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ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT AND THE PUBLIC'S PRIORITIES

Polling

Energy policy and environmental issues are the focus for this national study of 1,200 adults conducted jointly by the Washington, D.C., Republican and Democratic polling firms of Research/Strategy/Management, Inc., and Greenberg/Lake, Inc. Personal interviews, completed by telephone, were conducted between the seventh and eleventh of December 1990. The margin of error for most reported aggregate results is plus or minus three percentage points. Project director for R/S/M, Inc., is Dr. Vincent J. Breglio; Ms. Celinda Lake is the project director for Greenberg/Lake, Inc. This study is the third in a series of national surveys on energy policy. Previous studies were conducted in October 1988 and November 1989

A QUICK LOOK AT KEY FINDINGS

The following present a few of the most notable findings:

1. Reducing Oil Dependence. Offered alternative approaches for dealing with U.S. dependence on foreign oil supplies -- one based on increasing the oil supply through new exploration and development and the other based on reducing demand for fossil fuels through increased efficiency -- three out of four Americans believe reducing demand makes more sense than increasing supply.
2. Global Warming. Seven out of ten persons (69%) feel the United States should join now with other industrial countries and limit carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuels released into the air rather than wait for more scientific evidence on the accuracy of global warming predictions. Three out of four persons (73%) say they would be willing to pay more for fossil fuels if the added cost is earmarked to prevent serious consequences from global warming.

3. Automotive Energy Standards. Increasing federal fuel economy standards to 40 mpg by the year 2000 is not only popular (84% support it) but also represents a strongly held point of view (63% strongly favor versus only 6% strongly opposed).¹ Among those who favor the increase, 89% say they would still be in favor of higher fuel economy standards even if a new car cost the buyer \$500 more as a result.
 4. Energy Research Priorities. Americans continue to stress the development of renewable energy sources such as solar or wind as their top priority. Seventy-five percent (75%) would give it the largest or next largest share of Department of Energy's research dollar and more than half (59%) believe different energy sources such as solar and wind should be emphasized more than other strategies to meet America's energy needs for the future. Energy conservation runs a close second as a research priority with two out of three persons (67%) assigning it top shares of the Department's energy research budget.
 5. Home/Building Energy Efficiency. Utilities should be encouraged to invest in energy efficiency improvements in their customers' homes and buildings. Clearly, nine out of ten persons (86%) favor requiring federal and state regulators to provide incentives to utilities for such improvements. A similar number (91%) favor requiring conformity to federal standards for energy efficiency for new homes financed by FHA or VA mortgages.
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1. The ratio of strongly held positive opinion (strongly favor) to strongly held negative opinion (strongly oppose) is a measure of attitude intensity. In this case, the intensity of feeling on the question of fuel economy standards measures 10.5 to 1. Opinions expressed with intensity ratios equal to or larger than 4 should be noted.

6. Other Energy Alternatives. Three additional energy policy alternatives stand out because of their broad appeal and high measure of favorable intensity. These include:

- * incentives to use or develop alternative fuels such as fuels produced from grains;
- * tax credits for consumers who use renewable energy sources such as solar or wind power;
- * tax rebates for new cars that get better mileage than the federal standard.

Conversely, public opinion runs nearly as broad and strong in opposition to the following:

- * developing oil reserves off-shore or on publicly-owned land if this might cause some environmental damage;
- * using coal if this caused some environmental damage;
- * building more nuclear power plants.

Additional highlights and findings from this national study are presented in the following sections.

MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

Anxious about conflicts abroad and disturbed by a slowdown in the economy at home, the year 1990 draws to a close with the majority of persons (57%) believing the country has gotten off on the wrong track. Few of the good feelings and positive expectations fueled by the remarkable events out of central and eastern Europe measured in last year's study remain intact. Indeed, a drop of seventeen points has occurred in the percentage of people who say the country is generally going in the right direction (47% to 30%). Still, George Bush receives overall job approval from a strong majority of Americans (60%). This represents an eight point decrease from his approval rating in our study one year ago (68% to 60%).

On the national domestic agenda, improving education, reducing the deficit and providing affordable health care are mentioned most often as top priority items. Energy and environmental concerns are less salient in the thinking of most persons.

For more detail on the mood of the country refer to Table 1.

TABLE 1

MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

QUESTION: Do you feel things in the country are generally going in the right direction, or have things pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Right Direction	30	22	33	31	32
Wrong Track	57	66	54	56	52
Don't know/Refused	13	12	13	12	16

QUESTION: And, do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Strongly Approve	25	18	28	27	26
Somewhat Approve	35	37	32	36	35
Somewhat Disapprove	16	19	18	13	16
Strongly Disapprove	14	19	10	14	16
Don't know/Refused	9	7	12	10	7

QUESTION: Other than the state of the economy, which of the following domestic goals would you say is the most/next most important for the President to address? (FIRST AND SECOND MENTION)

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Provide more affordable health care	36	34	40	34	35
Reduce the federal deficit	42	41	41	42	35
Protect the environment	28	28	28	23	33
Improve the quality of primary & secondary education	42	43	46	30	39
Strengthen laws to crack down on crime	30	25	24	37	33
Develop dependable and secure sources of energy	15	16	12	17	15
Don't know/Refused	8	3	9	9	10

ENERGY CRISIS

When asked specifically about their perceptions of our energy situation today, two out of three persons (67%) hold the view that even now we are entering a period of energy crisis -- with things like gasoline shortages, sharply higher prices and oil supply disruptions -- just as we did in the 1970's.

This contrast with the relative low salience of energy on the national domestic agenda may be explained in part by perceptions of our confrontation with Iraq. The reason given most often as the best explanation of why the United States has troops aligned against Iraq is -- "to secure Middle East oil supplies for the U.S. and its allies" (50%). The perception that our foreign oil supplies are threatened is definitely related to the sense that the U.S. is entering a period of energy crisis.

The confrontation with Iraq has also precipitated debate over the best way to take care of the nation's future energy needs. Some experts argue that the Iraq/Kuwait situation demonstrates the need to increase our oil supply by opening up domestic oil and gas exploration off the coasts and in natural wilderness areas. Other experts argue that it makes more sense to reduce demand by promoting fuel efficiency, car pooling and mass transportation. By the margin of three to one (75%), the public endorses the position of reduced demand over increased development. This position is favored by all subgroups. From a partisan perspective, all majority voter groups endorse reducing demand. It is least popular among conservative Democrats who are the most likely to support increasing production as their favored alternative. But even with this group, more than six out of ten favor reducing demand.

For more detail on each of the above issues see Table 2.

ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY AND THE FUTURE

Americans are not optimistic that their environment will be better in the future than it is today. Four out of ten (40%) believe the quality of their environment will not be as good in just three years. Those in the West tend to be somewhat more pessimistic than others with nearly one out of two (46%) who think their environment will deteriorate over the next three years. Whatever the perception of the environment in future years, there is strong agreement that we need some changes from the status quo to meet America's energy needs.

TABLE 2

PROSPECTS OF AN "ENERGY CRISIS"

QUESTION: Some people say the "energy crisis" like the United States experienced in the 1970's -- with things like gasoline shortages, sharply higher prices and oil supply disruptions -- will not happen again. Other people say even now we are entering a period of energy crisis just as we did in the 1970's. Which view is closer to your own?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Will not happen again	24	20	25	22	30
Entering a period of crisis even now	67	73	66	68	61
Don't know/Refused	9	7	9	10	9

QUESTION: The United States has stationed hundreds of thousands of troops in the Middle East. Which of the following reasons best explains why we are there:

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Liberating Kuwait from Iraqi occupation	28	27	28	26	33
Secure Middle East oil supplies for the U.S. and its allies	50	52	52	49	45
Neutralize Iraq's growing chemical and nuclear weapon capability	14	12	13	14	17
Don't know/Refused	8	9	7	10	6

TABLE 2 (Con't)

PROSPECTS OF AN "ENERGY CRISIS"

QUESTION: Some people say the Iraq crisis demonstrates the need to increase our oil supply by opening up domestic oil and gas exploration off our coasts and in natural wilderness areas. Others say it makes more sense to reduce our demand for oil by requiring more fuel efficient cars, encouraging car pooling and promoting mass transit alternatives. Which point of view comes closest to your own opinion of what we ought to do?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Increase supply	21	22	19	26	15
Reduce demand	75	75	79	70	78
Don't Know/Refused	4	3	2	4	7

	<u>Conservative Republican</u>	<u>Mod/Liberal Republican</u>	<u>Conservative Democrat</u>	<u>Mod/Liberal Democrat</u>
Increase supply	20	19	31	17
Reduce demand	76	79	65	79
Don't Know/Refused	3	2	3	3

To provide for energy in the future, six out of ten (59%) of those surveyed believe emphasis should be given to finding different energy sources such as solar and wind power. Finding ways to use less energy is the priority for one out of four persons (25%); while producing more oil, gas and coal is chosen by one in ten (11%) as the emphasis for the future of America's energy needs.

Putting each respondent in the role of research and development budget allocator for the Department of Energy, reinforces the high priority placed on renewables. Nearly one out of two (47%) give renewables top priority funding over oil and coal, nuclear energy and energy conservation. Another three out of ten (28%) mention it as their number two priority. Following renewables closely in the public's allocation of energy research dollars, is energy conservation. Nearly three out of ten (28%) make it their top priority; while four out of ten (39%) place it second in budget priority.

The high priority assigned to developing new or renewable sources of energy in this study is further supported by the two out of three (69%) who expect renewables will be providing at least some of our energy needs by the year 2000. One person in four (25%) expects that renewables can produce enough energy to meet a lot of our needs by that time.

For more detail on these questions refer to Tables 3 and 4.

GLOBAL WARMING

Awareness of the global warming issue has grown from approximately six out of ten persons in the first study done in October of 1988 (58%), to eight out of ten persons in November of 1989 (79%), to nearly nine out of ten persons today (December 1990 - 86%). While awareness reaches a majority within all subgroups, it does vary as a function of exposure to print media. More affluent, well-educated persons have a higher level of awareness than less affluent, less well-educated persons.

TABLE 3

FUTURE ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY NEEDS

QUESTION: Think for a minute about the quality of the environment in which you live. Everything considered, what do you think the quality of your environment will be like 3 years from now? Will it be better than it is today, about the same, or not as good as it is today?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Better than today	18	19	17	16	20
About the same	40	45	45	38	33
Not as good	40	34	36	43	46
Don't know/Refused	2	1	2	3	1

QUESTION: In order to help provide for the country's overall need for energy in the future, which do you think should be emphasized most?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Finding ways to produce more oil, gas & coal	11	10	12	13	8
Finding ways to use less energy	25	22	26	25	27
Finding different energy sources such as solar and wind	59	63	59	55	60
Don't know/Not Sure	5	5	4	7	5

QUESTION: When you think about America's energy needs in the future, what worries you most?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
That it will cost too much	23	23	26	24	19
There will not be enough to go around	21	22	15	25	20
That producing it will hurt the environment	26	26	27	23	28
That national security will be threatened by our dependence on foreign oil	24	24	25	24	25
Don't know/Refused	6	3	8	4	7

TABLE 4

ENERGY RESEARCH PRIORITIES

QUESTION: Suppose you were the person responsible for funding research and development in the Department of Energy. Four areas want your money for research and development - - oil and coal, nuclear energy, energy conservation and solar, wind and other renewable energy sources. Which of these four would you fund with the MOST money and which of these four would you fund with THE SECOND MOST money -- oil and coal, nuclear energy, energy conservation or solar, wind and other renewable energy sources?

	<u>Mentioned As Top Funding Priority</u>	<u>Mentioned as Second Funding Priority</u>	<u>Mentioned as Last Funding Priority</u>
Oil and Coal	12	14	33
Nuclear	10	15	43
Energy Conservation	28	39	8
Renewables	47	28	9
Don't know/Refused	3	3	7

QUESTION: Think about renewable sources of energy such as solar or wind power. Can renewable energy sources produce enough energy to meet a lot of our energy needs, some of our needs, or only a little of our needs by the year 2000?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
A Lot	25	26	23	25	28
Some	44	43	45	46	40
Little	24	25	24	21	25
Don't know/Refused	7	6	7	8	7

In our study of November 1989, seven out of ten persons felt that the United States must take the lead in fighting global warming. A repeat of this question in the current survey shows no change in opinion regarding the leadership role of this country. Again seven out of ten persons believe the U.S. should take the lead in fighting global warming.

However, some circumstances have changed since the 1989 study. A number of industrial countries have made unilateral commitments to limit or reduce the levels of carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuels. The current Bush administration position stresses the uncertainty of scientific predictions of global warming and refuses to commit to any carbon dioxide limit until there is more evidence. When presented with the choice to join now with other countries and make a commitment to lowering carbon dioxide levels from fossil fuels or wait for more scientific evidence before making such a commitment, seven out of ten respondents (69%) choose action now. One out of four (27%) feel we should wait for more scientific evidence of global warming. The call for action now has a decidedly ideological tilt to it with fewer conservatives than moderates/liberals lining up to support it. Still, majorities within each partisan/ideological group opt to see the U.S. take action now.

When asked how much more per month they would be willing to pay for fossil fuels to prevent global warming from having serious consequences, three persons out of four (77%) indicate a willingness to pay something. The median amount is nearly eleven dollars (\$10.81).

Table 5 provides more information on each of these questions.

ENERGY EFFICIENCY

The need to use energy more efficiently appears to be taken very seriously by the great majority of Americans (72%). Indeed, eight out of ten believe they can lower their energy bills by developing better energy habits or by investing in more energy efficient techniques and appliances. Among those who anticipate a saving, the median estimate of the decrease in utility bills is approximately 9% from developing better energy use habits and 10% from investing in more energy efficient techniques. The biggest perceived obstacle to making any changes leading to more efficiency is how much they cost. Listen to the verbatim comments of a few of those interviewed:

"Money. When you don't have the money you can't do the job."

"Cost. If something came along that was more efficient we couldn't afford it."

TABLE 5
GLOBAL WARMING

QUESTION: Have you ever read and/or heard anything about global warming sometimes called the "greenhouse effect?"

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Yes	86	89	89	80	91
No	13	11	10	19	9
Don't know/Refused	1	--	1	1	--

QUESTION: Because the U.S. is the largest contributor of global warming gases, some have argued that the U.S. must take the lead in fighting global warming. Others have argued that the U.S. should wait until there is an international agreement for all nations to move together to fight this problem. Which of these two positions comes closest to your own view?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
U.S. should take lead	68	71	67	67	68
U.S. should wait for int'l agreement	27	24	29	27	28
Don't know/Refused	5	5	4	7	4

TABLE 5 (Con't)

GLOBAL WARMING

QUESTION: Because of their concern about global warming, many industrial countries have recently made commitments to limit or reduce their amount of carbon dioxide from fossil fuels released into the air. The Bush Administration believes that scientific predictions of global warming are too uncertain and refuses to commit the U.S. to any such carbon dioxide limit. Do you believe the U.S. should join other industrial countries in committing to carbon dioxide emissions limits, or should we wait for greater scientific certainty before making such a commitment?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Join other countries	69	75	68	66	71
Wait for more evidence	26	22	27	29	26
Don't know/Refused	4	3	5	5	4

	<u>Conservative Republican</u>	<u>Mod/Liberal Republican</u>	<u>Conservative Democrat</u>	<u>Mod/Liberal Democrat</u>
Join other countries	65	72	69	79
Wait for more evidence	29	26	29	18
Don't know/Refused	6	2	2	2

QUESTION: Now suppose the price you pay for fossil fuels like coal, oil and natural gas had to go up to prevent global warming from having serious consequences, what is the maximum additional monthly cost you would be willing to pay:

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Nothing	15	12	16	15	16
Less than \$5 more	20	20	19	24	15
\$5-\$15 more	29	28	31	27	33
\$15-\$30 more	14	12	15	15	13
More than \$30	14	20	14	10	15
Don't know/Refused	8	8	6	9	9

Cost is followed closely by lack of incentive or just being too lazy to get it done:

"We could probably be more efficient in what we use already except that old habits are hard to break."

