

Program for
Public Consultation



ANWAR SADAT CHAIR
FOR PEACE & DEVELOPMENT

Americans on the Iran Nuclear Issue

March 3, 2015

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: February 19 – 25, 2015
Sample Size: 710

Margin of Error: 3.7%
MoE w/design effect of 1.2365: 4.1%

[DISPLAY]

Q1. The main focus of this survey will be what the United States should do about Iran's nuclear program.

As you may know, the United States is currently in negotiations with Iran and will soon reach a point where it needs to make a key decision. We would like to know your recommendation about what the US should do. But first we need to give you some background.

The US, Iran, and most other countries are members of the 1970 Non-Proliferation Treaty that aims to prevent new countries from acquiring nuclear weapons.

How much have you heard about the Non-Proliferation Treaty or NPT?

Nothing at all	46%
Republicans	40
Democrats.....	49
Independents.....	52
Just a little	31
Republicans	31
Democrats.....	29
Independents.....	33
Some.....	18
Republicans	23
Democrats.....	17
Independents.....	12
A lot	5
Republicans	6
Democrats.....	5
Independents.....	3

Don't know/Refused.....*

[DISPLAY]

Q2. In establishing the NPT, all members that did not already have nuclear weapons agreed not to develop them. Iran is one of those members that has agreed not to develop nuclear weapons.

Did you know that Iran, as a member of the NPT, has agreed not to develop a nuclear weapon, or had you not heard this?

I knew this	34%
Republicans	40
Democrats.....	30
Independents.....	29
I had not heard this	66
Republicans	59
Democrats.....	69
Independents.....	71
Don't know/Refused.....	1%

[DISPLAY]

As a Member of the NPT, Iran can have a nuclear energy program. However, the NPT requires that Iran provide information about its nuclear energy programs and allow inspections by a UN agency called the IAEA, to ensure that it is not trying to develop nuclear weapons.

A sensitive issue arises when a country enriches uranium. Enriched uranium can be used for producing nuclear energy, but can also be used for developing nuclear weapons. For the purposes of nuclear energy, it is only necessary to enrich uranium to the level of 5%. For nuclear weapons, it is usually necessary to enrich it to around 90%. One of the key purposes of IAEA inspections is to ensure that the enrichment being done by non-nuclear weapons states is only for peaceful purposes.

In 2002, the IAEA determined that Iran had been building an enrichment facility without telling the IAEA, and doing some other activities that might be related to developing nuclear weapons. The IAEA did not conclude that Iran was trying to produce nuclear weapons, but its secrecy raised questions about Iran's intentions. In negotiations with three European countries in 2003, Iran agreed to suspend enrichment-related activities temporarily and cooperate with the IAEA to resolve these suspicions. However, when these negotiations did not produce a final agreement, in 2006, Iran resumed its enrichment and reduced cooperation with the IAEA. The UN Security Council subsequently demanded that Iran suspend its uranium enrichment activities for a period. Iran refused, saying that it has a right to enrich uranium for peaceful purposes under the NPT. The UN then imposed some economic sanctions on Iran.

The US has imposed additional sanctions on Iran to get it to stop enriching. However, since the US stopped virtually all its trade with Iran some time ago, the only way that it has been able to

impose new sanctions is by getting other countries to stop doing business with Iran. This means that the US has needed to threaten these other countries with penalties. As a result, many countries have reduced their business relations with Iran.

Despite the sanctions, Iran has persisted in enriching uranium and has substantially increased its capacity to do so.

[DISPLAY]

In February 2013, the US, Germany, and other key members of the UN Security Council entered into a new round of negotiations with Iran to ensure that its nuclear program is only for strictly peaceful purposes.

In November 2013, they reached a temporary agreement that allowed greater international scrutiny, and also moderated some sanctions on Iran during the negotiating period.

A primary focus of negotiations is to create a system for **limiting** Iran's enrichment activity. This would ensure that it does not rise above the **5% level** needed for nuclear energy. This would be addressed by having **intrusive inspections** of all nuclear facilities.

Although some progress has been made in these negotiations, and Iran has cooperated in its short-term obligations, a long-term agreement has not been reached.

The temporary agreement has been extended twice by the consent of all the negotiating countries. Its current extension runs out on June 30 of this year.

These negotiations are controversial. Some members of Congress think that the US should not try to negotiate **limits** on Iran's enrichment program, but rather impose new sanctions to try to get Iran to **completely stop** enriching uranium.

If Congress were to impose new sanctions, this would make the continuation of the negotiations extremely unlikely because the temporary agreement says that the US will not impose new sanctions during the negotiations.

