

MEMORANDUM

From: Frank Luntz
To: Interested Parties
Re: American Attitudes About Iran
Date: December 9, 2013

“Finally, we have found an issue of substance that both Democrats and Republicans agree on. The fear of Iranian nuclear weapons unites just about everyone.”

That is the key result of a survey of 900 likely voters taken December 7-9, 2013 that asks what Americans think of negotiations between their government and Iran. For us, this is the first time this year that an issue of this significance generates almost universal support across the demographic and political landscape:

By lopsided margins, supporters of both political parties overwhelmingly favored renewed sanctions against the Iranian government, *in addition to and regardless of current negotiations*. Younger Obama voters and older Romney voters BOTH want the American negotiators to insist on a non-nuclear Iran, and they want sanctions to remain until that objective is met.

Here are the four essential findings:

- (1) **The Iranian government is more feared by Americans than all the other Middle Eastern countries combined.** Half (49%) picked Iran as the greatest threat to the United States, more than Iraq (15%), Pakistan (13%), Afghanistan (12%), and Syria (9%) combined. Iran ranks first in fear among every age, education, and partisan subgroup.

On closer examination, the reason for this fear is because of Iran’s nuclear efforts. The numbers are clear and compelling:

- Just 7% of Americans trust the Iranian claim that their nuclear program is exclusively peaceful and they are not seeking to develop weapons, while a sizeable 77% are afraid of Iran’s intentions.
- The biggest fear from Iran: that they would provide terrorist groups hostile to America and the West access to nuclear weapons. No other concern comes close, and once again, Democrats and Republicans agree.
- The solution: 43% of Democrats and 44% of Republicans picked “*further economic sanctions and financial pressure.*” The next highest response, more negotiations and less financial pressure, received 19% (24% among Democrats and only 12% among Republicans).

- (2) **Americans are universally skeptical about Iranian intentions.** People don't just harbor considerable concern over Iran's past actions. There's little faith that the Iranian government will improve upon its track record as talks progress. **The simple truth is that Americans just do not trust the intentions of the Iranian government.** Consider the following critical findings:
- An overwhelming 86% (78% among Democrats and 95% among Republicans) think Iran will break its promises during the negotiation process, while only 14% say they will keep them.
 - A staggeringly low 16% believe Iran is *"negotiating in good faith and will eventually give up their ability to make nuclear weapons,"* while the vast majority of Americans (84%) think Iran is using negotiations *"to stall as they continue to develop their ability to make nuclear weapons."*
- (3) **Americans want negotiations AND accountability (namely, sanctions).** The American people have no appetite for the perennial Reaganesque *"trust, but verify"* approach with Iran. Only 11% believe that the right strategy is to remove sanctions during the negotiations, while 71% believe that increased sanctions and financial pressure are necessary (regardless of how they feel about the overall approach).
- Almost 8 out of 10 Americans (77%) – Democrats and Republicans alike – believe the most effective path to eliminating Iran's ability to make nuclear weapons lies firmly in **further economic sanctions and financial pressure**. On the flip side of the diplomatic coin, only 23% believe continued negotiations coupled with a **reduction in financial pressure** – is the course to pursue.
- (4) **Iran capabilities need to be limited both before AND after a final deal is done.** Frankly, Americans don't want Iran to have any nuclear capabilities now or ever. Only a meager 14% believe we should allow Iran to possess the nuclear fuel cycle technology that leaves the ability to develop nuclear weapons – regardless of the diplomatic efforts. Conversely, 86% overall (81% of Democrats and 93% of Republicans) think we should prohibit Iran from possessing any sort of enrichment or related nuclear fuel capability – again, regardless of where the talks stand.

* * * * *

As for the partisan politics of Iranian sanctions and negotiations... there aren't any. Fully 77% of Democrats and a near unanimous 96% of Republicans would rather vote for a Senator who favors increased pressure on Iran until they remove their nuclear capabilities, while only 14% would vote for the Senator who wants to reduce pressure on Iran, trusting them to end their nuclear capabilities as a result of these negotiations.

The prevailing mindset? Verify, don't trust.

