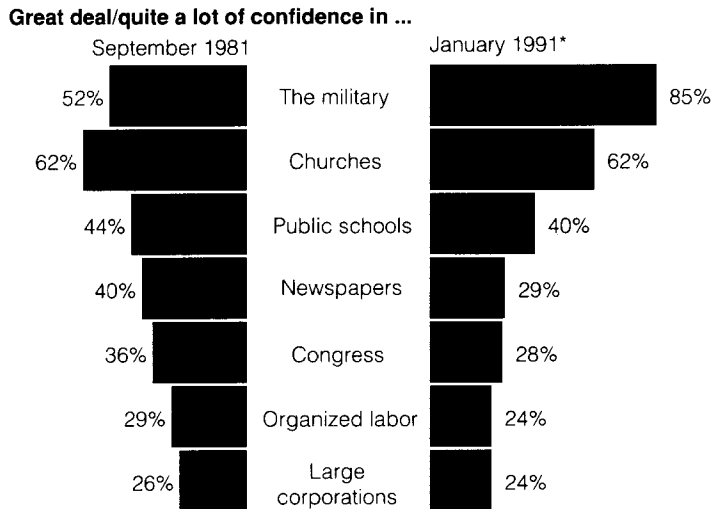
Source: Survey by the Los Angeles Times, January 8-12, 1991.

Question: **In general, how would you rate the U.S. military's performance?**



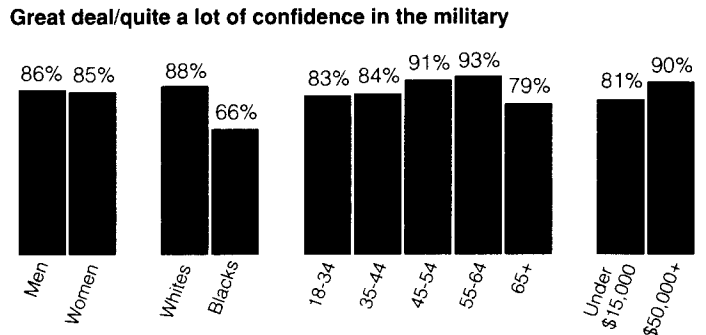
Note: *Poor = 0%
Source: Survey by Gordon S. Black Corporation for USA Today, February 24, 1991.

Question: **I'm going to mention the names of some institutions in American society. Would you tell me how much confidence you, yourself, have in each one: a great deal, quite a lot, some, or very little?**



Note: * = Washington Post only.
Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of January 23-27, 1991.

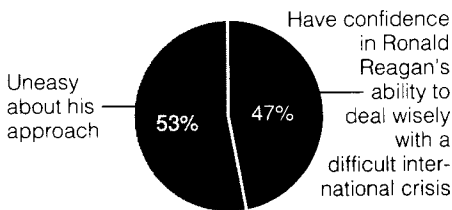
1991* — Selected subgroups



The Country's Mood

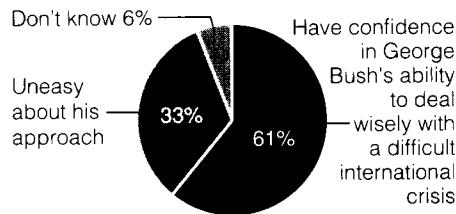
The conduct and conclusion of the Gulf War has left most Americans with feelings of satisfaction. This upswing in the public's mood should not, however, be seen as involving any fundamental shift in judgments about the society—where general public confidence was high throughout the 1980s as it has been historically.

Question: **Do you have confidence in Ronald Reagan's ability to deal wisely with a difficult international crisis, or are you uneasy about his approach?**



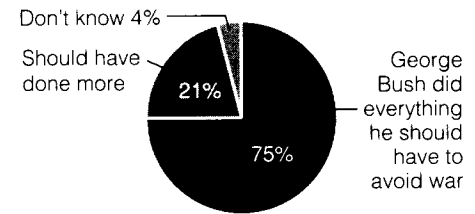
Note: Survey conducted after Grenada invasion.
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, April 15, 1986.

Question: **Do you have confidence in George Bush's ability to deal wisely with a difficult international crisis, or are you uneasy about his approach?**



Note: In October 1988, 44% had confidence in him, 50% did not.
Source: Survey by CBS News, August 7-8, 1990.

