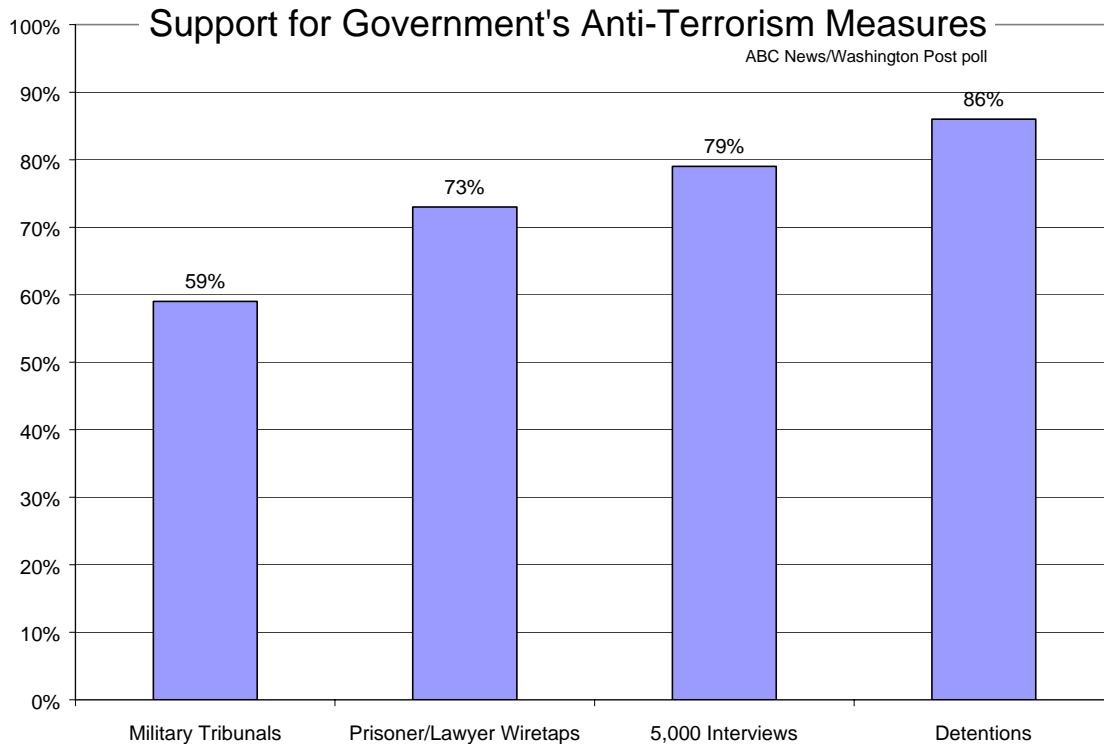


## **Majority Supports Military Tribunals; Most Say Rights are Adequately Protected**

Putting security ahead of civil rights concerns, six in 10 Americans support using military tribunals to try non-citizens charged with terrorism. And larger majorities endorse other controversial law-enforcement measures in the government's anti-terrorism campaign.

Fifty-nine percent favor the tribunals, a number that holds steady when the pros and cons are outlined. When people are told that President Bush favors the plan, support advances to 64 percent in this ABC News/Washington Post poll.