"I'd say probably convenience; it's just what's available now is very easy, things like my TV and stereo."

"Just resistant to change. I could wear more clothes and turn down the heat but I don't want to."

On another topic related to energy efficiency, two out of three persons (66%) accept the view that using the electricity we have more efficiently could make it unnecessary to build new power plants in order to meet increased demand. Three out of ten (28%) disagree and would opt for constructing new power plants to satisfy demand.

Based on respondent experience with their electric power companies, these organizations are rated above average for promoting energy efficiency. A plurality of all persons, more than four out of ten (42%), give their electric utility companies above average marks. Only one in five (22%) believe performance has been sub-par.

Greater detail on the above topics may be found in Tables 6 and 7.

NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY

Public reaction to nineteen energy policy alternatives sharply contrasts the most and least favored options for a national energy agenda.

Among the most popular of the alternatives focuses on increasing the federal fuel economy standard for auto companies to 40 miles to the gallon by the year 2000. More than eight out of ten persons (84%) support this policy change -- six out of ten (63%) strongly favor such action. Among those supporting the higher fuel economy standard, nine out of ten (89%) claim they would still support it even if a new car would cost the buyer \$500 more.

Majorities (53% in each case) also reject the statements that Detroit auto makers are doing their best to develop and sell to their customers fuel efficient cars that get more miles to the gallon than the present standard.

Five additional alternative policies are both widely popular (favored by more than eight out of ten persons) and strongly supported (intensity ratio of strongly favor to strongly oppose plus six or greater).

TABLE 6

PERCEPTIONS OF ENERGY EFFICIENCY

QUESTION: From what you have heard or read, how serious is the need to use energy more efficiently?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Very serious	72	73	66	75	75
Somewhat serious	25	23	30	22	24
Not serious	2	3	2	2	1
Don't know/Refused	1	1	2	1	-

QUESTION: How much to do you think you could reduce your energy bill by developing better habits that you would be willing to do now?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Not at all	11	11	10	11	14
1-4%	26	27	29	27	19
5-9%	19	18	19	16	25
10-14%	18	20	17	16	19
15% or more	22	21	20	25	19
Don't know/Refused	4	4	4	4	4

QUESTION: And how much do you think that you could reduce your energy bill by investing in more energy efficient techniques?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Not at all	16	13	16	17	16
1-10%	42	41	47	37	45
11-20%	20	18	18	21	21
21-30%	9	8	9	11	7
More than 30%	8	13	6	8	6
Don't know/Refused	5	7	4	6	5

TABLE 6 (Con't)

PERCEPTIONS OF ENERGY EFFICIENCY

QUESTION: What are some of the things preventing you from making the changes leading to more efficient use of energy?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Doing all I can do now	34	34	36	32	35
Cost too much	29	32	29	28	27
Too lazy/Habit/Just not convenient	16	15	14	17	18
High cost of home improvements	15	14	16	14	14
Renting/Don't own home	8	8	6	8	9
Lack of knowledge	5	6	5	4	5
Can't car pool/Need mass transit	3	3	3	3	2
Can't afford fuel efficient car	2	2	2	1	2
Lack of time	2	2	2	2	2
Energy efficient products not available	2	1	3	-	2
Americans need to commit to energy conservation	2	1	1	2	1

TABLE 7
ELECTRICAL POWER

QUESTION: Some say new power plants must be built in the next several years to meet increased demand or we will have power shortages in many places. Others say that using the electricity we have more efficiently could make it unnecessary to build new power plants. Which point of view is closest to your own?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Build new power plants	28	28	26	31	28
More efficient use of electricity	66	65	69	63	67
Don't know/Refused	6	7	5	6	5

QUESTION: From your own experience, do you think your electric utility company is doing an excellent, above average, below average or poor job in promoting energy efficiency?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Excellent	13	12	8	15	16
Above average	29	28	31	28	28
Average (Do not read)	34	33	36	33	31
Below average	11	9	10	11	13
Poor	11	12	11	11	9
Don't know/Refused	3	5	3	2	3

The five policy options are:

- * Requiring new homes financed by FHA and VA mortgages to meet federal standards for energy efficiency;
- * Providing incentives to use or develop alternative fuels, such as fuels produced from grains;
- * Re-establishing federal tax credits for consumers who use renewable energy sources such as solar or wind power;
- * Requiring federal and state regulators to provide incentives to utilities for investing in energy efficiency improvements in their customers' homes and buildings.
- * Providing a tax rebate for new cars that get better mileage than the federal standard.

At the other extreme, opposition to "Adding a federal gas tax of \$.50 per gallon phased in over several years and earmarked for an environmental trust fund" and "Building more nuclear power plants in the United States" runs both wide (more than six out of ten oppose) and deep (intensity ratio of nearly four to one in strong opposition).

Strong opposition to the \$.50 per gallon gas tax relaxes to moderate support for a \$.10 per gallon federal gas tax. A majority of persons (56%) favor adding a federal gas tax of \$.10 per gallon earmarked for an environmental trust fund. However, the intensity ratio of 1.0 suggests an equal balance of strong opposition and support for such action.

Energy policy alternatives associated with the possibility of environmental damage drives opposition to exceptionally high levels. More than seven out of ten people oppose (approximately half strongly oppose) the following options:

- * Developing oil reserves on publicly-owned wilderness lands, even if this caused some environmental damage;
- * Opening more off-shore areas along both coasts to oil drilling, even if this caused some environmental damage;
- * Increasing use of coal even if this caused some environmental damage.

Tables 8, 9 and 10 provide additional information on the full range of energy policy alternatives tested.

TABLE 8

FUEL ECONOMY STANDARDS AND PUBLIC OPINION

QUESTION: Federal fuel economy standards require that auto companies produce cars that, on average, get 27.5 miles per gallon. Would you favor or oppose an increase in federal fuel economy standards for auto companies requiring that cars, on average, get 40 miles to the gallon by the year 2000?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Strongly favor	63	63	61	61	68
Somewhat favor	21	23	22	23	14
Somewhat oppose	7	7	9	5	10
Strongly oppose	6	4	6	6	6
Don't know/Refused	3	3	2	5	2

QUESTION: Would you still favor this proposal if you knew that a new car would cost the buyer \$500 more?

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Yes, still favor	89	90	90	89	87
No, change mind	9	9	9	10	10
Don't know/Refused	2	1	1	1	2

QUESTION: "Detroit auto makers are doing their best to develop fuel efficient cars that get more miles to the gallon than the current federal standard of 27.5."

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Strongly agree	13	10	13	15	13
Somewhat agree	26	25	26	26	27
Somewhat disagree	20	20	19	20	18
Strongly disagree	33	36	36	30	32
Don't know/Refused	8	9	6	8	10

QUESTION: "Detroit auto makers are doing their best to sell customers fuel efficient cars that get more miles to the gallon than the current federal standard of 27.5."

	<u>Nation</u>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
Strongly agree	14	13	13	14	15
Somewhat agree	24	22	23	29	19
Somewhat disagree	21	22	22	20	21
Strongly disagree	32	32	34	29	33
Don't know/Refused	9	11	8	7	11

TABLE 9

NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY: OIL AND GAS POLICY ALTERNATIVES
(Ranked from Most Favored to Least Favored)

<u>RANK</u>	<u>QUESTION</u>	<u>STRNG FAVOR</u>	<u>SMWHT FAVOR</u>	<u>SMWHT OPPOSE</u>	<u>STRNG OPPOSE</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	<u>INTEN.</u>
1	Providing incentives to use or develop alternative fuels such as fuels produced from grains.	65	24	5	3	3	21.7
2	Increasing federal fuel economy standards for auto companies requiring that cars, on average, get 40 mpg by the year 2000.	63	21	7	6	3	10.5
3	Providing a tax rebate for new cars that get better mileage than the federal standard.	52	30	8	8	2	6.5
4	Providing a cash benefit for scrapping older, less fuel efficient cars.	34	38	11	14	3	2.4
5	Adding a tax penalty on new cars getting fewer miles to the gallon than the federal standard.	39	23	14	21	3	1.9
6	Adding a federal gas tax of \$.10 per gallon earmarked for an environmental trust fund.	23	33	17	24	3	1.0
7	Imposing a tax on all crude oil imported into the U.S.	21	29	21	25	4	.8

TABLE 9 (Con't)

NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY: OIL AND GAS POLICY ALTERNATIVES
(Ranked from Most Favored to Least Favored)

<u>RANK</u>	<u>QUESTION</u>	<u>STRNG FAVOR</u>	<u>SMWHT FAVOR</u>	<u>SMWHT OPPOSE</u>	<u>STRNG OPPOSE</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	<u>INTEN.</u>
8	Providing tax breaks to oil companies for the exploration and development of new oil and natural gas wells.	17	33	17	29	3	.6
9	Accelerating oil development in the wilderness areas of Alaska's North Slope.	18	29	17	29	7	.6
10	Adding a federal gas tax of \$.50 per gallon phased in over several years and earmarked for an environmental trust fund.	12	25	18	42	2	.3
11	Opening more off-shore areas along both coasts to oil drilling, even if this caused some environmental damage.	8	17	21	51	2	.2
12	Developing oil reserves on publicly owned wilderness lands, even if this caused some environmental damage.	5	14	21	58	2	.1

TABLE 10

NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY: OTHER POLICY ALTERNATIVES
(Ranked from Most Favored to Least Favored)

<u>RANK</u>	<u>QUESTION</u>	<u>STRNG FAVOR</u>	<u>SMWHT FAVOR</u>	<u>SMWHT OPPOSE</u>	<u>STRNG OPPOSE</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>	<u>INTEN.</u>
1	Requiring new homes financed by FHA & VA mortgages to meet federal standards for energy efficiency.	68	23	4	4	1	17.0
2	Re-establishing federal tax credits for consumers who use renewable energy sources such as solar or wind power.	54	32	7	6	2	9.0
3	Requiring federal and state regulators to provide incentives to utilities for investing in energy efficiency improvements in their customers homes and buildings.	51	35	6	5	3	10.2
4	Expanding federal spending on mass public transportation systems such as buses and subways.	47	33	8	9	3	5.2
5	Providing federal funds to encourage car pooling.	43	31	11	13	2	3.3
6	Building more nuclear power plants in the United States.	12	20	20	42	5	.3
7	Increasing use of coal even if this caused some environmental damage.	7	17	29	45	2	.2

SUMMARY

With anxiety fueled by a recession at home and the threat of war abroad, Americans end the first year of the new decade on a pessimistic note. The confrontation with Iraq over the future of Kuwait and the perception that this confrontation is a response to a threatened foreign oil supply, help produce the concern that the U.S. is, even now, entering a period of energy crisis not unlike the one experienced in the 1970's.

Along with that concern comes strong public opinion support for steps that will save gasoline:

- * Federal fuel standards that require 40 mpg by the year 2000;
- * The development of alternative fuels from grains;
- * Tax rebates on new cars that exceed the current federal fuel standards.

Public opinion is equally as strong in support of steps that will provide for our long-term energy needs without damaging the environment:

- * Developing energy from renewable sources;
- * Avoiding drilling in wilderness areas and off-shore sites where environmental damage is likely;
- * Placing more emphasis on energy efficiency -- saving what we have -- rather than increasing exploration and development.

Public opinion will not dictate policy -- nor should it. But public support or opposition to possible alternative policy choices must be considered as part of the process by planners and decision-makers crafting a national energy policy.

7
NATIONAL STUDENT SURVEY ON THE PERSIAN GULF CRISIS
(7-12 Grades)

Prepared for:

CITIZENS FOR A FREE KUWAIT

January 1991

The Wirthlin Group

#5362-12
599-110-008

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APPENDIX MATERIAL

Appendix A: Crosstabulations and Computer Output

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Wirthlin Group is pleased to present the results of the *National Student Survey on the Persian Gulf Crisis* to Citizens for a Free Kuwait. The study contains the results of a mail survey of one thousand one hundred and thirteen (1,113) junior and senior high school students (grades 7-12) living in the continental United States. Survey responses were gathered December 7-11, 1990. Where appropriate, responses to this study are compared to responses given by the adult general public in the *CFK National Tracking Study* conducted between December 2-9, 1990.

KEY FINDINGS

The following results reflect the key findings of the study:

- Despite all of the recent developments surrounding the Persian Gulf crisis, when asked about the biggest problems facing the United States today, American adolescent school children express greatest concern about problems closer to home:
 - Social problems (41%), especially drugs (21%) and the environment (9%), are the most frequently mentioned concerns of American adolescents in the 7th through 12th grades.
 - About a quarter (23%) of all the students surveyed, mention something pertaining to the Persian Gulf.
- Awareness of the conflict, however, is quite high. Forty-one percent (41%) of all students interviewed say they talk to their friends or family about the situation in the Persian Gulf three or more times a week. More than half (54%) talk about it two or more times a week.
- Not surprisingly, nearly every adolescent school child (99%) can identify and rate George Bush. President Bush received a high score of 66 on the likability scale (on a range of 0 - 100). Similarly, 100% of adults identified George Bush and gave him nearly the same average rating of 65.

- The majority of adolescents surveyed (95%) also know who Saddam Hussein is. By contrast, they give him an extremely low score of 5.
- American adolescent school children have very similar opinions to their adult counter parts in supporting President Bush for his actions in the Persian Gulf crisis. A majority of American adolescent school children (64%) approve of the President's handling of the situation in the Persian Gulf. Adult Americans also generally approve (65%) of his handling of the Persian gulf crisis. However, nearly half of these adults (30%) strongly approve, while only 19% of adolescents strongly approve.
- Most adolescents grade President Bush a "B" (33%) or "C" (34%) for the way he has handled the Gulf Crisis. Only 10% give him a grade of "A". Nearly a quarter give the President a "D" (16%) or failing grade of "F" (7%).
- Adolescent school children cite the "rescue of American citizens being held hostage in Kuwait" (69% Agree) and "stopping a brutal dictator who threatens world peace and stability" (61% Agree) at the strongest reasons justifying the United States going to war.

When asked to choose the one MOST important reason that justifies the United States going to war, again, the most frequently mentioned reasons are "to stop a brutal dictator who threatens world peace and stability" (33%) and "to rescue American citizens being held hostage in Kuwait" (29%). Sixteen percent (16%) say there is "never" a good reason to go to war.

- Sixty-five percent (65%) of American adolescent school children and 66% of adult Americans agree "given everything that has happened, the U.S. is justified in launching an attack against Iraq to drive them out of Kuwait."
- Two thirds of adolescent school children (66%) DISAGREE that withholding important supplies from Iraq is enough to pressure Iraq into leaving Kuwait.
- American adolescents DISAGREE strongly (90%) that Iraq should be allowed to continue to occupy Kuwait and just as strongly AGREE (90%) the chemical and nuclear war machine of Iraq must be destroyed.

- Moreover, while the majority (71%) DISAGREE the United States does not have the commitment to "stick with it" if the situation with Iraq turns into a long, drawn out war, more than half of all adolescents surveyed (57%) fear that if war breaks out in the Persian Gulf, it will turn out to be another war like Vietnam.
- While 95% of the students could identify correctly the United States on a map, not quite two-thirds (59%) could identify France and even fewer could identify Great Britain (56%). Over half of all the adolescents surveyed (59%) know where Saudi Arabia is located and half (50%) can identify Iraq on the map. Kuwait (45%) and Israel (43%) are somewhat more difficult for adolescents to identify.

II. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A. Research Design

This study contains the results of a mail survey of one thousand one hundred and thirteen (1,113) junior and senior high school students (grades 7-12) living in the continental United States. Survey responses were gathered between December 7-11, 1990. Where appropriate, responses to this study are compared to responses given by the adult general public in the national tracking study conducted between December 2-9, 1990.

Although the most sophisticated procedures have been used to collect and analyze the information presented here, it must be remembered that surveys are not predictions. They are designed to measure public opinion within identifiable limits of accuracy at specific points in time. This survey is in no way a prediction of opinion or action at any future point in time.

Account Executive and principal investigator for this study is Dee Allsop, Vice President, Communications and Marketing Team. Assisting in all phases of research and analysis was Faith Kleinburd, who served as Senior Project Director.

B. Methodology

The Wirthlin Group mailed a total of one thousand two hundred (1,200) surveys to a sample of school children (200 per grade; grades 7-12). The sample of students was selected from a total of eight (8) school districts, one in each of the eight (8) geopolitical regions across the United States. Each school received 150 questionnaires, 25 for each grade level.

Before selecting the school districts, The Wirthlin Group looked at household income and population density by Area of Dominant Influence (ADI) in each of the eight geopolitical regions. For each region, an ADI was chosen which most closely represented that region's median household income and population density. After selecting eight ADI's to sample from, The Wirthlin Group contacted Market Data Retrieval, Inc. for the names and addresses of the School District Superintendents in each of the ADI's. Based on enrollment size, grade level, and expenditures per student, two (2) or three (3) of the most representative school districts per ADI were chosen. Superintendents were then contacted by telephone and requested to participate in the study.

In order to increase the likelihood of participation, the Wirthlin Group promised each school district a summary of results and a contribution of \$1000. Detailed instructions were mailed to each participating school along with the surveys and a postage paid return package.

To ensure an adequate number of responses were received in each region and grade, quotas were established. The data was later weighted by region to accurately reflect the true proportion of households located there.

Forty-seven (47%) of the interviews were among male students and 50% were among female students. Three percent (3%) did not indicate their sex.

All interviews were edited, coded and data entered by The Wirthlin Group-trained personnel from our facility in Orem, Utah.

The survey contained approximately 31 closed-ended questions and one (1) open-ended question. An interview schedule with complete topline results is included in Appendix A.

Statistical analysis and cross-tabulations were produced by the firm's own software and computer system.

III. PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

A. General Mood

The situation in the Persian Gulf is clearly a problem of concern to a significant number of adolescent school children and often a topic of conversation among friends and family. Despite all of the recent developments surrounding the Persian Gulf crisis, however, when asked about the biggest problems in the United States today, American adolescent school children are more concerned about problems closer to home. (Figure 1)

- Social problems (41%), especially drugs (21%) and the environment (9%), are the most frequently mentioned concerns of American adolescents in the 7th through 12th grades.
- Nearly a quarter (23%) of all the students surveyed, however, mention something pertaining to the Persian Gulf when asked to identify the biggest problem in the United States today.
- Foreign Policy/Peace is cited by nearly a third (31%) of all adolescent school children as the biggest problem in the United States.
- Forty-one percent (41%) of all students interviewed say they talk to their friends or family about the situation in the Persian Gulf three or more times a week. More than half (54%) talk about it two or more times a week.

In contrast to adolescents, the adult general public views the recent events surrounding the Persian Gulf to be of much greater concern than social problems.

- In a national study of adults conducted during approximately the same time period (Dec 2-9), the adult general public most frequently mentions Foreign Policy/Peace related problems (37%) as the most important problem facing the United States today. Nearly one third (28%) believe the Persian Gulf Situation is the most important problem. Only one in five (19%) adult Americans believe a social problem is the most important problem. (Figure 1)

When asked to identify their specific concerns regarding the Persian Gulf crisis, adolescent school children's greatest concern is that the U.S. will go to war.

- Nearly half (47%) of all students say this possibility is what concerns them most when they read or hear the news about the Persian Gulf crisis.
- This concern is higher among female students (50%) than male students (43%).
- Male students (23%), on the other hand, are more likely than female students (7%) to be most concerned about the possibility that "prices for gas and other necessary items in the United States will become more expensive." This concern in male students increases with age.
- In comparison to other regions in the United States, adolescent students living in the Mid-Atlantic (57%) and New England (53%) regions are more concerned about the U.S. going to war.

Another significant concern (25%) of adolescent school children is that a family member or someone they know may be called to fight in the Persian Gulf.

- Again, female students are more concerned (31%) about this possibility than are male students (19%).

Notably, among all adolescent students interviewed, the concern that "prices for gas and other necessary items in the U.S. will become more expensive" receives more mentions (15%) than the concern for "the safety of American citizens being held hostage in Iraq" (7%). (Figure 2)

B. Attitudes Toward Personalities and Countries Involved in the Persian Gulf Crisis

Consistent with American adult attitudes, American adolescent school children express very negative opinions about Iraq and Saddam Hussein. Both Saddam Hussein and his country receive extremely low favorability ratings with adolescents in grades 7 through 12.

The majority of adolescents surveyed (95%) know who Saddam Hussein is, and, on average, give him an extremely low score of 5 on a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 means they don't like that person or country at all and 100 means they really like that person or country a lot. This score puts him in last place in terms of overall favorability. (Figure 3)

- Senior high school students (grades 11 and 12) are especially negative towards Saddam Hussein and in average rate him a 4. This compares with grades 7/8 (6) and 9/10 (6).
- In addition, white students (5) are more negative toward Saddam Hussein than students of other ethnic or racial origins (7).
- Female students tend to rate Saddam Hussein lower in average (5) than male students (6).
- In a similar question, adult Americans in average rated Saddam Hussein a score of 7 on a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 means not at all favorable and 100 means extremely favorable.

In contrast, 99% of adolescent school children could identify George Bush. He received a high average score of 66 on the likability scale. Similarly, 100% of adults during the Dec. 2-9 national tracking study identified George Bush and gave him nearly the same average rating of 65.

Mikhail Gorbachev (51) receives a somewhat lower score from adolescent school children. This score is also lower than the average score given to Gorbachev (59) by adults.

- Consistent with their rating of Saddam Hussein, male adolescent school children rate Bush (68) and Gorbachev (56) higher than do female adolescents (Bush 65, Gorbachev 46).

- Senior high school students (grades 11 and 12) rate Bush (70) and Gorbachev (56) higher than do students in grades 7/8 (Bush 67, Gorbachev 47) or grades 9/10 (Bush 62, Gorbachev 50).
- White students rate Bush (70) and Gorbachev (55) higher than do students of other racial or ethnic origins (Bush 58, Gorbachev (42).

Almost all adolescent school children surveyed feel they know enough about Iraq to rate it. Their ratings are extremely low -- 13 on a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 means don't like at all and 100 means really like a lot. Again, this likability score is the lowest received by any of the countries listed. Similarly, adults give Iraq the same average rating on favorability (13). (Figure 3)

- Among adolescents, the United States receives the highest favorability score, with an average of 92. Great Britain (59), Japan (50), and the Soviet Union (49) receive an average or higher score.
- In contrast to the ratings given Saddam Hussein, female adolescent school children rate Iraq higher (14) than do male students (11). This is especially true among students in the 11th and 12th grades (male 7, female 13).
- Consistent with ratings of Saddam Hussein, white students in average rate Iraq lower (12) than do students of other racial or ethnic origins (13). However, white students rate all other countries consistently higher than do students of other racial or ethnic origins.
- Between regions, Iraq is most likely to receive the highest average likability score from students in New England (17), and the Pacific states (15), while the lowest ratings are given by students surveyed from the Great Lakes and Farm Belt regions (10).

Ninety percent (90%) of school adolescents can rate Kuwait, and give it an average likability score of 43. Israel is identified by 86% of all students surveyed and receives a similar average score of 44.

Adult Americans rate countries in the Persian Gulf very closely to adolescents giving the exact same rating to Iraq (13) and a very similar rating Kuwait (44), but give a higher rating to Israel (53).

- Regionally, Kuwait receives the highest ratings from school children in the Middle Atlantic states (56). No other region gives Kuwait a score higher than 44.
- Consistent with the ratings of Saddam Hussein, male adolescents (45), whites (46), and younger students (grades 7-8, 45) tend to rate Kuwait higher in average than do female adolescents (41), older students (grades 9-10, 41; grades 11-12, 42), and students of other racial or ethnic origin (35).

Importantly, students with a higher level of awareness concerning the Persian Gulf situation (evidenced through awareness of the countries in the Persian Gulf and how often adolescents talk about the situation there) tend to rate Kuwait higher than do those students who are not very knowledgeable of the Persian Gulf area or rarely talk about it in conversations with friends or family.

- Adolescents who can identify Kuwait on a map (54) and who talk about the Persian Gulf situation three or more times a week (51) rate Kuwait higher than those who cannot identify Kuwait on a map (33) and who talk about the situation less frequently (1-2 times a week, 41; hardly or never, 34).
- Students who can identify Kuwait on a map are also more likely to rate all other countries and personalities higher than those who cannot identify Kuwait. The one exception to this trend is Iraq; which receives a lower rating (11) than given by those who cannot identify Kuwait (14).
- Moreover, adolescent school children who have friends or relatives in the Persian Gulf are much more likely to give Kuwait a higher likability rating (45) than those who do not have friends or relatives there (40).

C. Support for President Bush and U.S. Policy

A majority of American adolescent school children (64%) approve of the President's handling of the situation in the Persian Gulf.

American adolescent school children have very similar opinions to their adult counterparts in supporting President Bush for his actions in the Persian Gulf crisis. Adult Americans surveyed Dec. 2-9 also generally approve (65%) of his handling of the Persian Gulf crisis. However, nearly half of these adults (30%) strongly approve, while only 19% of adolescents strongly approve. (Figure 4)

- Approval of Bush's actions in the Persian Gulf is highest among male adolescents (67%) and senior high school students (grades 11-12) (73%). This compares with 61% of female students, 61% of 7th and 8th graders and 58% of students in the 9th and 10th grades. Male students in the 11th and 12th grades are especially favorable towards Bush (78%) compared with female 11th and 12th graders (69%).
- White students (67%) more than other ethnic or racial origins (56%), and students residing in the Middle Atlantic (77%) and Outer South (68%) regions are also more supportive of the President's actions in the Persian Gulf.
- Students residing in the Mountain (50%), Pacific (54%) and New England (55%) regions are somewhat less supportive of President Bush's handling of the Persian Gulf crisis.
- Students who are highly supportive of President Bush's handling of the situation in the Persian Gulf also disagree with the statement that if war breaks out in the Persian Gulf it will turn in another war like Vietnam (71% approve) and agree the U.N. should continue to pressure Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait no matter how long it takes or how much it costs in soldiers and supplies (71% approve).

In addition, students who are aware of the Persian Gulf area and what is happening there are more highly supportive of President Bush's actions in the Persian Gulf.

- Seventy percent (70%) of adolescent school children who can identify Kuwait on the map and 69% of those who talk about the situation in the Persian Gulf three or more times a week approve of President Bush's handling of the Persian Gulf situation.

Students were also asked to grade the President on the way he is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf. The majority (67%) of adolescent school children give him a grade of "B", good (33%) or "C", satisfactory (34%). Only 10% give him a grade of "A" or excellent. Nearly a quarter (23%) give the President a poor ("D", 16%) or failing grade ("F", 7%). (Figure 5)

Consistent with the approval ratings above, male students (15%) are much more likely than female students (5%) to give Bush a grade of "A". Eleventh and twelfth grade students (14%) are also more likely to give Bush an "A" than are students in grades 9/10 (6%) or 7/8 (9%).

- Twenty-four percent (24%) of males in the 11th and 12th grades give Bush a grade of "A," while only 6% of females in the 11th and 12th grades give him an "A".
- White students (12%) more than other racial or ethnic origins (6%) also give the President a grade of "A".
- Again, students residing in the Middle Atlantic (19%) and Outer South (12%) regions are more supportive of the President and are most likely to give the President a grade of "A" or excellent than are students residing in other regions.

D. Attitudes Toward the Conflict

1. Justification for U.S. Military Action in the Persian Gulf

According to adolescent school children, the strongest reasons which justify the United States going to war are "to rescue American citizens being held hostage in Kuwait" (69%) and "to stop a brutal dictator who threatens world peace and stability" (61%). (Figure 6)

When asked to choose the one MOST important reason that justifies the United States going to war, again, the most frequently mentioned reasons are "to stop a brutal dictator who threatens world peace and stability" (33%) and "to rescue American citizens being held hostage in Kuwait" (29%). (Figure 7)

Adolescent school children are less supportive, however, of going to war to restore Kuwait's legitimate government to power (26%) or to punish Iraq for invading Kuwait (20%). And only a few (3%) would say either reason is the most important reason.

Students differ demographically, however, on which of these two reasons receive more support. In general, male students, and senior high school students are more likely to be supportive of military action in the Persian Gulf. Similarly, female students (36%) are generally less supportive of military action and more likely than male students (20%) to say there is never a good reason to go to war.

Female and younger students are most likely to think that the rescue of American citizens being held as hostage is just cause for the United States going to war, while male and older students are more likely to think stopping a brutal dictator who threatens peace and stability is a just cause for war.

- Two-thirds (65%) of male adolescent school children believe that stopping a brutal dictator who threatens world peace is a good reason to go to war. This compares with 58% of female adolescent school children.

- Likewise, students in the 11th and 12th grades (67%) are more likely than younger students (grades 9/10, 58%; grades 7/8, 50%) to think this same reason (stopping a brutal dictator...) is just cause for war.
- Senior high school students (grades 11-12) are less likely (63%) than students in grades 7-8 (73%) or grades 9-10 (71%) to think rescuing American citizens being held as hostages is justification for the U.S. going to war.
- Younger students (33% grade 7/8) and especially younger females (39%), are also more likely to say there is never a good reason to go to war.

A significant number of adolescent school children, however, (45%) feel protecting the world's oil supply justifies the United States going to war. Again, male adolescents are much more likely (50%) than female students (40%) to choose this particular reason.

A third (29%) of all school children surveyed say there is never a good reason to go to war. Sixteen percent (16%) say this is the most important reason.

2. Attitudes Toward Specific Courses of Action in the Persian Gulf

Adolescent school children are more convinced than their adult counterparts that the situation in the Persian Gulf will be resolved militarily and believe resolution of the conflict will be shorter rather than longer.

- Among those who expressed an opinion, adolescent school children overwhelmingly believe that the conflict in the Persian Gulf will be solved by war (83%). This compares with less than two-thirds (60%) of adult Americans who expressed an opinion. (Figure 8)

- More than half of all adolescent school children (59%) also believe it will take 6 months or less before Iraq withdraws its troops from Kuwait and the legitimate government is returned to power. Thirty-seven percent (37%) were unsure how long it would take. Only 3% felt Iraq would never get out of Kuwait. (Figure 9)

The belief that the Persian Gulf situation will be resolved through military conflict increases with grade level.

- Seventy eight percent (78%) of Junior high school students (grades 7-8) say the conflict will be resolved through war compared with 84% of senior high school students.

Adolescents, similar to the adult general public, appear to be supportive of a military resolution to the Persian Gulf conflict. Consistent with earlier discussion of results, male adolescent students and older students are most supportive of military action.