**LUNTZ GLOBAL
Americans Talk About Iran**

December 9, 2013

**900 Interviews
Margin of Error: +/- 3.3%**

Q1. What is your gender?		Total	DEM	GOP
Male	48%	42%	52%	
Female	52	58	48	
Q2. And what is your age?		Total	DEM	GOP
18-29	19%	23%	13%	
30-49	37	41	33	
50-64	28	24	34	
65+	16	12	19	
Q3. Are you registered to vote in the United States?		Total	DEM	GOP
Yes	100%	100%	100%	
No				
Don't know				
Q4. And thinking back over all the state and national elections that have been held since you registered to vote, have you voted in...?		Total	DEM	GOP
Every election	37%	35%	40%	
Just about every election	42	39	45	
Most elections	21	25	15	
Just over half				
About half				
Only a few elections				
No elections				
Q5. How many days a week do you read or watch national or international news? If you rarely or never read or watch national or international news, just put a "0."		Total	DEM	GOP
0-1	20%	22%	16%	
2-4	21	21	20	
5-6	21	20	22	
7	39	37	42	
MEAN	4.56	4.37	4.84	
Q6. How many times in the past two years or so have you either written, emailed or called an elected official [LOCAL, STATE OR NATIONAL] about any issue, or attended a political rally of some kind? If never, just put a "0."		Total	DEM	GOP
None	56%	55%	55%	
1-2	22	22	22	
3-4	9	8	11	
5 or more	13	14	13	
MEAN	3.31	4.29	2.77	
Q7. Which of the following countries do you believe poses the biggest threat to the United States?		Total	DEM	GOP
Iran	49%	40%	61%	
Iraq	15	15	13	
Pakistan	13	15	12	
Afghanistan	12	16	8	
Syria	9	11	5	
Israel	3	4	1	

Q7/8. Which of the following countries do you believe poses the biggest threat to the United States? [COMBINED]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Iran.....	69%	64%	76%
Afghanistan.....	34	36	31
Iraq.....	33	33	30
Pakistan.....	30	31	31
Syria.....	28	27	29
Israel.....	6	8	3

Q9. Overall, do you TRUST or DISTRUST the current Iranian government when they say their nuclear program is exclusively peaceful and they do not seek nuclear weapons?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Completely trust.....	1%	1%	1%
Somewhat trust.....	2	3	1
Slightly trust.....	4	5	2
Neither trust nor distrust.....	16	22	8
Slightly distrust.....	12	13	10
Somewhat distrust.....	20	25	16
Completely distrust.....	46	31	62
TRUST (NET).....	7%	9	3
DISTRUST (NET).....	77	69	88

Q10. Considering all that is happening in the Middle East, do you think that the United States should...pressure on Iran to ensure they give up the ability to enrich uranium and make nuclear weapons?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Greatly increase.....	34%	22%	48%
Somewhat increase.....	18	19	17
Slightly increase.....	16	19	13
No change - neither increase nor decrease.....	25	33	15
Slightly decrease.....	4	3	3
Somewhat decrease.....	2	2	1
Greatly decrease.....	2	3	2
INCREASED (NET).....	68%	60	78
DECREASE (NET).....	8	8	7

Q11. What is your biggest concern about a nuclear Iran?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Iran could give nuclear weapons to terrorist groups hostile to America and the West.....	30%	30%	29%
The possibility of a nuclear arms race in the Middle East.....	15	17	15
Iran could eventually develop a way to launch nuclear weapons to land on American soil.....	13	9	17
They could launch nuclear weapons against Israel, America's closest ally in the region.....	10	8	15
Iran could threaten and undermine governments all across the Middle East.....	10	8	12
Other countries could be emboldened to seek nuclear capabilities.....	6	9	3
They could use nuclear weapons to kill American troops stationed in the Middle East.....	5	6	3
Iran could become a regional superpower.....	4	5	3
Oil prices could increase, causing gas prices in America to skyrocket.....	4	5	2
America's influence, and the perception of American power around the globe, could be undermined.....	3	3	2