So, right now there are two major options being considered for the US:

- Continue to pursue a long-term agreement that limits Iran's enrichment of uranium: Iran would accept intrusive inspections of their program, while the US would accept Iran enriching to the low level necessary for nuclear energy, and would gradually ease some sanctions provided that Iran sticks to the agreement.
- Do not negotiate an agreement that includes Iran having limited enrichment, but rather impose new sanctions on other countries to get them to cut their economic relations with Iran to pressure Iran to agree to completely stop all uranium enrichment.

[DISPLAY – Q3 AND Q4 ON SAME SCREEN ALONG WITH INTRO]

Based on what you have heard so far, please give us your initial response to each of these options. At this point, we are not asking you to choose between them. We just want to know how you would feel about each of them.

Q3. How would you feel if the US were to continue to pursue a long-term agreement that limits Iran's enrichment of uranium, where Iran would accept intrusive inspections of their program, while the US would accept Iran enriching to the low level necessary for nuclear energy, and would gradually ease some sanctions provided that Iran sticks to the agreement? Would this be:

Not Acceptable (0-4)	21%
Republicans	24
Democrats.....	16
Independents.....	25
Just tolerable (5)	31
Republicans	30
Democrats.....	25
Independents.....	44
Acceptable (6-10).....	47
Republicans	45
Democrats.....	59
Independents.....	30
Don't know/Refused.....	1
Mean.....	5.7
Republicans	5.6
Democrats.....	6.3
Independents.....	5.1

Q4. How would you feel if the US were not to negotiate an agreement that includes Iran having limited enrichment, but rather impose new sanctions on other countries to get them to cut their economic relations with Iran to pressure Iran to agree to completely stop all uranium enrichment? Would this be:

Not Acceptable (0-4)	39%
Republicans	35
Democrats.....	46
Independents.....	35
Just tolerable (5)	27
Republicans	24
Democrats.....	25
Independents.....	38
Acceptable (6-10).....	33

Republicans	42
Democrats.....	28
Independents.....	27
Don't know/Refused.....	1
Mean.....	4.9
Republicans	5.4
Democrats.....	4.4
Independents.....	4.7

[DISPLAY – Q5-Q7 ON SAME SCREEN ALONG WITH INTRO]

Now, we would like you to evaluate a series of arguments in favor of the idea of continuing to pursue a long-term agreement that limits Iran's enrichment of uranium. For each argument, please select whether you find it convincing or unconvincing.

Q5. The only real option is to make a deal with the Iranian government. We have been applying sanctions for years now and yet Iran's uranium enrichment program has only grown. Bombing Iran's nuclear facilities would just lead Iran to kick out the IAEA inspectors and rebuild the program underground. Invading and occupying is completely unrealistic given that Iran is a huge country, with a substantial military, and a large population that would likely be very hostile. Given that the Iranian government says that it is ready to make a deal based on a commitment not to build nuclear weapons, we should give this option a chance.

Very convincing	12%
Republicans	10
Democrats.....	15
Independents.....	10
Somewhat convincing	47
Republicans	45
Democrats.....	52
Independents.....	41
Somewhat unconvincing.....	24
Republicans	26
Democrats.....	22
Independents.....	25
Very unconvincing	17
Republicans	19
Democrats.....	11
Independents.....	22
Don't know/Refused.....	1

Q6. No matter what happens, making a deal with Iran to limit its enrichment will put us ahead of where we are now. If Iran sticks with the deal, we'll know they aren't making a nuclear weapon. If they try to break out of the deal, with more intrusive inspections, we will have much better means to spot it immediately and it will be so completely clear that we will be better able to mobilize the world against them. Either way we come out ahead.

Very convincing	14%
Republicans	11
Democrats.....	17
Independents.....	14
Somewhat convincing	50
Republicans	50
Democrats.....	53
Independents.....	47
Somewhat unconvincing.....	22
Republicans	24
Democrats.....	21
Independents.....	20
Very unconvincing	12
Republicans	15
Democrats.....	6
Independents.....	16
Don't know/Refused.....	2

Deleted: 51

Q7. Getting Iran to limit its enrichment is the only reasonable goal. As a Member of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, Iran agreed not to have nuclear weapons, but it never agreed not to enrich uranium. The Treaty even recognizes all nations' right to a nuclear energy program. We would never let other countries tell us whether or not we can make our own nuclear fuel.

Very convincing	23%
Republicans	19
Democrats.....	26
Independents.....	24
Somewhat convincing	41
Republicans	44
Democrats.....	44
Independents.....	31
Somewhat unconvincing.....	24
Republicans	27
Democrats.....	21

Independents.....	22
Very unconvincing	11
Republicans	11
Democrats.....	8
Independents.....	18
Don't know/Refused.....	1

[DISPLAY – Q8-Q10 ON SAME SCREEN ALONG WITH INTRO]

Now, we would like you to evaluate a series of arguments against the idea of continuing to pursue a long-term agreement that limits Iran's enrichment of uranium.