- Sixty-six percent (66%) of adolescent school children agree that if Iraq does not leave Kuwait by the deadline imposed by the United Nations, the U.S. should use military force against Iraq. In a similar question, 75% of adult Americans favor the U.N. resolution which authorizes the use of military force to drive Iraq out of Kuwait. (Figure 10)
- Three quarters (76%) of male students, and especially those in grades 11-12 (83%), agree with the aforementioned statement. This compares with 55% of female students in total and 60% of female students in grades 11 and 12.
- Agreement with this statement increases with grade level (7/8 - 61%, 9/10 - 65%, 11/12 - 71%).
- Seventy-five percent (75%) of students who approve of the way the President is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf also agree with the above statement.

- Sixty-five percent (65%) of American adolescent school children and 66% of adult Americans agree that given everything that has happened, the U.S. is justified in launching an attack against Iraq to drive them out of Kuwait. Results for this statement are demographically similar to those mentioned above. (Figure 11)
- Two thirds of adolescent school children (66%) disagree that withholding important supplies from Iraq is enough to pressure Iraq into leaving Kuwait. (Figure 12)
- In addition, American adolescents disagree strongly (90%) that Iraq should be allowed to continue to occupy Kuwait and just as strongly agree (90%) that the chemical and nuclear war machine of Iraq must be destroyed. (Figures 13 and 14)

However, despite these attitudes towards the use of military force, adolescents, like the adult general public, are afraid of the costs in both soldiers and supplies.

- Two-thirds (66%) of adolescent school children feel that the death of American soldiers in a fight with Iraq is too high a price to pay in this Persian Gulf conflict. This is especially true among those adolescents with a friend or relative who has been sent to the Persian Gulf as a soldier (71%). Similarly, 69% of the adult general public agree with this statement. (Figure 15)
- Fifty percent (50%) of adolescents disagree that the United Nations must continue to pressure Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait no matter how long it takes or how much it costs in soldiers and supplies. (Figure 16)
- Moreover, while the majority (71%) disagree that the United States does not have the commitment to "stick with it" if the situation with Iraq turns into a long, drawn out war; more than half of all adolescents surveyed (57%) fear that if war breaks out in the Persian Gulf, it will turn out to be another war like Vietnam. (Figures 17 and 18)

3. Friends or Relatives in the Persian Gulf

With the holiday season near, we often become more family oriented, exhibiting more feelings of warmth and compassion toward our friends and loved ones. The following highlights the opinions of those students whose friends or family members are in the Persian Gulf and unable to spend the holidays with them.

- Half (51%) of adolescent school children have relatives or friends who have gone to the Persian Gulf as soldiers. Forty-two percent (42%) of the adult general public say they have a friend or relative who has been sent. (Figure 19)
- Among those students who have friends or relatives in the Persian Gulf, 54% think the Persian Gulf situation will be solved by war. This compares with only 43% of those without friends or relatives there and 48% of all adolescent school children surveyed.
- Moreover, the vast majority of adolescent school children with friends or relatives in the Persian Gulf agree (71%) that the death of American soldiers is too high a price to pay. This compares with 66% of the total adolescents surveyed and 62% of those without friends or relatives in the gulf.

E. Knowledge of the Persian Gulf Area

American adolescent school children are fairly well acquainted with the geographic locations of the countries involved in the Persian Gulf crisis. Over half of all the adolescents surveyed (59%) know where Saudi Arabia is located and half (50%) can identify Iraq on the map. Kuwait (45%) and Israel (43%) are somewhat more difficult for adolescents to identify. (Figure 20)

In general, male adolescents, white students, students living in the Mid-Atlantic and Mountain regions, and those who could also identify Kuwait on the map are most knowledgeable about the location of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Israel.

Students who are most likely to identify Kuwait on the map are also males (56%), white students (51%), students living in the Mid-Atlantic (72%) and Mountain (59%) regions, and those who support President Bush's actions in the Persian Gulf (49%), especially those who would give the President an "A" (70%).

Not surprisingly, students who say they talk about the Persian Gulf crisis three or more times a week (56%) are more likely than adolescents in general (45%) to be able to identify Kuwait on a map.

In addition to the above mentioned countries in the Persian Gulf, students were asked to identify the United States, France and Great Britain. Not surprisingly, 95% of the students could identify the United States correctly on the map. However, not quite two-thirds (59%) could identify France and even fewer could identify Great Britain (56%).

- With the exception of the United States, male adolescent school children were much better at identifying the countries correctly than were their female counterparts. (Figure 20)

January 9, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: ROGER AILES

SUBJECT: NEW Y&R FOCUS GROUPS - GULF

I met with Susan Gianino on January 8th to listen to new focus group material. Alex Kroll was present and felt I might persuade you to set a meeting on their new research (new, since they met with the President recently), with Secretary Cheney, General Powell, General Scowcroft, as well as whoever might be writing the President's remarks regarding the Gulf.

It was a short meeting, but the following are highlights - not intended to be complete.

1. They understand that public opinion research will not influence the President's decisions.

I strongly made that point again.
2. They (Y&R) believe the President must have public support for a war and they believe that support does not currently exist.
3. Research (theirs) shows people know why we are in the Gulf, but not why we need to fight.
4. They tested the radio speech and found:
 - o they don't believe at all that we are there for "human rights" of smaller nations;
 - o we are there for oil, but won't trade "blood for oil" - although they believe we might be able to link oil to freedom - "this may be a step toward surrendering our political and economic freedom";
 - o people respond positively when reminded:
 - Saddam started it
 - of all the steps taken by the President to resolve this peacefully

- we are showing restraint
 - the U.S. is not the aggressor.
5. The people don't necessarily need more information, but a bit more persuasion.
 6. People want "straight talk" on America's interest in fighting.

Ideas:

1. A last trip to the U.N. by the President (if he'll get solid support).
2. A vision speech on the New World Order that does not include despots like Saddam.

DIVIDED PUBLIC FOCUSED ON GULF NEWS; BRACED FOR BLOODY WAR

As the crisis in the Persian Gulf approaches its climax, the public remains riveted to the story, with 59 percent of survey respondents saying they are following developments very closely and 66 percent saying they have given a great deal of thought to the question of using military force against Iraq, according to a new Times Mirror survey released today.

CNN was the clear winner when the public was asked which TV network is doing the best job of covering the crisis in the Gulf. The Cable News Network was cited by 30 percent of survey respondents, followed by ABC (18 percent), CBS (17 percent) and NBC (13 percent).

Interest in Gulf news was far greater than in other stories receiving extensive coverage in the past month, such as US economic conditions (36 percent following such news very closely), the resignation of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (20 percent), the resignation of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze (15 percent), the Education Department's controversial ruling on minority scholarships (13 percent), the *Keating Five* investigation (9 percent), the purchase of the giant entertainment company MCA by Japanese interests (9 percent), and the resignation of William Bennett as chairman of the Republican National Committee (6 percent).

The public gives the news media generally good grades for their coverage of the crisis, with 31 percent rating overall coverage *excellent*, 47 percent *good*, 15 percent *only fair* and 5 percent *poor*.

The press gets its best marks for providing up-to-date reports on Gulf developments (27 percent rate this coverage *excellent*, 47 percent *good*). But 46 percent of the public says the press has been *only fair* or *poor* in explaining the debate in Washington about U. S. policy in the Gulf, and 50 percent give similar negative grades to press coverage of how Americans feel about the crisis.

Eighty-two percent of those surveyed said they've been getting most of their Gulf news from television, 40 percent said newspapers (some respondents gave multiple answers), 15 percent radio, 4 percent magazines.

Sixty percent of respondents said news organizations are reporting the Gulf story fairly, compared with 15 percent who said press coverage has been too critical and 16 percent who say the coverage has not been critical enough.

Forty-two percent of those surveyed said they had heard too little about the views of Americans who oppose sending U. S. forces to the Gulf.

If combat erupts, 57 percent say press pools should be allowed to accompany troops to battle zones, while 34 percent say press access should be restricted, as it was in the 1983 deployment in Grenada.

Twenty-one percent believe the press has too much influence on President Bush's Persian Gulf policy, 18 percent say too little, and 44 percent say the *right amount*.

So preoccupied is the public with the Gulf story that only 10 percent of those surveyed could correctly identify new British Prime Minister John Major, and only 27 percent could name any of the *Keating Five* senators currently under investigation for misconduct in the savings-and-loan scandal. However, this is up from the 17% who could identify any of the five senators in May 1990.

As the January 15 diplomatic deadline approaches for the Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, most Americans expect a quick but grim war in the Persian Gulf.

By a 51-42 majority, survey respondents said they favor the immediate use of force against Saddam Hussein if he fails to withdraw his armies from Kuwait by the deadline day.

This slim majority has coalesced even though 77 percent also expect the Iraqi leader to respond with chemical weapons on the battlefield, 65 percent say there is a good chance Middle East terrorists will kill civilians here in the United States, and 47 percent say they have family members, neighbors or friends in military service in the Persian Gulf.

Asked what they consider the single best reason for using military force against Iraq, 38 percent of respondents said deterring aggression was the primary justification, while 17 percent said removing Saddam Hussein from power was the best reason for resorting to force.

Other reasons offered by the public included restoring the government of Kuwait (8 percent), protecting the oil supply (6 percent), asserting American authority (4 percent), standing by our allies (4 percent), removing the Iraqi nuclear threat (3 percent), making the Middle East stable (2 percent), protecting Saudi Arabia (1 percent), protecting Israel (1 percent), and removing the threat of Iraqi chemical and biological weapons (1 percent).

Fifty-seven percent of those surveyed said they expected the war to be a quick one, while 30 percent said it would be a long war. Eighty-six percent of respondents said they expect many civilian casualties, and only 9 percent said war casualties would be mainly military.

The public's ambivalence about going to war with Iraq appears to have less to do with a fear of these wartime horrors than with a conviction among many Americans that economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations against Iraq ought to be given more time to work before Iraq is attacked militarily.

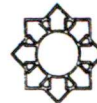
Although fifty-one percent favor immediate military action if Iraq has not withdrawn from Kuwait by January 15, 42 percent think the sanctions should be given more time.

And, among those favoring sanctions, more than half support eventual military action if the sanctions prove ineffective.

In all, 75 percent of Americans now say they will support military action against Iraq, later if not sooner.

Fifty-nine percent of the public currently approves of the way President Bush is handling his job, while 24 percent disapprove.

#



MEMORANDUM

TO: ED RODGERS
 FROM: NEIL NEWHOUSE -- THE WIRTHLIN GROUP
 SUBJECT: BUSH APPROVAL/RE-ELECT SCORES
 DATE: DECEMBER 31, 1990

THE CHIEF of STAFF
 has seen

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As I mentioned the other day, we had just completed a national survey on which we added a couple of questions for our own general interest regarding the President and his current standing.

I have enclosed the crosstabs from the key questions, and wanted to draw your attention to a few "highlights":

- o The mood of the country continues to be very pessimistic, with 64% saying "wrong track." Of great significance is the slowly increasing pessimism of 18-24 year olds, a traditionally GOP-oriented and optimistic group. In this survey (and confirmed independently in our Kuwait tracking), they are overwhelmingly negative -- 26% right direction, 69% wrong track.

(One may hypothesize that the pessimism among these Americans is being driven by the Persian Gulf crisis and concern for their friends/themselves.)

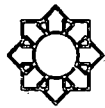
- o Although Americans are clearly focused on the Persian Gulf, more than one-quarter cite pocketbook issues as most important to them personally. Specifically, the economy is mentioned by 14% of respondents, surpassed only by those who cite the Middle East (24%).

Interestingly, concern over the federal deficit, which surged just prior to the election, has now subsided (4%), as has the drugs issue, now mentioned by just 5% of Americans.

- o The President has an overall approval rating of 63%-30%, with 27% strongly approving of the job he's doing. Generally, the strong approval score is the single best indicator of hard-core committed support for an incumbent, with most striving to be above 30% on this measure.

There is a tremendous gender gap in Bush's approval scores, most pronounced between younger men (80%-15%) and younger women (58%-30%), and between Independent men (74%-21%) and Independent women (49%-32%).

Regionally, Bush is weakest in the Northeast (58%-33%), and strongest in the South (69%-26%). A plurality of Democrats in both the Northeast and West disapprove of the job he's doing.



Rodgers Memorandum
December 31, 1990
Page two

- o Just 38% of voters say that Bush deserves re-election, while 46% believe it is time for a new person to be elected. Obviously, these are not strong scores, and they reflect a lack of public commitment to Bush's Presidency. Although the President would certainly do much better when pitted against a potential named opponent, these figures reflect the lack of broad-based support.

Similar to his approval ratings, there is a significant gender gap on this question -- men favor his re-election (45%-38%), while women want a change (32%-52%). It is also of concern that just 57% of Republicans believe that Bush should be re-elected (27% say "new person"), with younger GOPers and those living in the Midwest showing the softest levels of support.

The importance of the "strong approval" score is reinforced by these results: among those who strongly approve of the job Bush is doing, 79% believe he should be re-elected, while just 38% of those who somewhat approve share the same sentiment.

- o Cuomo leads the list of potential Democratic contenders with 16% of Americans picking him as the strongest Democratic Presidential candidate to run against Bush. He is followed by Bentsen (11%), Jackson (10%), Gephardt (8%), and Nunn (7%).

Among Democrats, Cuomo extends his lead to 20%, with Jackson receiving 10%, and Bentsen and Gephardt each at 8%.

- o Despite Bush's soft approval scores, he is still significantly more popular than Congress, which receives a poor 35%-58% approval rating from respondents.
- o By a surprisingly close 49%-44% margin, Americans favor minority scholarships, with men, older Americans, Republicans, and those in the South and Midwest most likely to oppose such set-asides.

In fact, 31% of Americans are so strong in opposition to scholarships for minority students that they believe that colleges should be prohibited from setting up such scholarships.

- o More than half of Americans believe the country is already in a recession, while another one-third believe we are about to enter one.

Ed, all in all, while the Persian Gulf will dramatically effect our future polling and the President's popularity/re-election support, these figures indicate that his overall approval is more reflective of the international crisis than it is the current domestic economic situation. For the short-term, that's actually good news because an increased focus on domestic problems would probably further soften our support.

If you have any questions on this, please give me a call at 703-556-0001.

IRAQ: PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES

8-polling

Basic Public Perceptions

Basic public support for a U.S. military deterrence in the Persian Gulf remains high.

Two national surveys done the second weekend of December found the same 63 percent majority supporting the decision to send troops to the Persian Gulf area. (RNC and NBC News/Wall Street Journal surveys)

Only 10 percent think we now should pull out of the Persian Gulf.

There has been some weakening in the public's basic support since the announcement of changing to an offensive capability. Prior to the announcement, basic support for U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf had been 72 percent. However, there has been no increase in those wanting to pull out; they have stayed around 10 percent since early October.

In the RNC national survey, a 64 percent majority approve of the way President Bush is handling the Iraq situation compared to 34 percent who disapprove. (The NBC News/Wall Street Journal found almost the same approval level for the President - 63 percent.) The public's perceptions of the President on Iraq have varied by four time periods:

In August and September, the President averaged 76 percent approval of his handling of the Iraq situation.

From October thru the November elections, the President averaged a lower 63 percent approval on Iraq.

The President's approval dropped to its lowest point during the three weeks following his November 8th announcement of changing to an offensive capability: he averaged 54 percent approval.

Since the November 30th announcement of Secretary of State Baker's possible meeting with Hussein, the President's public approval increased to an average 61 percent.

A 62 percent majority think the President's policies toward Iraq so far have been "about right" rather than too tough or not tough enough.

Projected Support for Military Action

The public is more inclined to support military action than a softening of current policies. However, a majority favors a middle course.