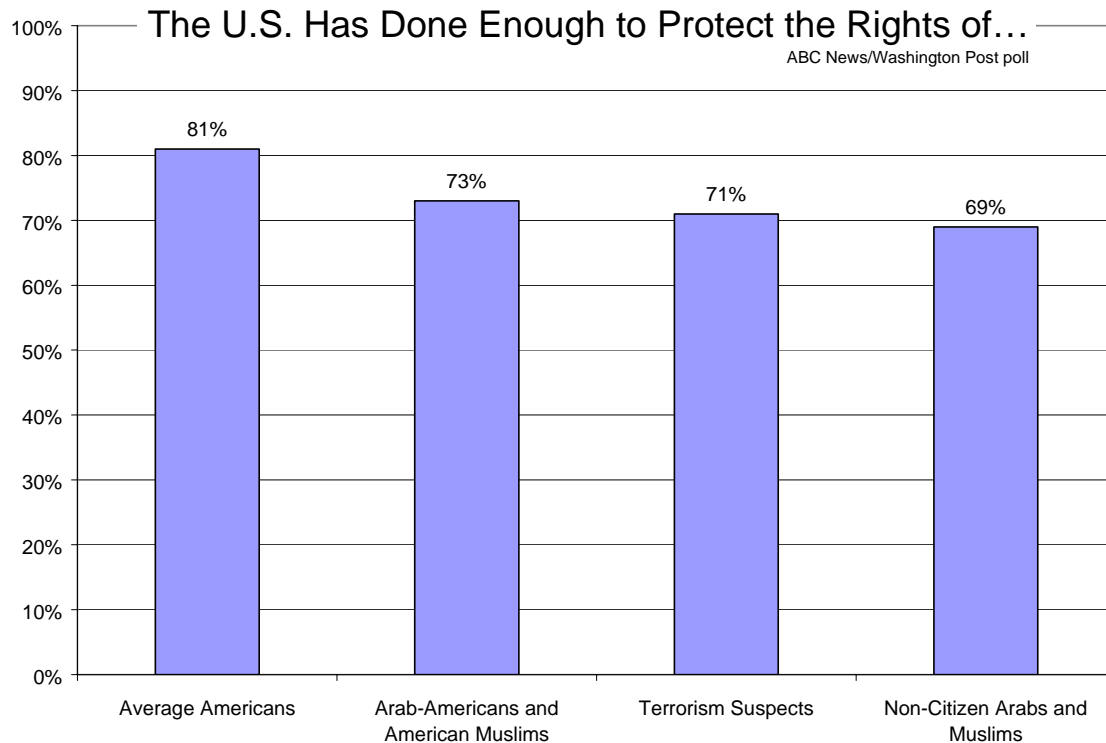
More – nearly three-quarters – favor wiretapping conversations between people held on terrorism charges and their lawyers. Nearly eight in 10 support efforts to interview 5,000 young men from the Middle East, despite suggestions this reflects unfair profiling on the basis of national origin. And still more, 86 percent, say the government's detentions since Sept. 11 – with about 600 people still held – are justified.



	Support	Oppose
Military tribunals	59%	37
Prisoner/lawyer wiretaps	73	24
5,000 interviews	79	19
Detentions since 9/11	86	12

Sizable majorities, moreover, explicitly reject suggestions that the government, in its war on terrorism, has not done enough to protect civil rights. Anywhere from 69 percent to 81 percent say the government is adequately protecting the rights of average Americans, Arab-Americans, American Muslims, non-citizen Arabs and Muslims, and individuals who've been investigated for suspected involvement in terrorism.

Has the U.S. done enough to protect the rights of...	Yes	No
Average Americans	81%	16
Arab-Americans and American Muslims	73	19
Terrorism suspects	71	21
Non-citizen Arabs and Muslims	69	22



All these are part of a continued solid front in public opinion since Sept. 11. Confronted with both the human and material cost of terrorism, most Americans have lined up behind the government's response, and remain there. Eighty-nine percent continue to approve of George W. Bush's job performance, a number that used to be astonishing. Sixty-nine percent approve "strongly."

OVER THERE – Support for the military action in Afghanistan remains similarly overwhelming, at 91 percent (79 percent support it "strongly.") More than nine in 10 Americans say the war is going well, and the number who say it's going "very well" has nearly doubled since early this month, to 42 percent.

Six in 10 say it's worth risking a large number of U.S. military casualties to capture or kill Osama bin Laden. Even among those who think substantial U.S. casualties are at least somewhat likely (half the public), a majority says the risk is worth it.

Eighty-one percent also support military action against other countries that assist or shelter terrorists. And about as many, 78 percent, say they'd support military action against Iraq to force Saddam Hussein from power. (Support for action against Iraq was equally high in 1993, after U.S. air strikes against Iraqi missile sites in retaliation for violations of the Gulf War cease-fire accord.)

**FUTURE ROLE** – Looking ahead, most Americans favor a significant role for the United States, if not the leading role, in stabilizing and assisting Afghanistan. More than six in 10 say the United States should take a large role in establishing a new government there, in providing food and economic aid and in sending peacekeeping forces.

In only one area, though, do most Americans say the United States should have the *leading* role in Afghanistan's future: In taking military action against any terrorist groups that attempt to re-establish themselves there.