Q8. The UN Security Council told Iran to stop enrichment. But Iran has been defiant. We should not reward Iran's defiance by giving in and letting it go ahead and enrich. This will lead others to defy international rules to extract concessions. We need to set an example and make it clear that countries that defy the international system will eventually regret it. The international community needs to stick to its guns.

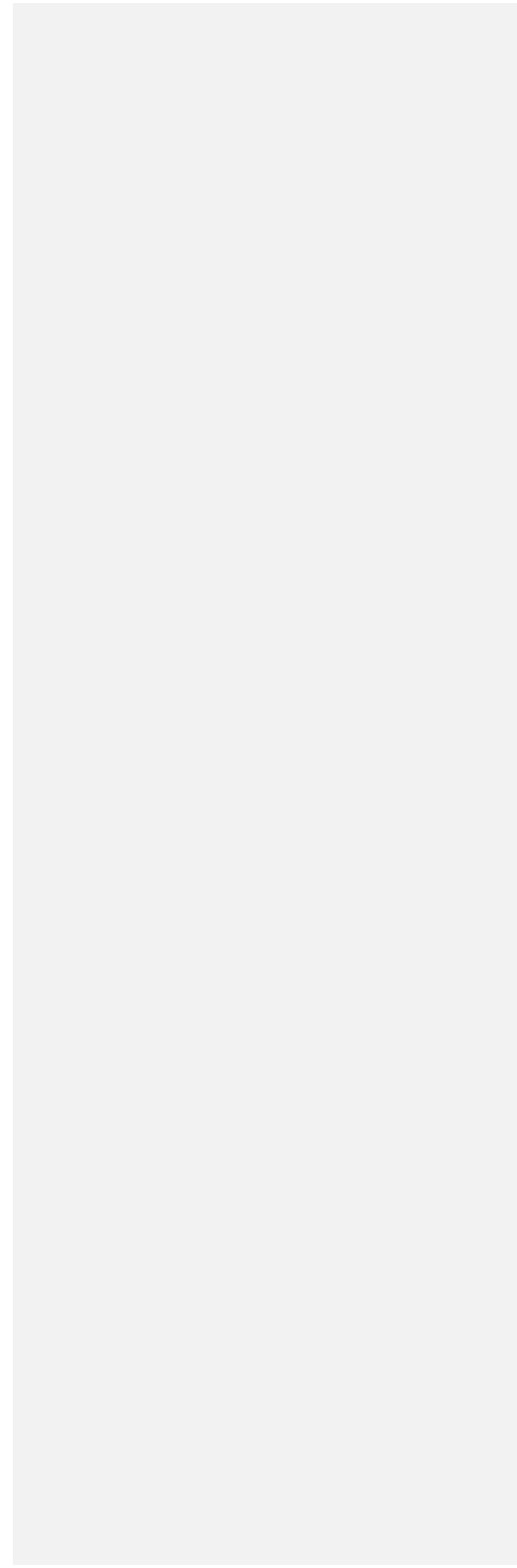
Very convincing	21%
Republicans	25
Democrats.....	17
Independents.....	20
Somewhat convincing	41
Republicans	45
Democrats.....	38
Independents.....	37
Somewhat unconvincing.....	27
Republicans	23
Democrats.....	30
Independents.....	26
Very unconvincing	10
Republicans	6
Democrats.....	13
Independents.....	14
Don't know/Refused.....	1

Q9. If we have an agreement that lets Iran enrich to the 5% level, it does not mean that their progress toward a nuclear weapon will be completely stopped. They will be able to continually refine their know-how on enrichment. Thus, should they decide to break out of the agreement, they will be able to move toward getting a nuclear weapon even faster than they could now. The only way to stop their movement toward a nuclear weapon is to stop all enrichment.

Very convincing	14%
Republicans	18
Democrats.....	11
Independents.....	15
Somewhat convincing	39
Republicans	45
Democrats.....	34
Independents.....	36
Somewhat unconvincing.....	30
Republicans	28
Democrats.....	35
Independents.....	28
Very unconvincing	15
Republicans	9
Democrats.....	20
Independents.....	17
Don't know/Refused.....	2

Q10. Giving up the international sanctions that have been so difficult to put in place is very risky. If the international sanctions are dismantled, at some point Iran could decide it is safe to break out of the treaty and race for nuclear weapons. Then it could take so long to reassemble the international system of sanctions that Iran could make so much progress that we could end up facing a nuclear-armed Iran.