When given three options on what to do now, more voters favor "taking a stronger stand even if it means attacking Iraq" (30 percent) than favor "pulling out of Saudi Arabia" (10 percent). Most voters (53 percent) favor the middle choice: "keep our military forces in Saudi Arabia, but try to avoid a shooting war."

More voters think President Bush has "not been tough enough" on Iraq (21 percent) than think he has "been too tough" (12 percent). Most voters (62 percent) think his policies so far have been "about right."

Some public polls have recorded over 60 percent majorities in favor of using military force against Iraq, but these results can be misleading.

These surprisingly high rates of support for military action occur on poll questions using just "yes-no" alternatives which measure the hard line inclination of the public over following a retreat course, but they do not offer a middle alternative.

These particular poll questions do not mention the cost in casualties for taking the military choice.

The RNC national survey estimates that 43 percent of the public would support the use of military force after the January 15th deadline, and 46 percent would oppose the use of force given their knowledge and perceptions, as of today.

The 43 to 46 percent estimate is based on three survey questions which presented the options of a prolonged embargo and a negotiated settlement as well as the military option and the withdrawal option. The third question in the series raised the issue of American casualties by stating that "some military experts have estimated that it might cost ten thousand American lives to drive Iraq out of Kuwait."

Fifteen percent indicate support for military action but not at the cost of 10,000 lives in which case they would consider a military action "a mistake."

Twenty percent favor the embargo or negotiation and would oppose military force even if "the U.S. concluded the embargo will not work and there was nothing it could agree to in a negotiation with Iraq."

Eleven percent would withdraw our troops after January 15th and "let the Arab nations settle the problem."

With this full scenario, the following groups are most supportive of taking military action after January 15th: current approvers of the President (57 percent), Republicans (56 percent), men (55 percent), and Southerners (51 percent).

The groups least supportive of taking military action after January 15th are: current disapprovers of the President (23 percent), Democrats (31 percent), women (32 percent), senior citizens (31 percent), and blacks (23 percent).

The NBC News/Wall Street Journal survey also found the public evenly divided on what the U.S. should do after January 15th. With a single, less involved question, that did not raise the cost in lives of the military option, they reported that 46 percent supported military action to force Iraq out of Kuwait compared to 44 percent who thought the U.S. should wait for the economic sanctions to achieve the same goal.

Use of Force: Reasons and Justifications

Rather than not having a reason acceptable to the public for the use of military force against Iraq, the Administration actually has an overabundance of acceptable rationales for using force.

Over 70 percent think the following are "good reasons" to use military force: end Iraq's nuclear capability, force Iraq out of Kuwait, and maintain the security and stability of the Persian Gulf region.

Over 60 percent think the following are "good reasons" to use military force: destroy Iraq's chemical weapons and remove Hussein from power.

Over 50 percent think the following are "good reasons" to use military force: restore Kuwait's previous government and avoid a worldwide recession by assuring Middle East oil supplies.

In addition to the above reasons or goals of a military action, there are several situations which the public thinks would justify military action against Iraq if they proved to be true:

"Iraq is moving chemical weapons to the border where our troops are positioned." (62 percent say this would justify using military force.)

"Iraq is planning to invade another Middle Eastern country whenever we withdraw our troops from the Middle East." (59 percent say this would justify using military force.)

"Iraq is within a few months of having nuclear weapons." (59 percent say this would justify using military force.)

Among these rationales and justifications, the one that is particularly strong is the potential nuclear threat of Iraq. Eliminating Iraq's nuclear threat was not only rated by the most people (78 percent) as a good reason to use military force against Iraq, it also was rated as a "very good" reason by significantly more people (46 percent) than for any of the other reasons.

Iraq's chemical weapon threat also is a strong motivator for public support. It ranks second to the nuclear threat as a "very good" reason, and is the focus of the most credible triggering situation as described above.

The public polls have consistently documented the public's very high concern with Iraq's nuclear and chemical warfare capabilities.

Economic rationales or justifications have only moderate credibility with the public.

"To avoid a worldwide recession by making sure Middle East oil flows freely to the world" elicits a fairly close result as a rationale for military force against Iraq: 54 percent "good reason" to 44 percent "poor reason."

"We are on the brink of a worldwide economic depression because of Iraq's threat to the oil supplies in the Middle East," even if true, is not considered by a majority as a justification for using military force against Iraq. Forty-four percent think it would be a justification, but 52 percent think it would not be a justification.

Importance or "Wisdom" of Using Military Force

Senator Nunn has separated the "wisdom" of using force from the justification of force. The survey tested four reasons as to why it may be "wise" as well as justified to use force. Two of the four test very much in the affirmative. One, not surprisingly, focuses on the nuclear threat issue; the other draws a parallel to the appeasement of Adolph Hitler.

By 75 to 21 percent, the public agrees that "if he had nuclear weapons, Saddam Hussein would not hesitate to use them against other countries in the Middle East." Moreover, 55 percent "strongly agree" with this statement.

By 70 to 28 percent, the public agrees that "if we don't stand up to Hussein's aggression in the Middle East, he could grow to be as much a threat to world peace as Adolph Hitler." Forty-seven percent "strongly

agree" with this statement.

Surprisingly, another argument using the nuclear threat does not fair as well. Only a moderate 55 to 34 percent majority agree that "there is a good chance that Iraq will acquire nuclear weapons before the economic blockade convinces Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait." A low 22 percent "strongly agree."

The argument with the lowest credibility of the four is, again, an economic self-interest item. Only a small 49 to 45 percent plurality agree that "a severe recession in the U.S. is likely to result if we do not force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait."

Perceptions of Why U.S. Troops Are In Saudi Arabia

There is little public agreement on why U.S. troops are in the Persian Gulf region. Moreover, a disturbingly high proportion of people think U.S. troops are there for economic reasons rather than for one of the reasons they think *ought* to be the basis for their presence.

Read a list of six possible reasons, the most frequent choice the public makes for why U.S. troops are in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf is "to protect the world's oil supply" - 33 percent.

A 54 percent majority choose one of the non-economic purposes, but no single purpose is chosen by more than 20 percent: "force Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait" (18 percent), "overthrow Hussein" (10 percent), "protect Saudi Arabia" (10 percent), "prevent Iraq from developing nuclear weapons" (10 percent), and "free the hostages" (6 percent).

Negotiating With Iraq

A potentially important problem for the Administration's Iraq policy is the significant level of public support for negotiating with Iraq. Forty-nine percent think the U.S. and U.N. should negotiate with Iraq in the true sense of finding what Iraq "would accept in return for withdrawing from Kuwait." Almost as many (48 percent) think the U.S. and U.N. should not negotiate with Iraq.

Surprisingly high proportions of Republicans (43 percent), approvers of the President (43 percent), men (40 percent), and Southerners (44 percent) support negotiating with Iraq.

The NBC News/Wall Street Journal survey also found significant support for negotiating with Iraq. In their survey, 51 percent supported making "some concessions to Iraq on the control of disputed oil fields" if Iraq released all the hostages and withdrew from Kuwait.

Congress

A majority of the public has more confidence in the President than in Congress to handle the Iraq situation, but an even larger majority believes the President needs prior approval of Congress to use military force against Iraq.

Fifty-four percent "trust" President Bush more to handle the Iraq situation; 31 percent trust Congress more.

Sixty-one percent believe the President needs prior approval of Congress to use military force in the Middle East; 35 percent believe the President, "as Commander-in-Chief," has the authority to use military force in the Middle East.

People who have more confidence in President Bush but, nevertheless, say he needs prior approval from Congress offer three reasons to support their position:

It is too big a decision for one man to make either in the sense that it is too much power for one man or too much of a "burden" for one man.

It is written in the Constitution that way; it's "the law."

There will be greater public support for the decision if both make it.

Voters were asked which way they would want their Congressman to vote if the President asked for authority to use military force against Iraq. Sixty percent said they would want their Congressman to vote "for approval"; only 24 percent said they would want him or her to vote "against approval."

Polling

FUNDAMENTAL THEMES

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING

THEME II. THE NATURE OF THE ENEMY

THEME III. LEARNING FROM HISTORY

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL

- **THE IMAGE OF AMERICAN TROOPS**
- **AMERICA'S VULNERABILITY**
- **AMERICA'S POOR SELF-IMAGE**

THEME V. WINNABILITY

THEME VI. TIME AS A WEAPON

THEME VII. LEADERSHIP AND WAR

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS.

Conclusion I:

There is strong evidence that if President Bush had to initiate a major military offensive, he would not have the overwhelming support of the American people.

This reflects a crisis of confidence and conviction.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Crisis of Confidence:

Considering the U.S.'s recent history (most notably Vietnam), poor regard for the military, prevailing self-consciousness about our "diminished position" in the world, the overwhelming burden of domestic problems, and American's lack of understanding and/or dissatisfaction with the expressed motives for "why we're there" . . . **these people have little confidence in the ability of the United States to win** (which means achieving worthwhile objectives as opposed to simply prevailing militarily).

The graphic, horrific, appalling visual images of war that have permeated people's mental landscape over the last decade have left strong "repellent" impression of war on most people. People do not feel that they can sit and watch the horror again -- night after night. They are not confident in their own ability to cope with seeing the realities of war . . . that they must watch if the U.S. goes to war again.

The Baby Boom generation has never seen the U.S. "win" a war. This fact coupled with the urgency of unprecedented economic, political, and sociological challenges, shatters people's confidence in American competence.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Crisis of Conviction:

If lives are to be lost, people must feel satisfied that they both understand and agree with the goals, principles and objectives which define U.S. involvement.

Qualified endorsement may be the only support that Americans can muster given the fundamental skepticism that has become endemic in America.

Without having an overriding sense of purpose, the everchanging, conflicting, and often contradictory information, expert opinions, and pronouncements seriously undermine sustained conviction. People need a "beacon" to clear the way.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

To satisfy these people -- the purpose and meaning for U.S. involvement must make a clear link between:

Causes

The facts, defining events, and characteristics of the Gulf situation.

Pragmatics

The real and anticipated consequences of these characteristics.

Principles

The serious implications of these consequences.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Conclusion II:

The precise nature of the THREAT -- to well-being, security and values -- has not been communicated convincingly, clearly, or consistently.

To warrant a loss of lives, the threat must be perceived as real, close-in, and very serious.

It is especially critical that people feel we have exhausted all viable alternatives before initiating offensive military action.

There must be a logical, credible link made between the nature of the threat and the need for a specific response.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Conclusion III:

People express widespread support "for the troops" in spite of confusion, ambivalence, or even outright rejection of policy.

There is great empathy "for the troops" and a strong underlying sentiment that they must not be abandoned . . . "again." Perceptions of troop morale, conditions, and competence have a profound and disproportionate influence on attitudes and beliefs concerning advisable activities in the Gulf. The more "the boys" are perceived as fragile, vulnerable, unprepared, or victimized, the less likely Americans will be to support either "an offensive action" or a sustained military involvement.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

CONCLUSION IV:

At the root of people's ("Baby Boomers") resistance to "war" is a powerful, underlying aversion to and ambivalence about personal sacrifice.

- "Me generation" legacy
- Grown accustomed to immediate gratification, indulgence, and quick fixes
- Not used to major trade-offs and compromises ("want it all")

However, coming into a more mature phase in their lives is causing these "Baby Boomers" to reconsider their values and priorities.