Q11/12. What is your biggest concern about a nuclear Iran? [COMBINED]

	Total	DEM	GOP
Iran could give nuclear weapons to terrorist groups hostile to America and the West.....	61%	58%	65%
Iran could threaten and undermine governments all across the Middle East	40	41	39
The possibility of a nuclear arms race in the Middle East.....	37	38	35
They could launch nuclear weapons against Israel, America's closest ally in the region	36	31	42
Iran could eventually develop a way to launch nuclear weapons to land on American soil.....	34	31	37
Other countries could be emboldened to seek nuclear capabilities.....	25	31	21
They could use nuclear weapons to kill American troops stationed in the Middle East	22	24	20
Iran could become a regional superpower	17	17	17
Oil prices could increase, causing gas prices in America to skyrocket	15	15	14
America's influence, and the perception of American power around the globe, could be undermined	11	13	10

Q13. Which is more dangerous?

	Total	DEM	GOP
Iran having the ability to make nuclear weapons, with the potential to attack the United States and our allies, including Israel.....	77%	69%	84%
Targeted military strikes by the United States against Iran's nuclear facilities to prevent Iran from being able to build nuclear weapons	23	31	16

Q14. Which of the following aspects of the recent Iranian negotiations with the United States concern you the MOST?

	Total	DEM	GOP
Iran has been building what experts have called a plutonium bomb factory, and the agreement allows them to continue building.....	29%	29%	29%
Under the agreement, Iran can keep their current amount of enriched uranium (estimated to be at least four bombs worth), which they can turn into the core of a nuclear weapon.	25	26	26
In exchange for cosmetic changes to their nuclear program, Iran will benefit economically from reduced financial isolation and pressure, gaining between \$7 billion and \$20 billion to strengthen its economy.....	20	17	24
Iran's President says that if Iran can enrich uranium to 3.5%, they can make a nuclear bomb - and the interim agreement allows them to keep enriching	15	16	12
Iran's promise to dilute its 20% enriched uranium can be reversed in a month or even less.	11	13	9

After over a decade of mounting international sanctions, Iran and six major powers announced a first-step deal in November 2013 that aims to slow parts of Iran's nuclear program in exchange for relief of financial pressure and easing of various economic sanctions while negotiating a final agreement.

Q15. First, if you had to guess, do you think Iran will ...?

	Total	DEM	GOP
Do what it promises	14%	22%	5%
Break its promises	86	78	95

Q16. Which of the following statements regarding that recent first step deal do you agree with MOST?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
The first step deal the United States recently made with Iran is promising. Continuing with negotiations and diplomacy, while easing financial pressure now and without the threat of possible additional sanctions is the right approach to get a final deal that removes Iran's ability to make nuclear weapons	11%	16%	7%
The first step deal the United States recently made with Iran is potentially promising, but negotiations and diplomacy must be combined with increased pressure on Iran to ensure the agreement is kept and that Iran agrees to a final deal that ends all enrichment in Iran and removes their ability to make nuclear weapons	36	44	27
The first step deal the United States recently made with Iran will not work. Iran has proven again and again that they do not respect such deals, and breaks them as soon as they sign them. We need to motivate Iran through sanctions and other financial pressure until they agree to a final deal that removes their ability to make nuclear weapons.....	35	23	50
I have no opinion.	17	18	16

Q17. Which of the following statements about Iran comes CLOSEST to your view?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Iran is using these negotiations to stall as it continues to develop its ability to make nuclear weapons.....	84%	75%	96%
Iran is negotiating in good faith and will eventually give up their ability to make nuclear weapons.	16	25	4

Q18. Which of the following actions should the United States take against Iran to eliminate their ability to make nuclear weapons?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Further economic sanctions and financial pressure	43%	43%	44%
More extensive negotiations between President Obama and Iranian leaders while reducing the current financial pressure.....	19	24	12
Strategic strikes to disable Iranian nuclear facilities followed by more sanctions until Iran gives up its ability to build nuclear weapons.....	16	12	22
Express support for intervention by the Israeli military....	5	5	5
Intervention by the US military/Targeted US military strikes on Iran's nuclear facilities.....	5	3	8
Encourage targeted military strikes by Israel.....	4	4	4
The US should take no action whatsoever	8	10	5