Question: **Do you think George Bush did everything he should have to avoid war, or should he have done more?**



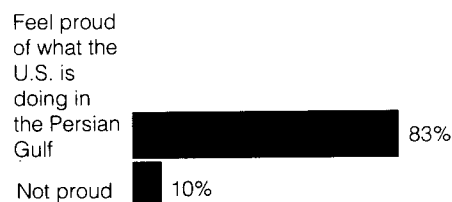
Note: Forty-five percent of black respondents said that George Bush did everything he should have to avoid war, 46% said he should have done more.
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, January 20, 1991.

Compiling data for a comprehensive examination of public opinion on a topic like the Persian Gulf situation can be very difficult, and we owe thanks to a number of people who helped us enormously. In the United States, we would like to thank Graham Hueber and John Zeglarski (Gallup), Sharon Warden and Richard Morin (*Washington Post*), Gary Langer (ABC News), John Aronsohn and Julie Faber (CBS News), Michael Kagay (*New York Times*), and Fred Chestnut (NBC News).

International opinion data was compiled with the help of Richard Burkholder and David Banas (Gallup), Robert Worcester and Sarah Green (MORI, U.K.), Anita Jones (Social Surveys Ltd., U.K.), Richard Glendinning and Nick Moon (NOP, U.K.), Pierre Giacometti (BVA, France), and Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann and Werner Süblin at the Institut Für Demoskopie Allensbach (Germany).

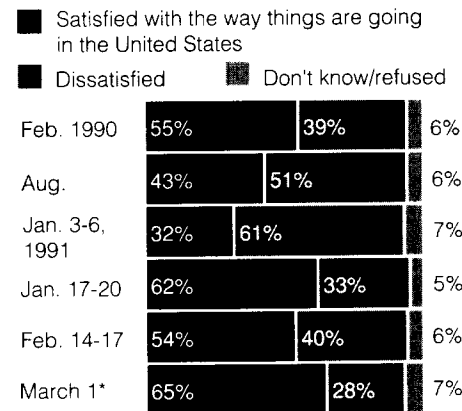
The Editors

Question: **Would you say you feel proud about what the U.S. is doing in the Persian Gulf or not proud about what the U.S. is doing?**



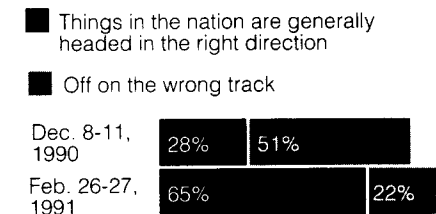
Source: Survey by CBS News, February 24, 1991.

Question: **In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the United States at this time?**



Note: * = Gallup poll for *Newsweek*.
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization.

Question: **All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?**

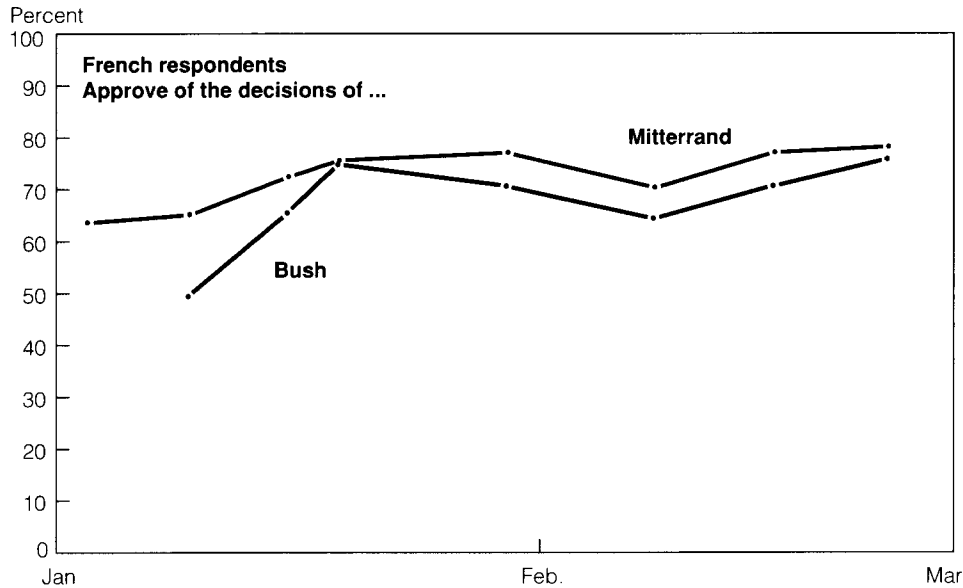


Source: Surveys by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*.