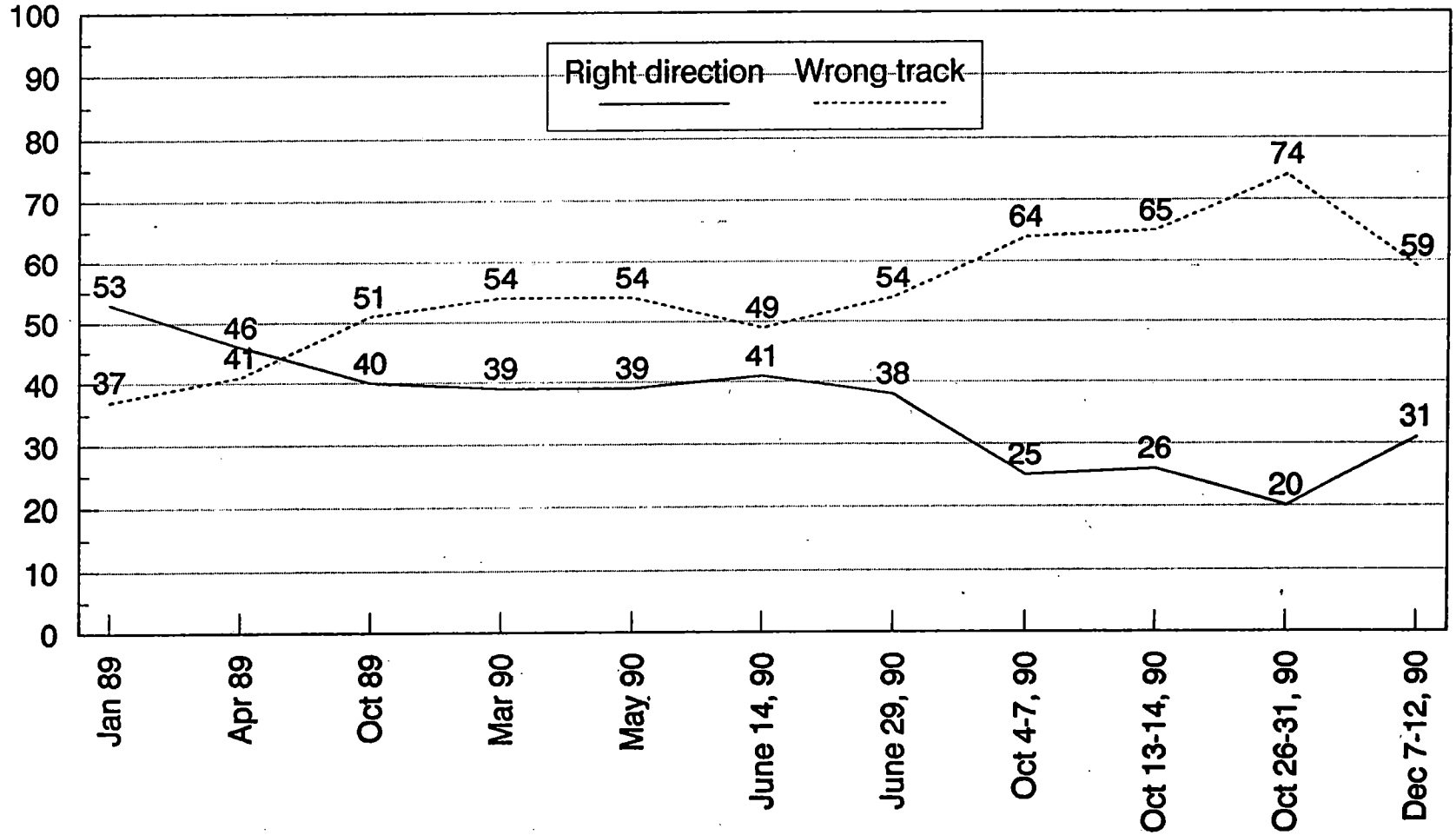
NATIONAL SURVEY RESULTS

PRESENTATION

December 20, 1990

National Direction: 1989-1990

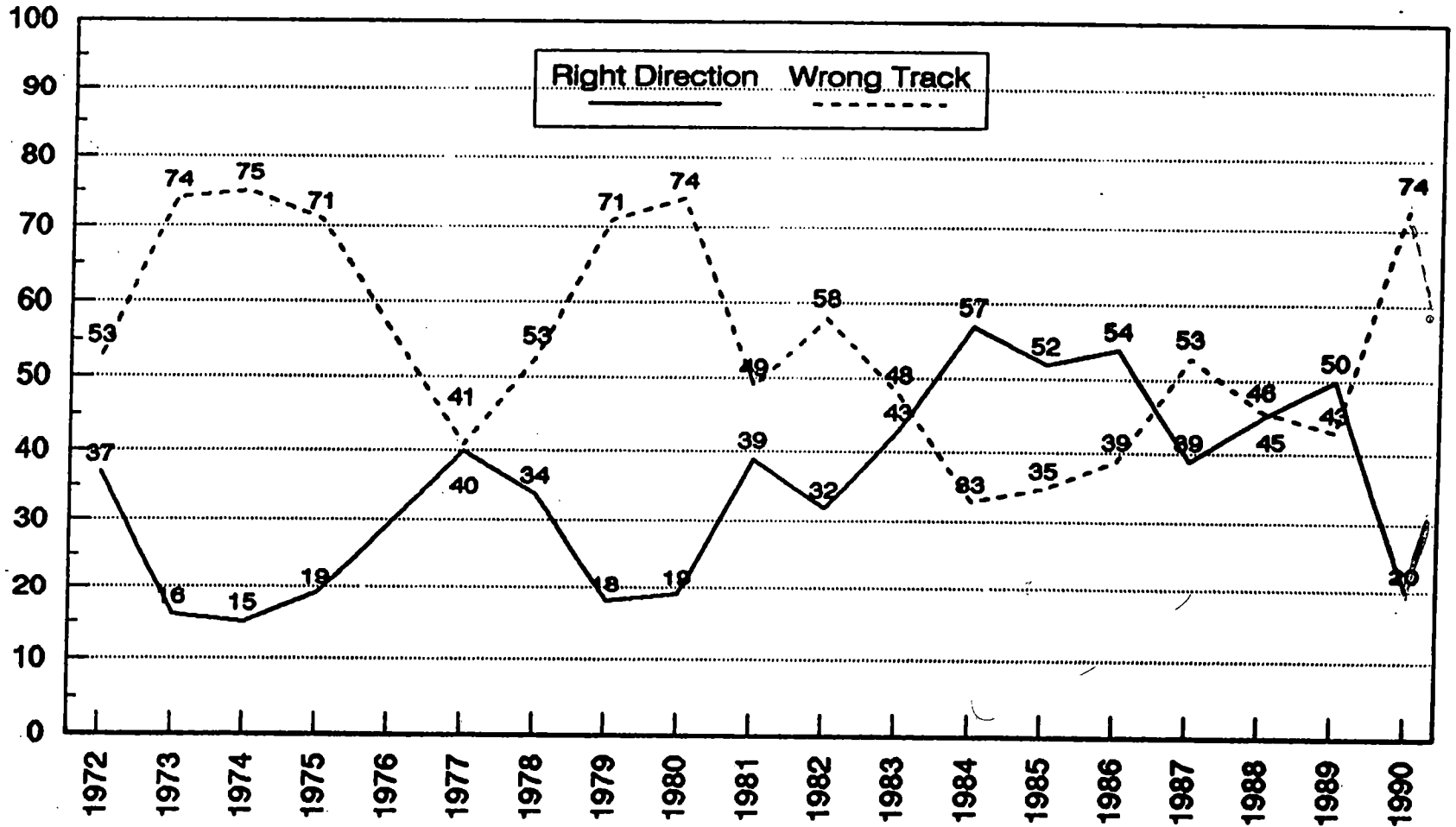
Percentage



Source: RNC National Surveys
December 7-12
(Coldwater/MSI)

National Direction: 1972-1990

Percentage

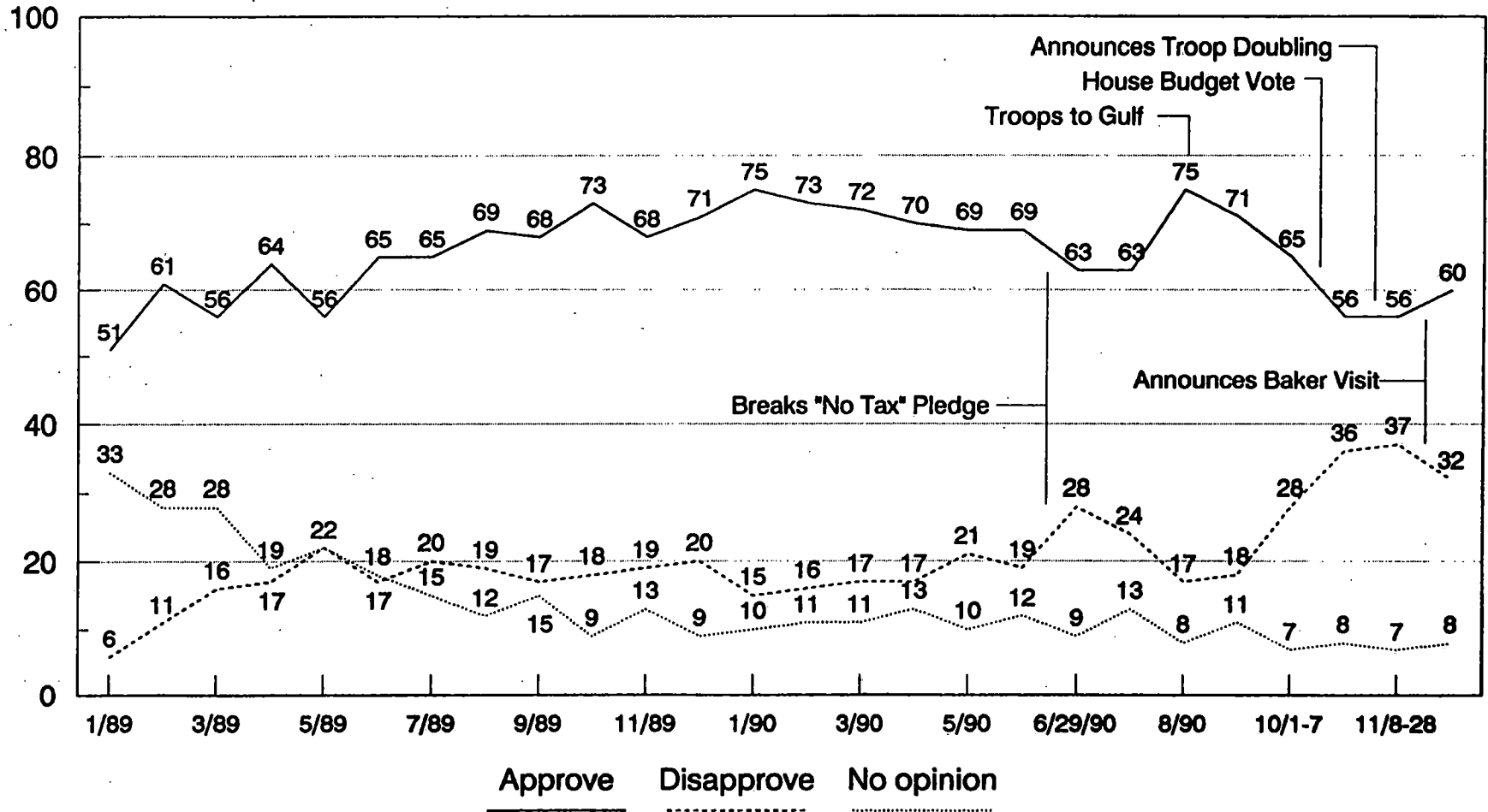


Source: RNC National Surveys
October 26-31
(Coldwater/MSI)

Trend to Approval of President Bush's Overall Job Performance

Summary: Public and Private Polls

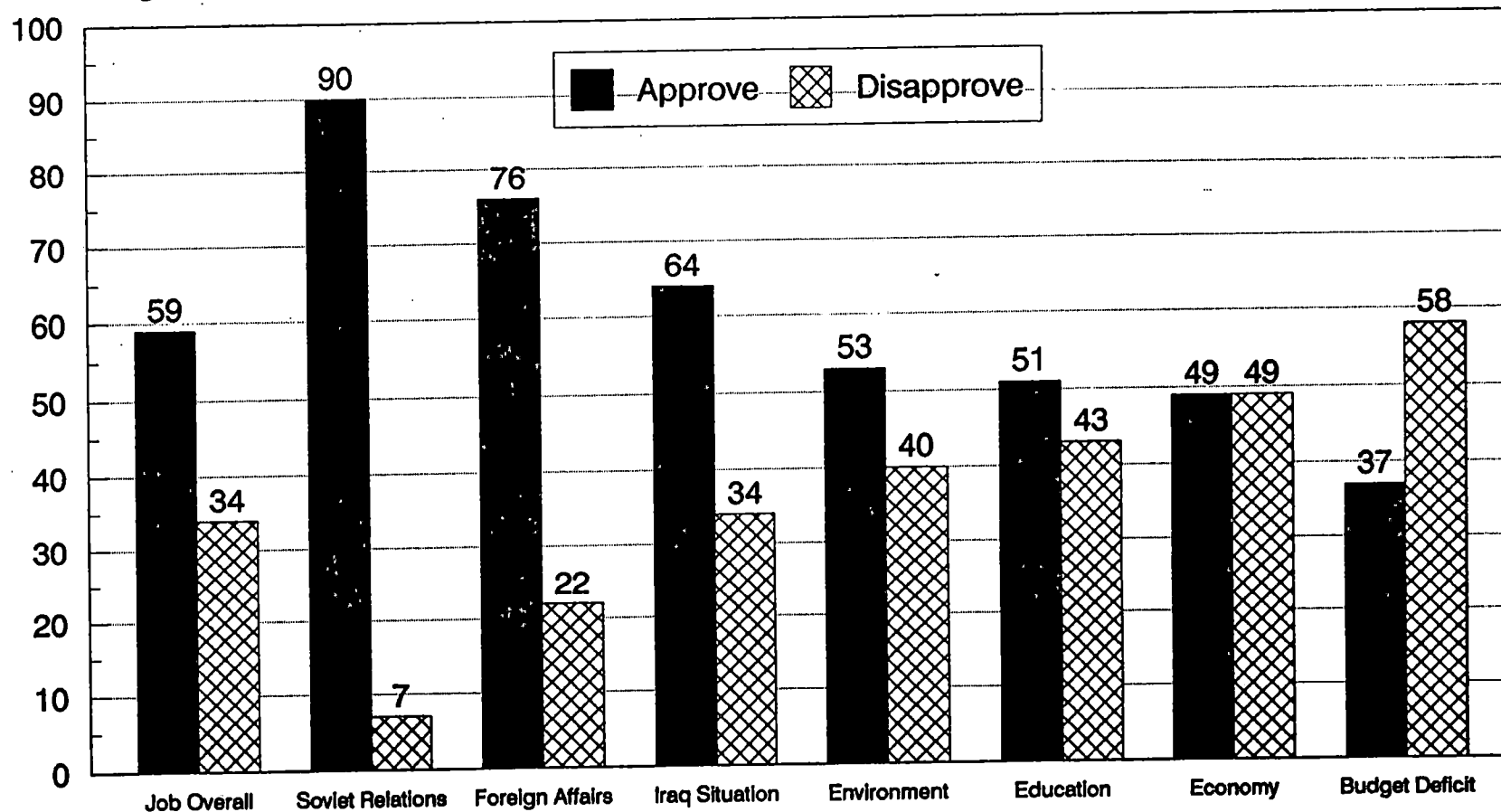
Percentage



(©Coldwater/MSI)

December 7-12: Do You Approve or Disapprove of the Way President Bush is Handling...

Percentage

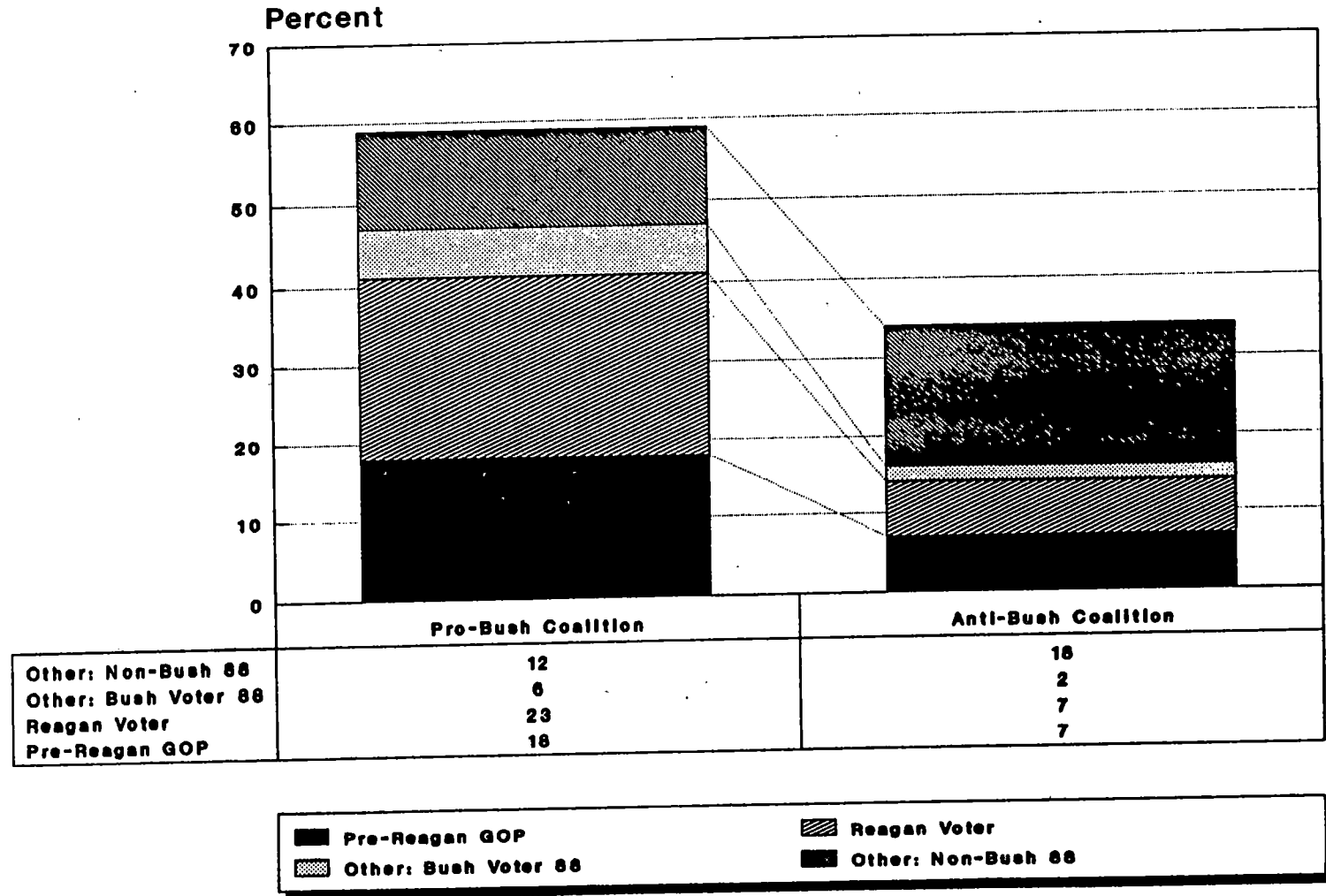


Source: RNC National Surveys

December 7-12

↳ (Coldwater/MSI)

Pro and Anti Bush Coalitions by Voter Political History



IMPORTANCE OF GOALS FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

TOTAL BUSH COALITION		TOTAL ANTI-BUSH COALITION	
Persian Gulf	9.0	Government Waste	9.0
Government Waste	8.9		
		Education	8.7
		Environment	8.6
		Middle Class Taxes	8.5
Drug Problem	8.4	Economy	8.4
Education	8.3	Persian Gulf	8.3
Budget Deficit	8.3	Budget Deficit	8.3
		Health Insurance	8.3
Economy	8.2	Drug Problem	8.2
Environment	8.1		
Middle Class Taxes	8.0	Arms Control	7.9
		Homelessness	7.8
National Defense	7.8		
Arms Control	7.8		
Soviet Relations	7.6		
		Soviet Relations	7.4
		Child Care	7.3
Health Insurance	7.3	National Defense	7.2
Homelessness	7.1		
Child Care	6.5		

*Items ranked on a zero to ten scale where ten means extremely important and zero means not at all important

Affirmative Action

Do you think there should or should not be special consideration given to blacks in obtaining jobs because of past discrimination against them?