Very convincing	22%
Republicans	26
Democrats.....	19
Independents.....	20
Somewhat convincing	40
Republicans	44
Democrats.....	38
Independents.....	36
Somewhat unconvincing.....	25
Republicans	21
Democrats.....	29
Independents.....	23
Very unconvincing	12
Republicans	8



Democrats.....	13
Independents.....	17
Don't know/Refused.....	2

[DISPLAY Q11-Q13 ON SAME SCREEN ALONG WITH INTRO]

Now, we would like you to evaluate a series of arguments in favor of the idea of not continuing to negotiate an agreement with Iran, but rather imposing new sanctions on other countries to get them to cut their economic relations with Iran.

Q11. Clearly we need to stick with sanctions and ratchet them up higher. We can see they are working. The Iranian economy is suffering and the Iranian people have had enough. That is why they elected a new president that was willing to come to the table. Eventually, the Iranian people are going to get tired of the economic pain that comes from the sanctions, and this will lead them to demand that Iran give up its enrichment program. We should stick with the sanctions until Iran gives up enrichment entirely.

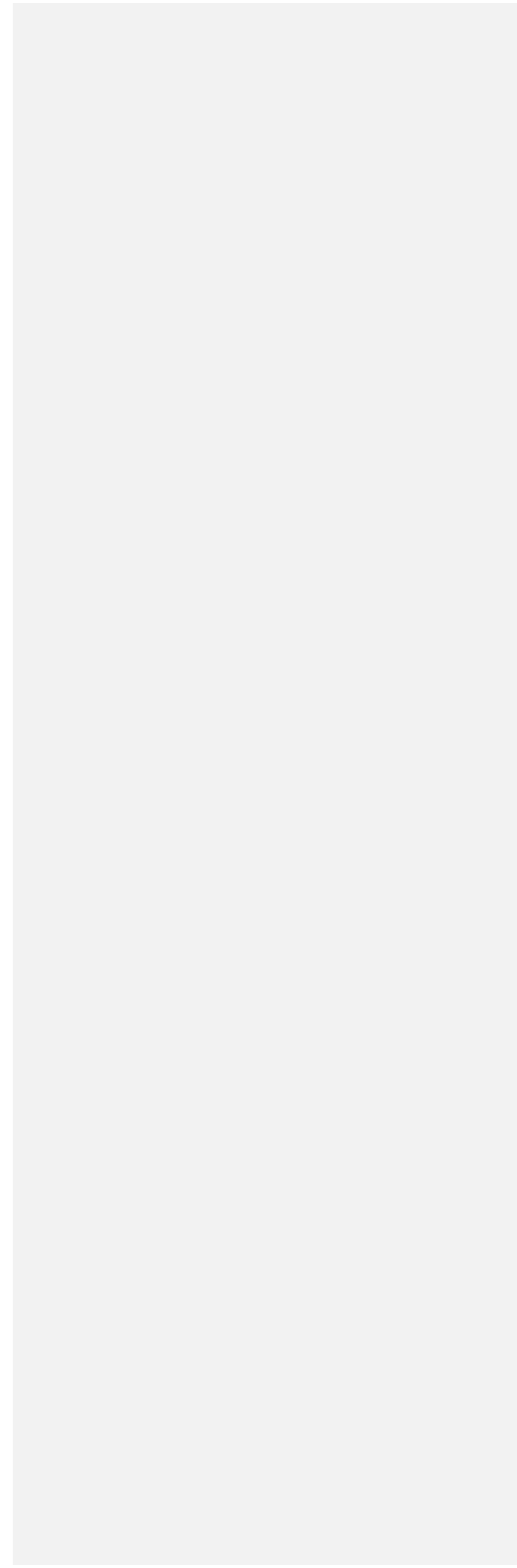
Very convincing	14%
Republicans	16
Democrats.....	12
Independents.....	13
Somewhat convincing	45
Republicans	46
Democrats.....	45
Independents.....	42
Somewhat unconvincing.....	28
Republicans	29
Democrats.....	27
Independents.....	27
Very unconvincing	12
Republicans	8
Democrats.....	14
Independents.....	16
Don't know/Refused.....	1

Q12. Given how hard the Iranian leadership resists giving up enrichment, despite all of the sanctions so far, they must really be motivated by a desire for nuclear weapons. Negotiating limits on their enrichment will not make this desire go away among the Iranian leadership. Our only hope is to ratchet up the sanctions until they are painful enough that the leaders will finally give up that desire.

Very convincing	14%
Republicans	15
Democrats.....	13
Independents.....	14
Somewhat convincing	38
Republicans	43
Democrats.....	36
Independents.....	34
Somewhat unconvincing.....	32
Republicans	33
Democrats.....	31
Independents.....	31
Very unconvincing	14
Republicans	8
Democrats.....	19
Independents.....	17
Don't know/Refused.....	2

Q13. We have the international sanctions in place now, along with the UN Security Council resolutions calling for Iran to stop its enrichment. It's no time to ease off and accept limited enrichment. We need to keep this momentum going and get other countries to cut their business ties to Iran until it complies with the UN resolutions. And we have to keep ramping up these sanctions until the Iranians scrap their enrichment program.