International Opinion

International support for Allied actions in the Gulf—like support in the U.S.—was strong. In France, high approval of the decisions of Presidents Mitterrand and Bush and for launching of the ground war illustrated French resolve. Three-fourths of the French public viewed Saddam Hussein as an obstacle to peace.

Question: **Do you approve or disapprove of the decisions of (François Mitterrand, President of the Republic/George Bush President of the United States) concerning the crisis in the Gulf?**



Approve of decisions of ...

	Mitterrand	Bush
Jan. 4-5, 1991	64%	—
12-13	65	49%
18	72	65
20	75	74
26	77	70
Feb. 9	70	64
17	77	70
24	78	75

Note: In the February 24 BVA poll, 53% approved of the decisions of Mikhail Gorbachev, 35% disapproved.
Source: Survey by Brulé Ville Associés, latest that of February 24, 1991.

Question: **Do you approve of the launching of the ground war by the allies?**

Question: **The leaders of the principal countries of the coalition rejected the Soviet peace plan envisaging a [Iraqi] withdrawal from Kuwait. In your opinion, were they right or wrong to reject this plan?**

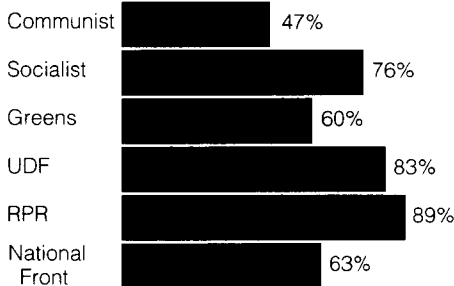
Question: **Do you think that the fall of Saddam Hussein is an indispensable condition for reestablishing peace in the region?**

French respondents

■ Approve of the launching of the ground war ■ Disapprove ■ No opinion

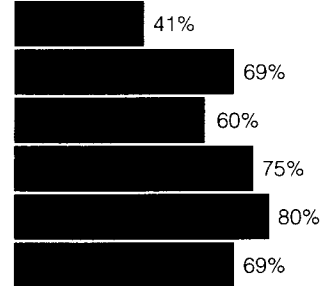


By party



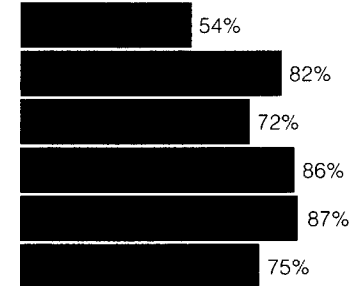
French respondents

■ Coalition leaders right to reject Soviet peace plan ■ Wrong ■ No opinion



French respondents

■ Fall of Hussein is indispensable for reestablishing peace in the region ■ Is not ■ No opinion