	Should	Should Not	No Opinion
Total	20%	76	4
Blacks	48%	44	8
Non-blacks	17%	80	3
Pro-Bush Coalition	16%	81	3
Anti-Bush Coalition	27%	68	5
Pro-Bush Coalition			
Pre-Reagan GOP	16%	82	2
Reagan Voter	12%	86	2
New Bush	22%	73	5

President Bush's "No New Taxes" Pledge

Did President Bush's support of a tax increase to reduce the budget deficit last October make your opinion of him more favorable, less favorable, or did it not make a difference in your opinion of him?

	More Favorable	Less Favorable	No Difference	No Opinion
Total	10%	36	52	2
Pro-Bush Coalition	11%	31	57	1
Anti-Bush Coalition	10%	43	45	1
Pro-Bush Coalition				
Pre-Reagan GOP	9%	29	62	--
Reagan Voters	13%	31	55	1
New Bush	12%	33	55	--
Conservative GOP	10%	29	60	1
Other GOP	14%	23	64	--
Conservative Democrats	5%	35	59	1
Other Democrats	17%	37	46	--
Anti-Bush Coalition				
Pre-Reagan GOP	11%	48	40	1
Reagan Voters	5%	54	39	1
Core-anti	10%	38	50	2

Capital Gains Tax

One proposal in Washington is to reduce the tax rate on capital gains. Are you generally familiar or not familiar with what a tax on capital gains means?

Do you favor or oppose reducing the tax rate on capital gains?

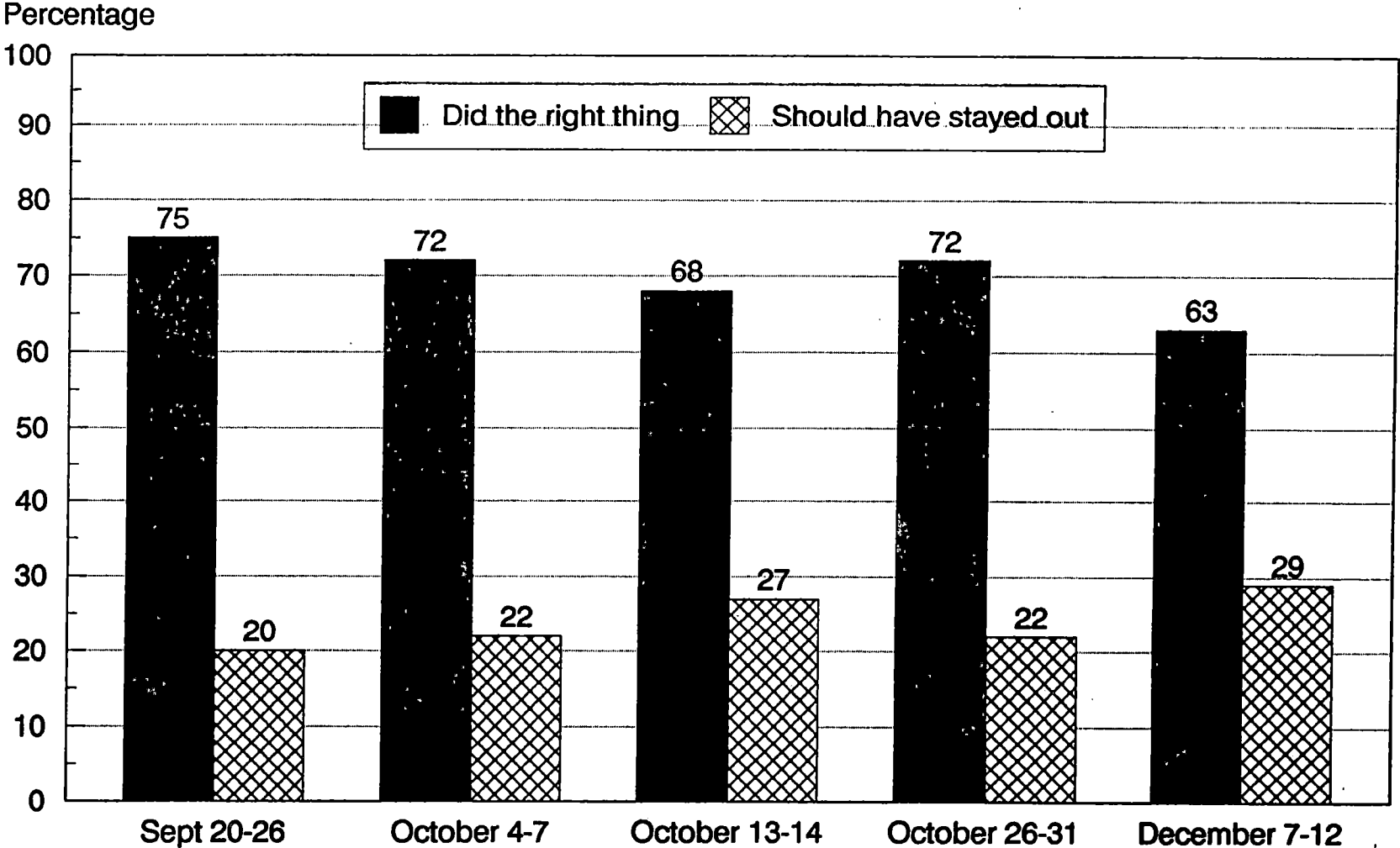
	Familiar	If Familiar		
		Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
Total	45%	52%	43	5
Republican	51%	62%	32	6
Democrat	39%	42%	55	3
Conservative	46%	54%	40	6
Liberal	43%	48%	49	3
Men	55%	55%	38	6
Women	36%	48%	49	3

Capital Gains Tax

The capital gains tax is the tax on the sale of stocks, bonds, a home, and other real estate. Some people favor reducing the tax on capital gains because they think it would increase business investment and jobs. Others oppose this proposal because they think it is mainly a tax cut for the rich. Who do you agree with more -- those who favor or those who oppose a reduction in the tax on capital gain?

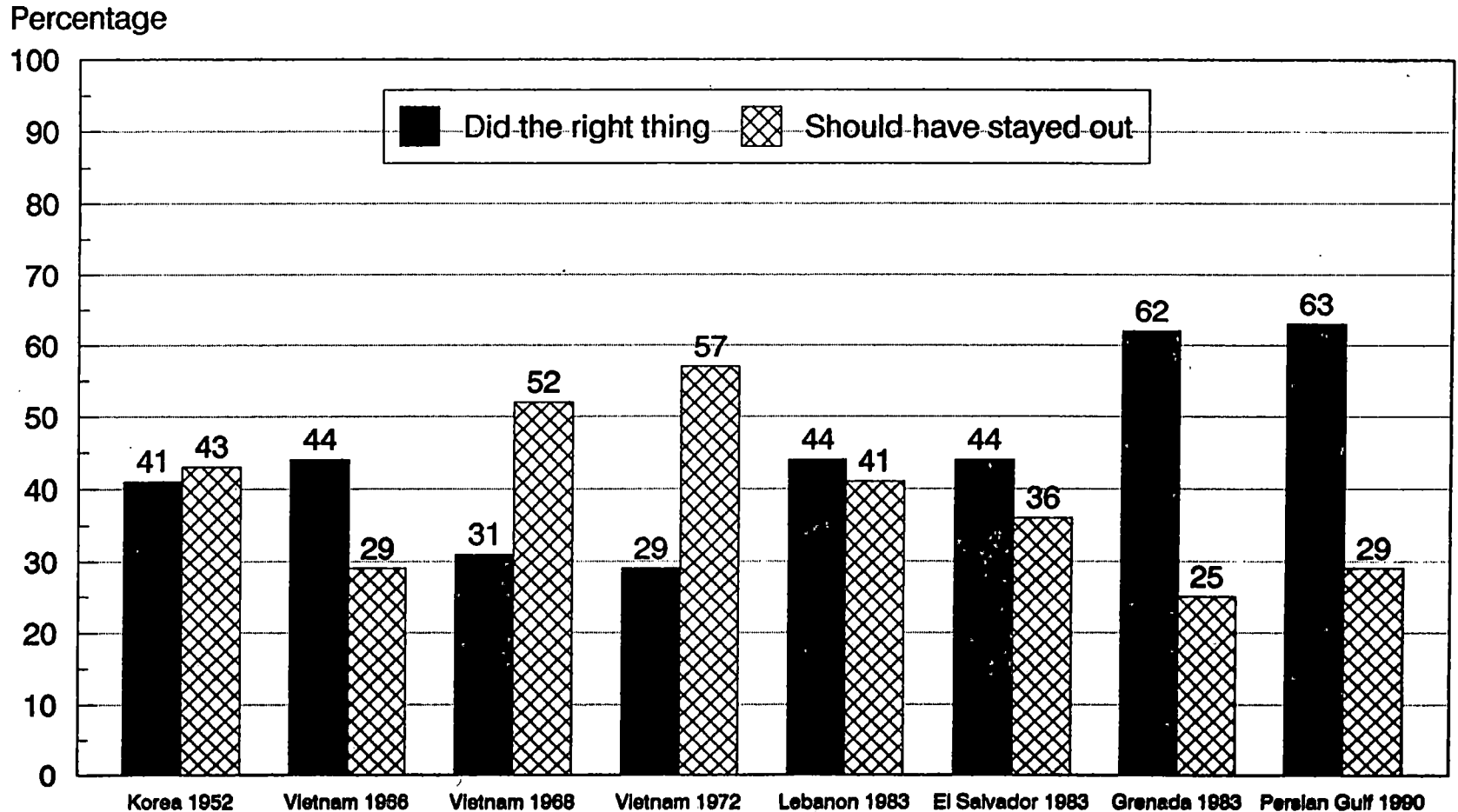
	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
Total	43%	45	12
Republican	56%	35	10
Democrat	32%	56	13
Conservative	45%	45	11
Liberal	43%	45	12
Men	46%	45	9
Women	40%	46	14
Pro-Bush Coalition			
Conservative GOP	58%	34	8
Other Republican	45%	35	20
Conservative Democrat	23%	68	9
Other Democrat	34%	56	10

Attitudes Toward U.S. Military Action in Iraq



Source: RNC National Surveys
December 7-12
(Coldwater/MSI)

Comparison of Attitudes about U.S. Military Actions 1952-1990

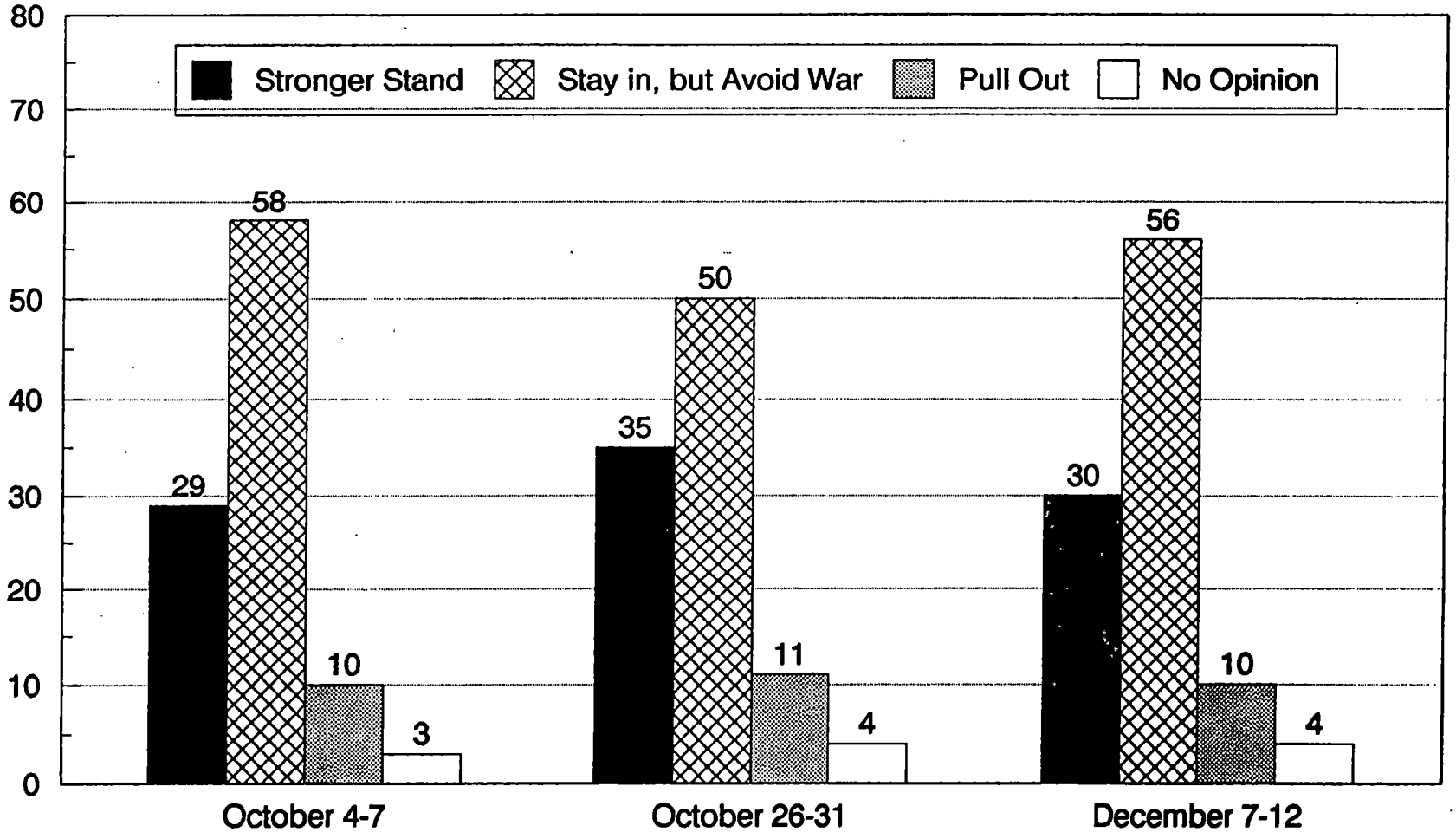


Source: RNC National Surveys 1983-1990/Univ. of Mich. 1952-1972

December 7-12
(Coldwater/MSI)