Very convincing	17%
Republicans	19
Democrats.....	17
Independents.....	15
Somewhat convincing	43
Republicans	50
Democrats.....	39
Independents.....	37
Somewhat unconvincing.....	25
Republicans	25
Democrats.....	26
Independents.....	25
Very unconvincing	13
Republicans	6
Democrats.....	17



Independents.....	18
Don't know/Refused.....	2

[DISPLAY Q14-Q16 ON SAME SCREEN ALONG WITH INTRO]

Now, we would like you to evaluate a series of arguments against the idea of not continuing to negotiate an agreement with Iran, but rather imposing new sanctions on other countries to get them to cut their economic relations with Iran.

Q14. We need to really face the fact that sanctions have not worked to get Iran to give up enriching. Even as countries imposed more and more sanctions on Iran, it increased its level of enrichment activities, building more and better centrifuges and even enriching somewhat above the 5% level. On the other hand, the sanctions *have* helped to bring Iran to the table to negotiate limits on its enrichment and have led Iran to already accept some limits. We need to be realistic, take advantage of what has worked, and stop pursuing approaches that do not work.

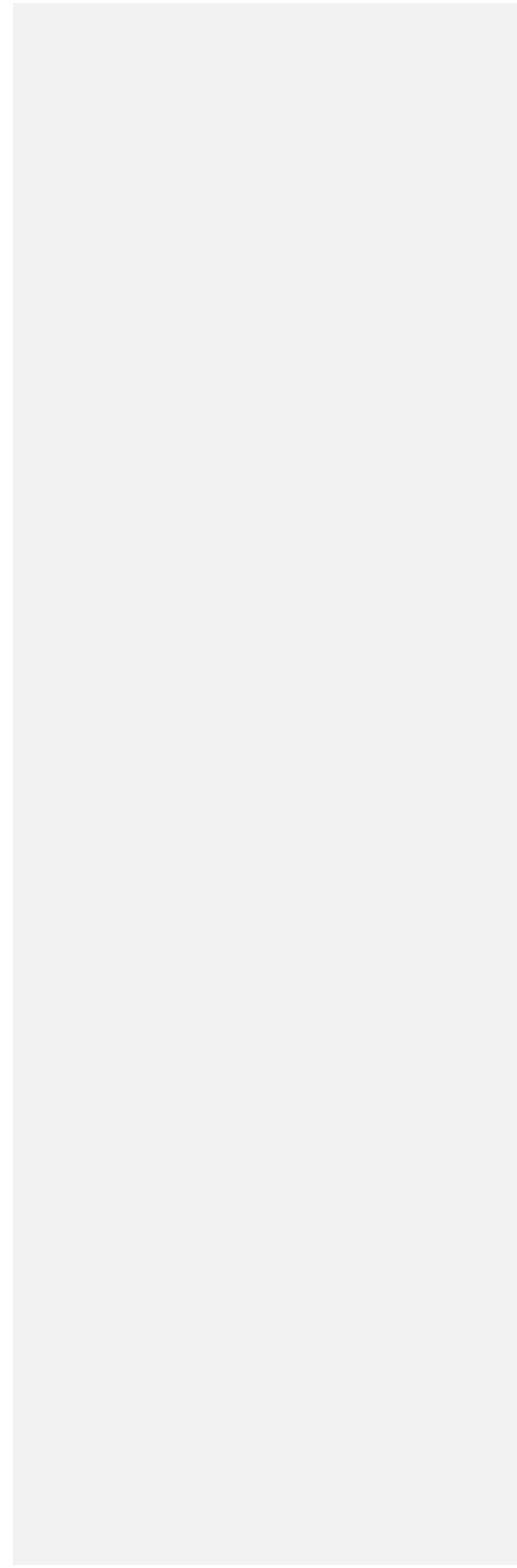
Very convincing	19%
Republicans	19
Democrats.....	19
Independents.....	17
Somewhat convincing	48
Republicans	47
Democrats.....	50
Independents.....	46
Somewhat unconvincing.....	21
Republicans	24
Democrats.....	18
Independents.....	20
Very unconvincing	11
Republicans	9
Democrats.....	12
Independents.....	14
Don't know/Refused.....	1

Q15. Because the US has already stopped its trade with Iran, the only way Congress has been able to impose new sanctions is by threatening other countries, some of them allies, with sanctions unless they stop their business relations with Iran. Sometimes, we have actually punished their companies with fines. Many countries resent this. Cutting off trade with Iran hurts other countries' economy and they do not like being pushed around. This harms our relations with other countries, including friends and allies.