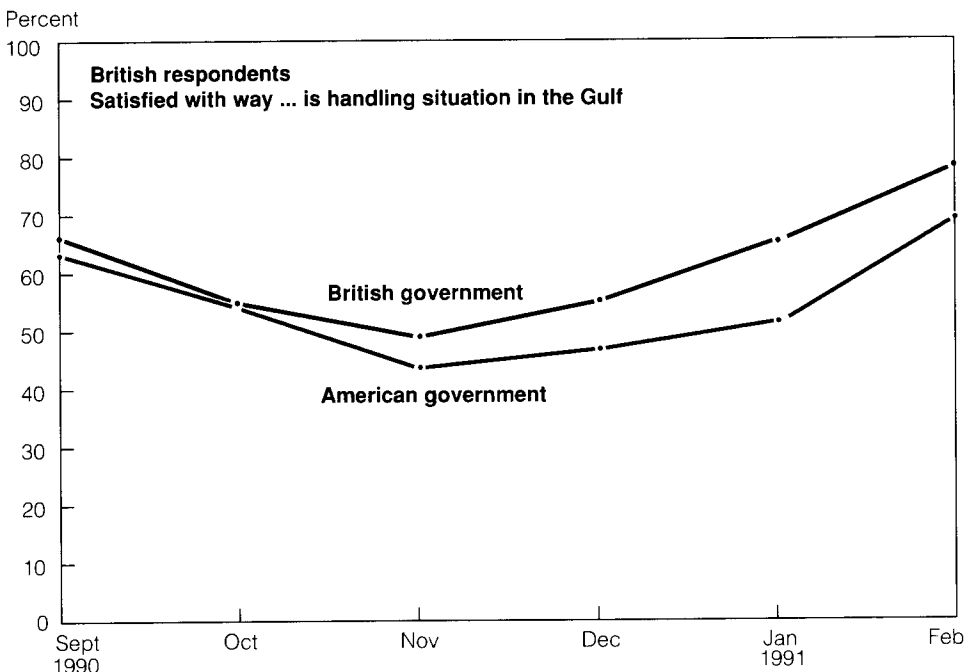


Note: The Communists, Socialists and Greens are parties of the left in France; the UDF, RPR, and the National Front are parties of the right. Sample size for the Communist and National Front are too small to be statistically reliable.

Source: Survey by Brulé Ville Associés, latest that of February 24, 1991.

Britons were convinced early of the need to use force in the Gulf, and more than six in ten said they would support the use of force to topple Saddam Hussein. The British and American governments' handling of the situation in the Persian Gulf met with growing approval among Britons.

Question: **Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the (British government/American government) is handling the crisis in the Gulf?**



British respondents satisfied with

	British handling	American handling
Sept. 1990	65%	63%
Oct.	54	54
Nov.	48	43
Dec.	54	46
Jan. 1991	64	51
Feb.	78	69

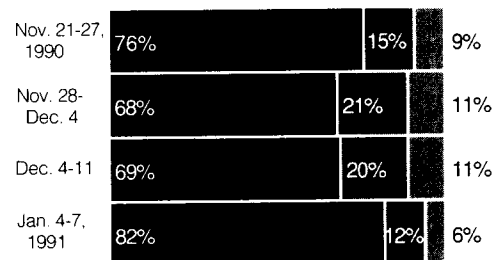
Note: Disapproval of the way the American government is handling the situation was 24% in September, 29% in October, 36% in November, 35% in December, and 41% in January. The MORI question asked about "the situation" in the Gulf.

Source: Surveys by NOP (U.K.) for the *Sunday Times*, September 1990-December 1990 and February 9-13, 1991; by Market and Opinion Research International Ltd. for the Free Kuwait Campaign, January 9-10, 1991.

Question: **There are a number of different purposes for which British Forces might be used in the present Gulf crisis. Could you tell me for each of the following whether you would support the use of British Forces or not?**

British respondents

- Would support use of British Forces to restore independence to Kuwait
- Would not support
- Don't know

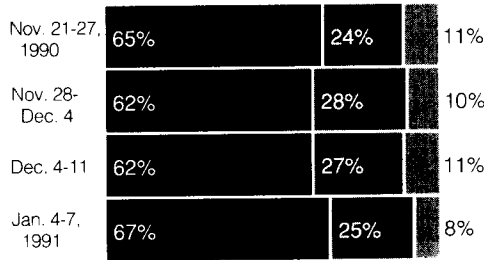


Note: Not all choices shown.
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, U.K. affiliate, Social Surveys Ltd.

Question: **There are a number of different purposes for which British Forces might be used in the present Gulf crisis. Could you tell me for each of the following whether you would support the use of British Forces or not?**

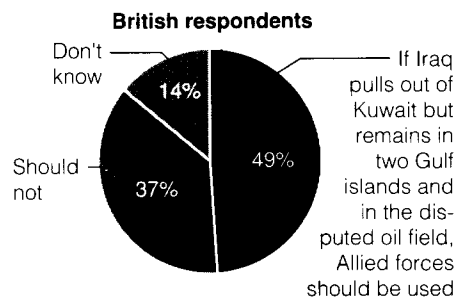
British respondents

- Would support use of British Forces to topple Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq
- Would not support
- Don't know



Note: Not all choices shown.
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, U.K. affiliate, Social Surveys Ltd.