Q19/20. Which of the following actions should the United States take against Iran to eliminate their ability to make nuclear weapons? **[COMBINED]**

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Further economic sanctions and financial pressure	66%	67%	67%
More extensive negotiations between President Obama and Iranian leaders while reducing the current financial pressure.....	44	56	28
Strategic strikes to disable Iranian nuclear facilities followed by more sanctions until Iran gives up its ability to build nuclear weapons.....	32	25	42
Express support for intervention by the Israeli military....	16	12	18
Intervention by the US military/Targeted US military strikes on Iran's nuclear facilities.....	13	8	20
Encourage targeted military strikes by Israel.....	11	9	11
The US should take no action whatsoever	19	23	14

Q21. Which of the following statements do you agree with more?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
The United States should continue its economic sanctions on Iran until Iran gives up its ability to make nuclear weapons.....	84%	78%	92%
The United States should remove economic sanctions on Iran before they reduce their nuclear proliferation as a gesture of good faith.....	16	22	8

Q22. If Iran follows through on the terms of the negotiation and alters their nuclear program, how long should it take for them to earn the trust of the United States and the rest of the world and face no restrictions on their nuclear work, trusting Iran to keep its word not to make nuclear weapons?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
3 months.....	3%	3%	3%
6 months.....	6	6	5
1 year.....	13	17	10
5 years.....	24	26	21
10 years.....	7	7	7
25 years.....	5	4	6
Not until there is a fully free election in Iran.....	41	37	48

Q23. If Iran doesn't stop their nuclear program within the next six months, in accordance with the agreement, should Congress...?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Take whatever course of action necessary to prevent nuclear proliferation.....	63%	51%	75%
Continue to negotiate with Iran in hopes they will cease nuclear proliferation.....	37	49	25

Q24. Do you support or oppose lifting economic sanctions against Iran if they continue to sponsor terrorism?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Strongly support.....	15%	15%	14%
Somewhat support.....	6	7	5
Slightly support.....	5	8	4
Neither support nor oppose.....	13	18	6
Slightly oppose.....	7	8	4
Somewhat oppose.....	11	14	9
Strongly oppose.....	42	30	58
SUPPORT (NET).....	27%	30	23
OPPOSE (NET).....	60	52	71

Q25. The purpose of a final agreement with Iran is to lengthen the amount of time it will take Iran to build nuclear weapons, or eliminate their ability to do so altogether. At what point in time should the United States reduce economic sanctions and financial pressure on Iran? Should they be lifted when Iran has formally agreed to restrictions limiting their ability to make nuclear weapons after ...?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
3 months.....	7%	6%	5%
6 months.....	12	14	10
1 year.....	32	37	28
5 years.....	24	23	25
10 years.....	9	9	11
25 years.....	16	11	22

Q26. Which of the following statements about the United States' response to Iran's nuclear program comes closer to your view? Under a final agreement America should...

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Prohibit Iran from possessing the nuclear fuel cycle and/or pursue enrichment technology, leaving Iran under surveillance, but fully eliminating their ability to build nuclear weapons.....	86%	81%	93%
Allow Iran to possess the nuclear fuel cycle and/or pursue enrichment technology, leaving Iran under surveillance, but with Iran's eventual ability to develop nuclear weapons at a time of their choosing.....	14	19	7

Q27. Which of the following actions taken by Iran concerns you MOST when it comes to their intentions to advance nuclear weapons?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Iran has repeatedly lied about having the plans for nuclear weapons.....	18%	19%	18%
Iran has a plutonium facility with no peaceful nuclear purpose.....	18	17	19
Iran is enriching uranium in an underground bunker buried under a mountain on a military base that they tried to hide from the world.....	17	18	17
Iran is working on Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) that could strike America by 2015. They can already hit Europe and Israel.....	14	12	16
Iran has actively worked to miniaturize nuclear weapons to fit on a missile.....	9	10	8
Iran has tested triggers for nuclear bombs at a secret military facility.....	8	8	7
Iran has been caught making spheres for the core of nuclear weapons.....	8	10	6
Iran has so many centrifuges it can enrich its uranium to bomb fuel in weeks.....	7	6	9