Very convincing	22%
Republicans	21
Democrats.....	25
Independents.....	22
Somewhat convincing	44
Republicans	44
Democrats.....	45
Independents.....	40
Somewhat unconvincing.....	21
Republicans	26
Democrats.....	16
Independents.....	20
Very unconvincing	11
Republicans	8
Democrats.....	12
Independents.....	15
Don't know/Refused.....	2

Q16. We need to remember that the system of sanctions on Iran requires the cooperation of other countries, who want the US to negotiate a deal with Iran so that we limit their nuclear program, allowing us to move away from the sanctions that harm their own economies too. If the US ramps up sanctions and pulls out of the negotiations now, when Iran says it is ready to make a deal, other countries will get annoyed and probably resume trading with Iran. The whole system of sanctions on Iran may well unravel, and then it will be even harder to get a deal with Iran. But if we show we would accept a deal that can be fully verified, these other countries are more apt to stick with us.

Very convincing	19%
Republicans	17
Democrats.....	21
Independents.....	18
Somewhat convincing	46
Republicans	48
Democrats.....	47
Independents.....	40
Somewhat unconvincing.....	23
Republicans	26
Democrats.....	20
Independents.....	24



Very unconvincing	10
Republicans	9
Democrats.....	9
Independents.....	14
Don't know/Refused.....	2

[DISPLAY– SHOW Q17 AND Q18 ON SAME SCREEN]

Q17. Now, having assessed these arguments, we would like to know how would you feel if the US were to continue to pursue a long-term agreement that limits Iran's enrichment of uranium: Iran would accept intrusive inspections of their program, while the US would accept Iran enriching to the low level necessary for nuclear energy, and would gradually ease some sanctions provided that Iran sticks to the agreement? Would this be:

Not acceptable (0-4)	21%
Republicans	23
Democrats.....	17
Independents.....	24
Just tolerable (5)	29
Republicans	27
Democrats.....	23
Independents.....	43
Acceptable (6-10)	49
Republicans	49
Democrats.....	60
Independents.....	31
Don't know/Refused.....	1
Mean.....	5.8
Republicans	5.6
Democrats.....	6.4
Independents.....	5.1

Q18. How would you feel if the US were not to negotiate an agreement that includes Iran having limited enrichment, but rather impose new sanctions on other countries to get them to cut their economic relations with Iran to pressure Iran to agree to completely stop all uranium enrichment? Would this be:

Not acceptable (0-4)	44%
Republicans	39
Democrats.....	52

Independents.....	41
Just tolerable (5).....	<u>28</u>
Republicans	24
Democrats.....	27
Independents.....	40
Acceptable (6-10).....	26
Republicans	36
Democrats.....	21
Independents.....	17
Don't know/Refused.....	1
Mean.....	4.4
Republicans	5.0
Democrats.....	4.0
Independents.....	4.2

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[DISPLAY]

Q21. So, now, we would like to know which approach you think would be best. Please select which approach you would recommend to the US government:

Continue to pursue a long-term agreement that limits Iran's enrichment of uranium: Iran would accept intrusive inspections of their program, while the US would accept Iran enriching to the low level necessary for nuclear energy, and would gradually ease some sanctions provided that Iran sticks to the agreement.61%

Republicans	61
Democrats	66
Independents.....	54

Do not negotiate an agreement that includes Iran having limited enrichment, but rather impose new sanctions on other countries to get them to cut their economic relations with Iran to pressure Iran to agree to completely stop all uranium enrichment.36

Republicans	35
Democrats	32
Independents.....	42

Don't know/Refused3

Republicans	4
Democrats	2
Independents.....	4

[DISPLAY]

[STATEMENT] Here are a few other questions.

Q22. Do you believe that a deal with Iran on its nuclear program would help or hurt in the fight against the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL?

Help a lot.....	5%
Republicans	3
Democrats.....	6
Independents.....	7
Help some.....	18
Republicans	20
Democrats.....	19
Independents.....	14
Make no difference.....	63
Republicans	60
Democrats.....	62
Independents.....	67
Hurt some	8
Republicans	10
Democrats.....	8
Independents.....	6
Hurt a lot	5
Republicans	6
Democrats.....	4
Independents.....	5
Don't know/Refused.....	1

Deleted: 9

[DISPLAY]

Q23. I would like you to give your opinion of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on a scale of 0-10, where 0 is very unfavorable and 10 is very favorable:

Unfavorable (0-4).....	18%
Republicans	10
Democrats.....	26
Independents.....	21
Neither favorable nor unfavorable (5)	41
Republicans	30
Democrats.....	47

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Independents.....	53
Favorable (6-10).....	30
Republicans	52
Democrats.....	16
Independents.....	14
No opinion/Refused.....	11
Mean.....	5.5
Republicans	6.8
Democrats.....	4.6
Independents.....	4.8

[DISPLAY Q24 AND Q25 ON SAME SCREEN]

Q24. As you may know, there is substantial controversy over the fact that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is scheduled to speak in Congress on March 3 in opposition to the current deal being negotiated for Iran’s nuclear program. Netanyahu was invited to speak by House Speaker John Boehner, not the State Department.