Attitudes Toward U.S. Military Action in Iraq

Percentage

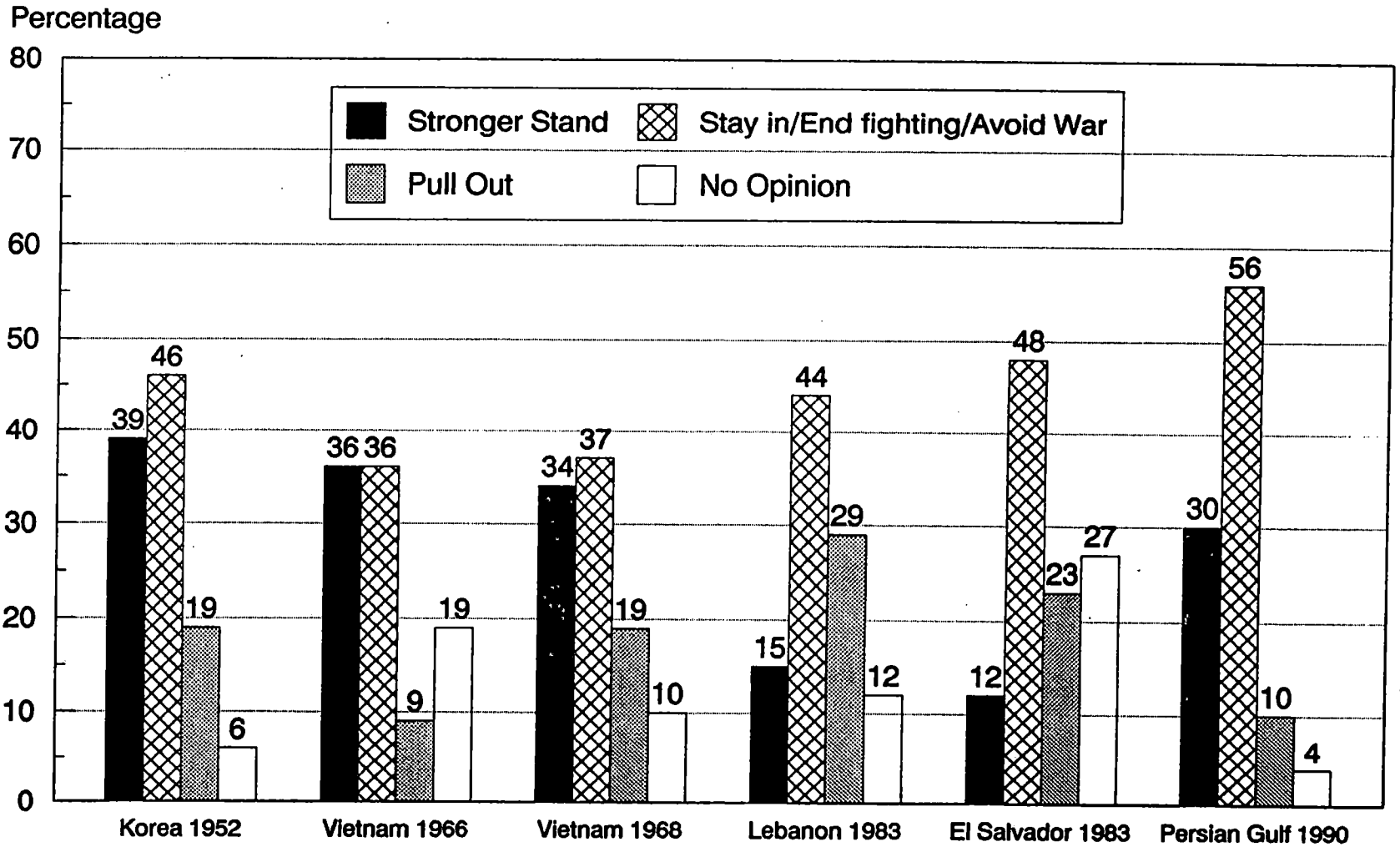


Source: RNC National Surveys

December 7-12

CS (Coldwater/MSI)

Comparison of Preferred Military Actions: 1952-1990



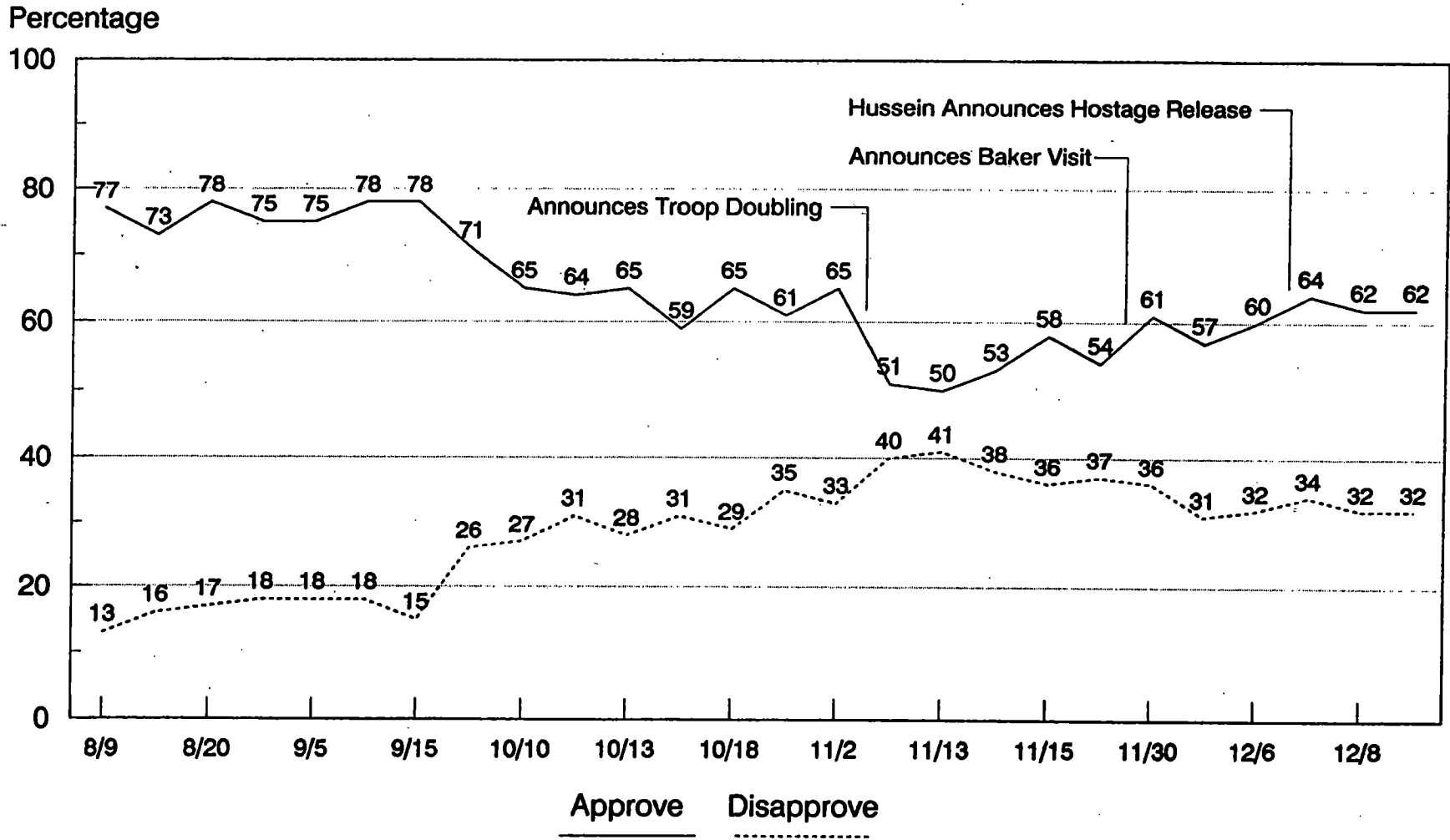
Source: RNC National Surveys 1983-1990/Univ. of Mich. 1952-1968

December 7-12

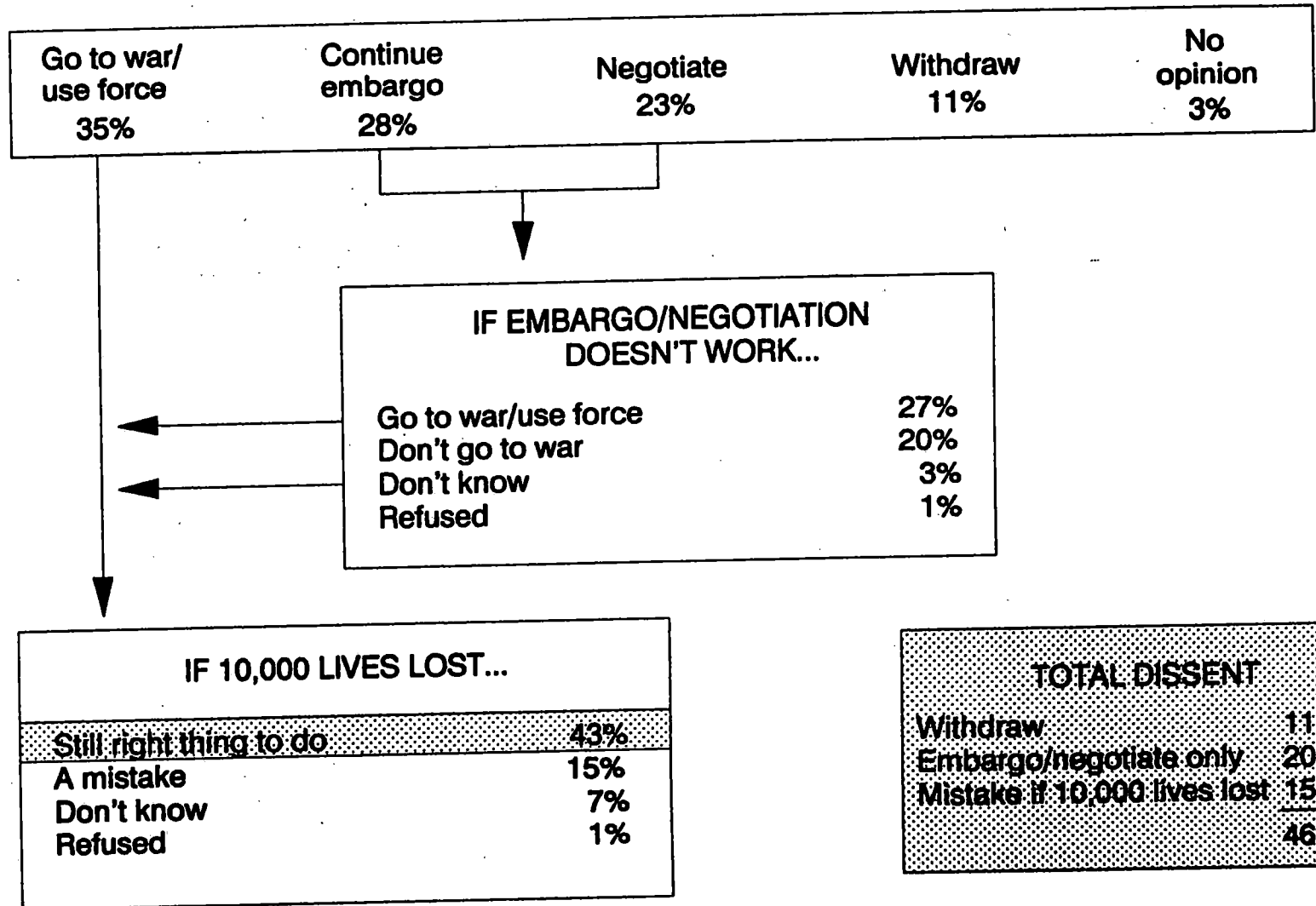
(Coldwater/MSI)

Trend to Approval of President Bush's Handling of the Gulf Crisis

Summary: Public and Private Polls



After January 15th...



After January 15th

	Pro-war/ force	Mistake if lose 10,000	Embargo/ negotiate only	Withdraw	DK/NA
Total	43%	15	20	11	11
Republicans	56%	15	12	5	12
Democrats	31%	16	27	15	11
Approve Bush	57%	15	13	4	11
Disapprove Bush	23%	15	32	21	9
Men	55%	13	16	7	9
Women	32%	17	24	14	13
Men					
18-29	52%	19	16	7	6
30-39	64%	14	10	5	7
40-54	58%	9	22	4	6
55+	45%	10	17	10	18
Women					
18-29	28%	23	31	10	8
30-39	44%	13	20	14	9
40-54	35%	14	25	13	13
55+	25%	18	20	18	19
Pro-Bush Coalition					
Pre-Reagan Repub.	52%	18	13	3	14
Reagan Voter	64%	15	8	4	9
New Bush	53%	13	19	4	11
Conservative GOP	63%	13	8	4	12
Other Republican	58%	16	9	3	14
Conservative Dem.	45%	16	22	2	15
Other Democrat	50%	20	18	5	7

RATINGS OF REASONS FOR WAR/USING FORCE

Here are some possible reasons that the U.S. might *(go to war with/use military force)* against Iraq. For each one, please tell me how good a reason you think it is for the U.S. to *(go to war with/use military force)* against Iraq – a very good reason, a good reason, a poor reason, or a very poor reason. First...

	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very Poor	DK/ Ref.	Collapsed Good	Poor
To stop Iraq from building nuclear weapons.	46%	32	15	4	2	78%	20
To make Iraq withdraw from Kuwait.	29%	43	20	5	3	72%	25
To maintain the security and stability of the Persian Gulf region.	26%	46	19	5	3	72%	25
To destroy Iraq's chemical weapons.	32%	36	25	4	2	68%	30
To remove Saddam Hussein from power.	36%	28	26	7	2	65%	33
To restore Kuwait's previous government.	16%	40	30	6	7	56%	36
To avoid a worldwide recession by making sure Middle East oil flows freely to the world.	21%	33	30	13	3	54%	44
To punish Iraq for taking American hostages so other governments are less likely to use Americans as hostages again.	21%	28	36	13	2	49%	48

RATINGS OF JUSTIFICATIONS FOR WAR/USING FORCE

Here are some things that you might learn about the situation with Iraq. For each one, please tell me if it would or would not justify the U.S. (*going to war/using military force*) against Iraq? Keep in mind that some experts have estimated that a war with Iraq might cost ten thousand American lives.

	Justify	Not Justify	DK/ Ref.
Iraq is moving chemical weapons to the border where our troops are positioned.	62%	33	4
Iraq is planning to invade another Middle Eastern country whenever we withdraw our troops from the Middle East.	59%	36	6
Iraq is within a few months of having nuclear weapons.	59%	35	6
Iraq is torturing many of the citizens of Kuwait who oppose Iraq's occupation of their country.	50%	45	6
We are on the brink of a worldwide economic depression because of Iraq's threat to the oil supplies in the Middle East.	44%	52	5
Iraq is denying adequate food and medicine to the people staffing the U.S. embassy in Kuwait.	40%	54	6

AGREEMENT WITH IMPORTANCE OR "WISDOM" OF CONFRONTING IRAQ

Here are some statements about the Iraq situation. For each one, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

	Str. Agr	Smwt Agr	Smwt Dis	Str. Dis	DK/ Ref.	Collapsed	
						Tot Agr	Tot Dis
If he had nuclear weapons, Saddam Hussein would not hesitate to use them against other countries in the Middle East.	55%	20	13	8	4	75%	21
If we don't stand up to Hussein's aggression in the Middle East, he could grow to be as much a threat to world peace as Adolph Hitler.	47%	23	15	12	2	70%	28
There is a good chance that Iraq will acquire nuclear weapons before the economic blockade convinces Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.	22%	32	22	12	12	55%	34
A severe recession in the U.S. is likely to result if we do not force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.	22%	27	28	18	5	49%	45

Perceptions of Why U.S. Troops Are in the Persian Gulf

I'm going to read you six reasons some people think U.S. troops are in the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia. Please tell me which one you think is the single most important reason U.S. troops are there. (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE).

To protect the world's oil supply	33%
To force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait	18
To overthrow Saddam Hussein	10
To free the hostages	6
To protect Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf nations	10
To prevent Iraq from developing nuclear weapons	10
All equally (VOLUNTEERED)	9
None of these (VOLUNTEERED)	2
Don't know	2