Question: **If Iraq pulled out of Kuwait but remained in the two Gulf islands and in the disputed oil field in Kuwait, do you think Allied forces should be used against Iraqi troops in the area, or not?**

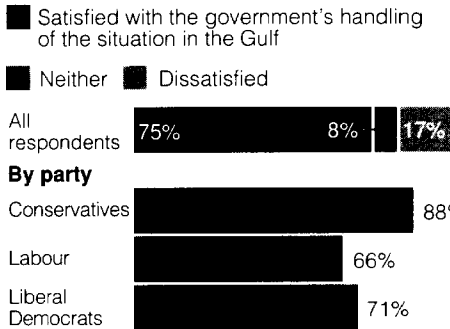


Source: Survey by Market Opinion Research International, Ltd. for the Free Kuwait Campaign, January 9-10, 1991.

Those who identify with the out-of-power parties in Britain were less approving of Allied policies and of the launching of the ground war, but, still, solid majorities of them approved.

Question: **Taking everything into account, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's handling of the situation in the Gulf?**

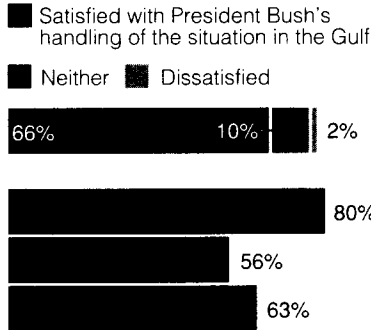
British respondents



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, U.K. affiliate, Social Surveys Ltd., February 8-11, 1991.

Question: **Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with President Bush's handling of the situation in the Gulf?**

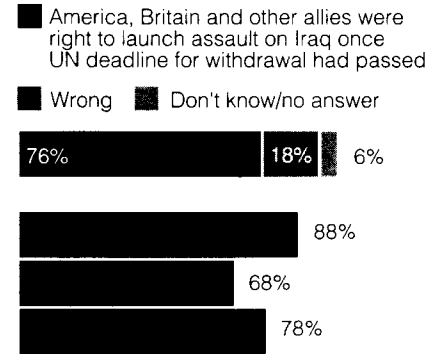
British respondents



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, U.K. affiliate, Social Surveys Ltd., February 8-11, 1991.

Question: **Do you think America, Britain and the other allies were right or wrong to launch an assault on Iraq once the UN deadline for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait had passed?**

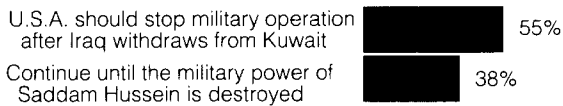
British respondents



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, U.K. affiliate, Social Surveys Ltd., February 8-11, 1991.

Question: **Some say that the U.S.A. should only continue its military operation until Iraq states that it will withdraw from Kuwait, as was laid down in the resolution of the UN. Others think that the U.S.A. should go further than the UN resolution and continue to fight until Saddam Hussein is expelled or his military power is destroyed. What is your opinion on that?**

Dutch respondents



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, Dutch affiliate, Gallup Holland/NIPO, February 16-18, 1991.

Question: **What is your opinion of President Bush?**

Dutch respondents

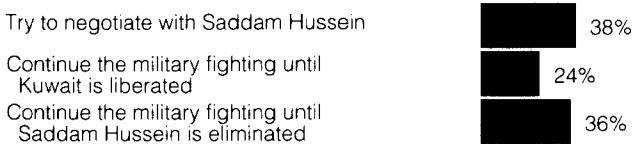
Opinion of President Bush



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, Dutch affiliate, Gallup Holland/NIPO, February 16-18, 1991.

Question: **How do you think the United States of America and the allies should handle the conflict at this moment?**

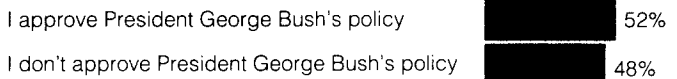
Belgian respondents



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, Belgian affiliate, Gallup Belgium/DIMARSO, January 26-27, 1991.

Question: **Evaluation of U.S. President Bush's Gulf crisis policy**

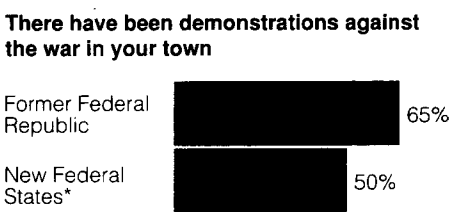
Turkish respondents



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, Turkish affiliate, Gallup Piar for SABAH Publications, Inc., January 28-31, 1991.