Critics—including the White House, some Members of Congress, and some Israelis—say that it is inappropriate for a head of state to go around the normal diplomatic channels and try to exert political influence on the US when it is in the midst of sensitive negotiations with Iran.

Defenders—including Netanyahu, Boehner, some Members of Congress and some Israelis—say that the decision about Iran is so important that it is appropriate for Israel to have its voice heard before Congress, as the outcome effects Israel too.

Do you believe that it is appropriate or inappropriate for Netanyahu to give such a speech to Congress without a diplomatic invitation?

Very appropriate.....	18%
Republicans	31
Democrats.....	8
Independents.....	11
Somewhat appropriate.....	<u>30</u>
Republicans	34
Democrats.....	25
Independents.....	29
Somewhat inappropriate.....	<u>30</u>
Republicans	24
Democrats.....	34
Independents.....	31

Deleted: 29

Deleted: 29

Very inappropriate.....	21
Republicans	10
Democrats.....	31
Independents.....	24
 Don't know/Refused.....	 2

Q25. Some Members of Congress have stated they plan to boycott the speech. Do you believe boycotting the speech is appropriate or inappropriate?

Very appropriate.....	16%
Republicans	9
Democrats.....	23
Independents.....	17
 Somewhat appropriate.....	 25
Republicans	21
Democrats.....	27
Independents.....	31
 Somewhat inappropriate.....	 31
Republicans	34
Democrats.....	31
Independents.....	25
 Very inappropriate.....	 25
Republicans	36
Democrats.....	16
Independents.....	22
 Don't know/Refused.....	 2

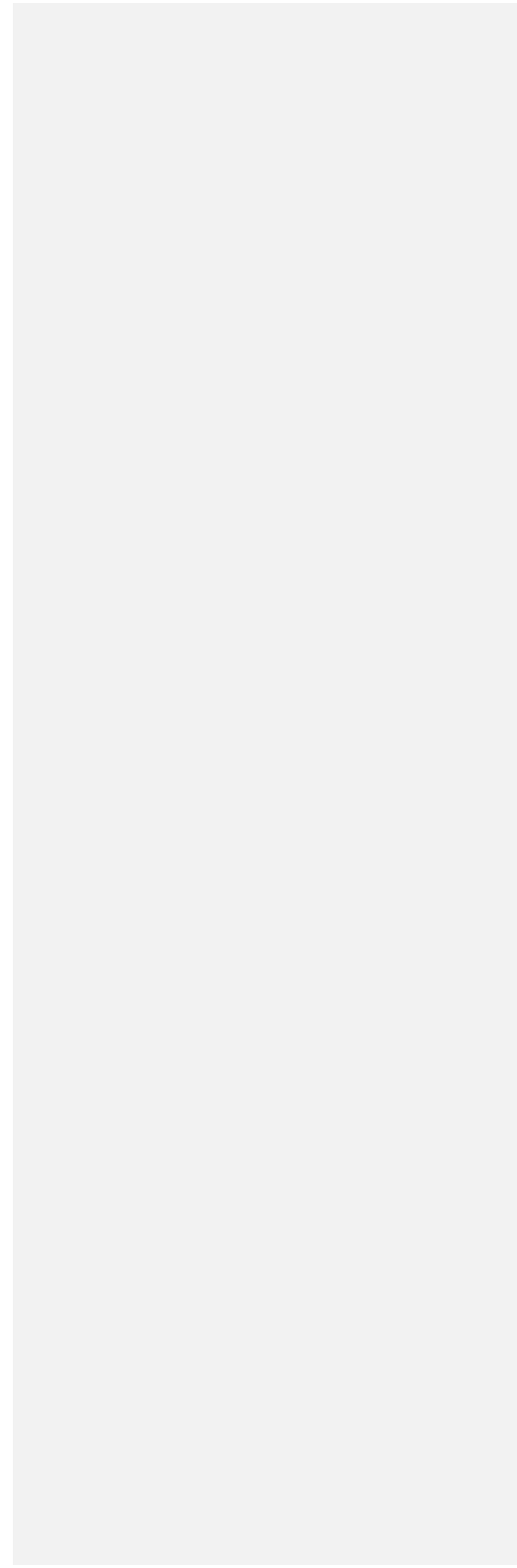
[DISPLAY]

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

Republican	29%
Independent	21
Democrat	31
Other	3
No preference.....	16
 Don't know/Refused.....	 1

[DISPLAY]

[IF D1 = 2, 4, 5, OR REFUSED]



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

Republican Party27%
 Democratic Party17
 Neither.....55

 Don't know/Refused.....2

D1-D1a. Overall party identification combined

Republican Party/Lean Republican 40%
 Democratic Party/Lean Democrat37
 Independent.....23

[DISPLAY]

D2. What best characterizes your voter participation during elections?