Q27/28. Which of the following actions taken by Iran concerns you MOST when it comes to their intentions to advance nuclear weapons? [COMBINED]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Iran is working on Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) that could strike America by 2015. They can already hit Europe and Israel.....	59%	62%	55%
Iran has tested triggers for nuclear bombs at a secret military facility.....	30	19	42
Iran has actively worked to miniaturize nuclear weapons to fit on a missile.....	29	33	24
Iran has repeatedly lied about having the plans for nuclear weapons.....	21	22	19
Iran has a plutonium facility with no peaceful nuclear purpose.....	18	17	19
Iran is enriching uranium in an underground bunker buried under a mountain on a military base that they tried to hide from the world.....	17	18	17
Iran has been caught making spheres for the core of nuclear weapons.....	8	10	6
Iran has so many centrifuges it can enrich its uranium to bomb fuel in weeks.....	7	6	9

Q29. And how accurate and effective would you guess are U.S. and international inspections of nuclear sites in Iran?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Totally accurate and effective.....	4%	5%	2%
Mostly accurate and effective.....	23	28	17
Only somewhat accurate and effective.....	50	56	44
Mostly inaccurate and ineffective.....	23	12	37

Q30. If you had to choose, which Senator would you be more likely to vote for?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Senator Jones, who favors keeping and potentially increasing pressure on Iran until Iran accepts a final agreement that removes their ability to build nuclear weapons.....	86%	77%	96%
Senator Smith, who favors reducing pressure on Iran and trusts Iran to end its program capable of producing nuclear weapons.....	14	23	4

Q31. [FORM A] If Iran continues to pursue nuclear proliferation and does not follow through on the interim agreement six months from now, or refuses to agree to a final deal that ends enrichment and removes its ability to build nuclear weapons, which is a better approach ...?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Impose sanctions in a timely fashion.....	84%	77%	93%
Continue to negotiate with Iran	16	23	7

Q32. [FORM B] What is the best way to get Iran to agree to a final deal that ends its enrichment program and removes its ability to build nuclear weapons? Which is a better approach

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Continue to negotiate with Iran while imposing sanctions and increase financial pressure and sanctions.....	77%	66%	90%
Continue to negotiate with Iran while reducing sanctions and financial pressure on Iran	23	34	10

Q33. After thinking about this issue, should the United States ...pressure to ensure that Iran doesn't possess nuclear weapons capabilities?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Greatly increase.....	35%	24%	48%
Somewhat increase	23	24	23
Slightly increase.....	19	21	17
No change - neither increase nor decrease	18	27	9
Slightly decrease	2	3	1
Somewhat decrease.....	1	1	1
Greatly decrease	1	1	*
INCREASE (NET).....	78%	68	89
DECREASE (NET)	4	5	3

Q34. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
High school graduate or less	15%	16%	15%
Vocation education/community college	12	10	13
Some 4-year college.....	19	18	18
4-year college graduate	31	30	31
Some additional graduate study	7	7	8
Masters/PhD/professional degree	16	19	14

Q35. Did you vote for Mitt Romney or Barack Obama in 2012? If you did not vote in the last presidential election for whatever reason, just say so.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Mitt Romney.....	44%	7%	90%
Barack Obama.....	50	90	6
I did not vote	6	3	4

Q36. Thinking of all the elections that you vote in, would you say that you generally vote for...?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>GOP</u>
All Democrats	13%	28%	-
Mostly Democrats	25	54	-
A few more Democrats than Republicans	8	18	-
Evenly Democrat and Republican	12	-	-
A few more Republicans than Democrats	8	-	20
Mostly Republicans.....	25	-	60
All Republicans	8	-	21
Never vote	1	-	-
DEMOCRATS (NET)	38%	82	-
SWING (NET)	28	18	20
REPUBLICANS (NET).....	33	-	80