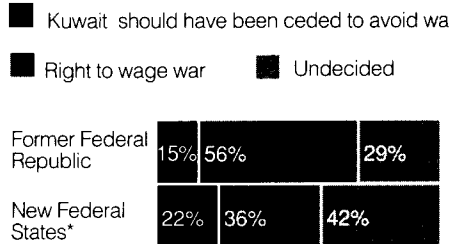
After German reunification, differences in opinion east and west are striking. Reports of antiwar demonstrations were widespread in Germany; but majorities in the former Federal Republic said the war was warranted and viewed it as just, while only minorities in the new Federal States held these views.

Question: **There have been demonstrations and prayer vigils against the Gulf war in numerous cities and towns. What was the situation in your town, have there been activities against the war here?**



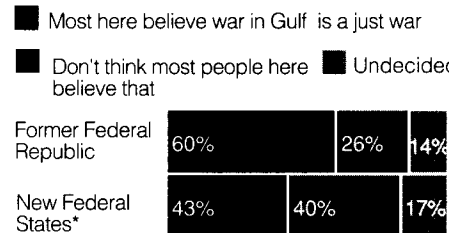
Note: *Formerly East Germany. Twenty percent of 16-29 year olds in the former Federal Republic indicated that they had participated in demonstrations, as did 19 percent of those in the new federal states. Forty percent of Green identifiers in the former Federal Republic said they had participated, but fewer than 10 percent in the other three major parties (CDU/CSU, FDP, SPD) said they had.

Question: **Should Kuwait have been ceded to Iraq in order to avoid war, or is it right to wage war in this case?**



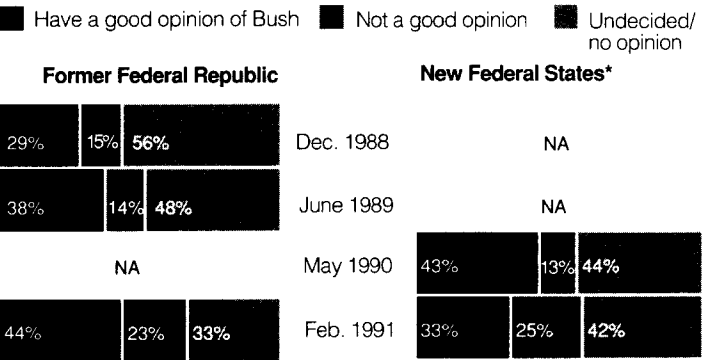
Note: *Formerly East Germany. Among 16-29 year olds, 12% in the former Federal Republic said Kuwait should have ceded, 55% said it was right to wage war, and 33% were undecided. In the new Federal States, among the same age group, responses were 22%, 42%, 36%.

Question: **Now, aside from your opinion: What do you think, do most people here in the Federal Republic believe that the Gulf war is a just war or don't you think so?**



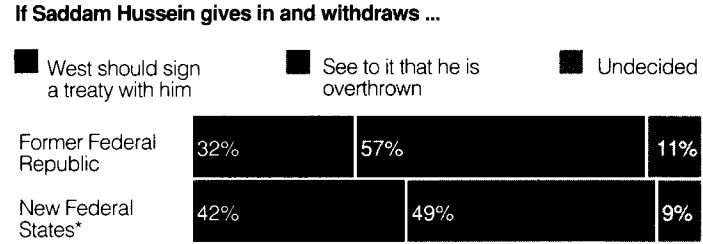
Note: *Formerly East Germany.

Question: **A question on the American president, George Bush: Generally speaking, do you have a good opinion of George Bush or not a good opinion?**



Note: *Formerly East Germany. NA=Not available.

Question: **If Saddam Hussein gives in and withdraws from Kuwait, should the West sign a treaty with him and end the war, or should we see to it that Saddam Hussein is overthrown?**



Note: *Formerly East Germany. Majorities of all age groups in the Former Federal Republic felt that the West should see to it that Saddam Hussein is overthrown. A majority of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU/CSU) and the Social Democratic Party thought he should be overthrown. A plurality of Free Democrats (FDP) did, while the Greens felt that a treaty should be signed, by 45-41%.

Source: Survey by the Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach (Germany), latest that of January-February, 1991.