I usually vote only in the general election24%
 I usually vote in both the party primary and the general election55
 I usually don't vote in elections.....20

 Don't know/Refused.....1

[DISPLAY]

D3. How sympathetic are you to the Tea Party movement?

Very sympathetic.....9
 Somewhat sympathetic.....32
 Somewhat unsympathetic21
 Very unsympathetic.....34

 Don't know/Refused.....4

[DISPLAY]

D4. Please select how often you get news and opinion from each of the following sources.

	Almost every day	About 2-3 times a week	About once a week	Rarely	Never	Don't know/Refused
D4a. Newspapers and news magazines (in print or online)	26%	12%	18%	25%	17%	1%
D4b. Public broadcasting (NPR or PBS)	9	9	16	34	30	2

D4c. Network TV news broadcasts (For example: ABC, NBC, or CBS)	34	19	17	18	12	1
D4d. CNN	9	8	17	33	30	2
D4e. Fox News	13	11	13	27	34	2
D4f. MSNBC	6	6	14	33	39	2
D4g. A Christian news network (For example: TBN or CBN)	3	3	7	20	66	2

DEMOGRAPHICS

Gender

Male48%
 Female.....52

Age

18-2921%
 30-4425
 45-5927
 60+26

Education

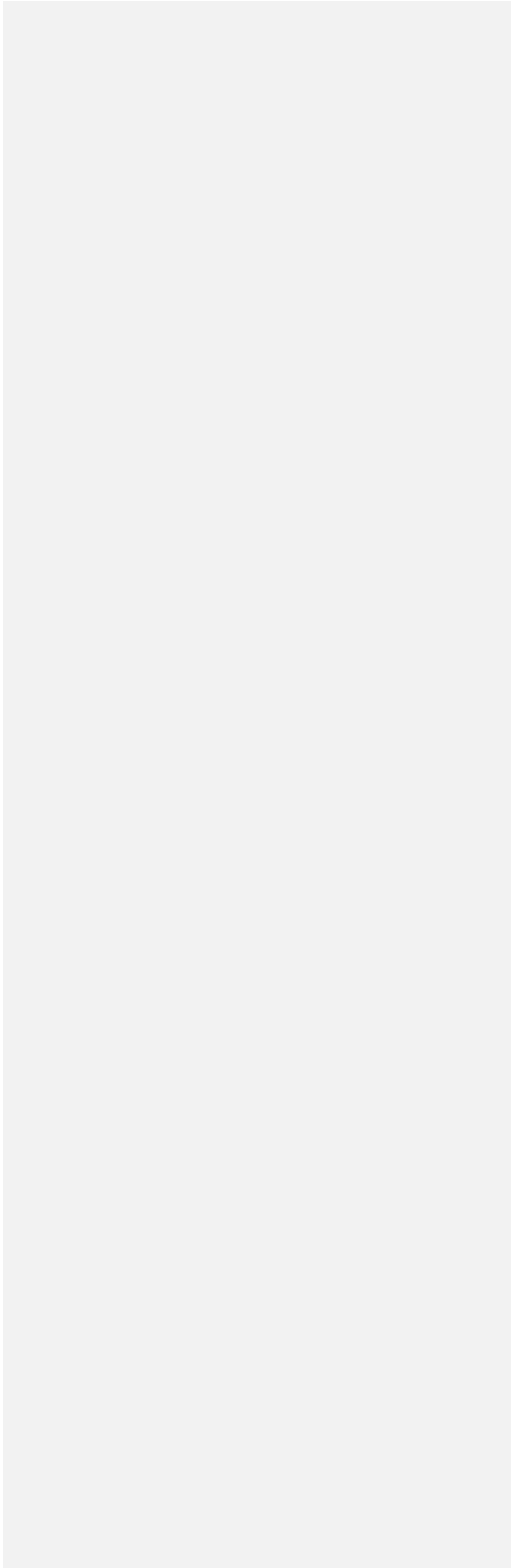
Less than high school12%
 High school30
 Some college29
 Bachelor's degree or higher.....29

Region

Northeast18%
 Midwest21
 South37
 West23

Race

White, Non-Hispanic.....66%
 Black, Non-Hispanic12
 Other, Non-Hispanic5



Hispanic	15
2+ Races, Non-Hispanic.....	3