	U.S. role:	
	Leading/large	Leading
Establishing new Afghan gov't	64%	22
Providing food/economic aid	71	32
Sending peacekeeping forces	73	32
Combating terrorist groups	87	55

**OVER HERE** – On the home front, there's been a rebound in the number of Americans who express at least some confidence that the government can prevent future terrorism, up 11 points since early this month, to 63 percent. And the number who say the United States is "doing all it reasonably can" in this regard gained six points, to 62 percent.

These improvements could reflect the apparent absence of further anthrax attacks, despite the two unexplained fatalities in New York and Connecticut. The advance is significant because it reverses a decline in confidence that had been the administration's first real challenge in post-Sept. 11 public opinion.

**TRIBUNAL DETAIL** – This poll asked views on military tribunals two ways. For half the respondents, the question gave no details – simply asking if non-U.S. citizens charged with terrorism should be tried in the regular criminal court system or in a special military tribunal.

The other half received a much more detailed question, explaining that in a military tribunal, trials can be closed to the public, there's a military judge and jury and there's no right to an appeal. This question noted that supporters "say this would protect ongoing investigations and avoid the use of civilian jurors who may fear for their lives," while opponents "say it would be wrong to let the military conduct closed trials under new rules, and to single out non-citizens this way."

It didn't make a difference: In the first version, 59 percent favored tribunals; in the second, more detailed version, 58 percent.

All respondents were then told that Bush favors the use of tribunals, and were asked their view "knowing Bush's position." Support advanced to 64 percent.

GROUPS – Support for tribunals is lowest, albeit still 52 percent, among people who describe themselves as political liberals; it’s 58 percent among moderates and 66 percent among conservatives. Support peaks, at 70 percent, among Republicans; opposition peaks among people who think the government is not adequately protecting civil rights.

There also are differences on civil rights issues between racial groups. Whites are 14 to 18 points more likely than nonwhites to say the government is adequately protecting the rights of various groups. Nonwhites are about 20 points less likely to support the 5,000 interviews, and also detentions and, to a lesser extent, the plan for tribunals.

	Think rights are being adequately protected		
	Whites	Nonwhites	Diff.
Average Americans	86%	68%	18
Non-citizen Arabs and Muslims	73	57	16
Terrorism suspects	75	60	15
Arab-Americans and American Muslims	77	63	14

	% Support		
	Whites	Nonwhites	Diff.
5,000 interviews	84%	65%	19
Detentions since 9/11	90	73	17
Military tribunals	61	52	9
Prisoner/lawyer wiretaps	74	71	3

OTHER GROUPS – There also are differences among groups on questions involving military action. Men, and whites, are more likely than women, and nonwhites, to support risking casualties to get bin Laden, and also to say the war is going “very well.” Women, and nonwhites, are more apt to think substantial U.S. casualties are at least somewhat likely. And younger adults, age 30 and under, are less likely to support risking heavy casualties to capture or kill bin Laden.

METHODOLOGY - This ABC News/Washington Post poll was conducted by telephone Nov. 27, 2001, among a random national sample of 759 adults. The results have a 3.5-point error margin. Field work by TNS Intersearch of Horsham, Pa.

Analysis by Gary Langer.

ABC News polls can be found at ABCNEWS.com on the Internet at: <http://abcnews.go.com/sections/politics/PollVault/PollVault.html>

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Here are the full results (\*=less than 0.5 percent)

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? Do you approve/disapprove strongly or somewhat?

	-----Approve-----			-----Disapprove-----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	opin.
11/27/01	89	69	21	9	5	4	1
11/6/01	89	65	24	9	4	5	2
10/9/01	92	76	16	6	3	3	1
9/27/01	90	70	20	6	3	3	4

9/13/01	86	63	23	12	6	5	2
9/9/01	55	26	29	41	22	20	3
8/12/01	61	28	33	31	17	14	8
7/30/01	59	28	30	38	22	17	3
6/3/01	55	27	28	40	22	18	6
4/22/01	63	33	30	32	16	16	5
3/25/01	58	NA	NA	33	NA	NA	8
2/25/01	55	NA	NA	23	NA	NA	22

2. Do you support or oppose the U.S. military action in Afghanistan? Do you support/oppose this strongly or somewhat?

	-----Support-----			-----Oppose-----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	opin.
11/27/01	91	79	13	7	4	3	2
11/6/01	90	75	15	9	3	6	1
10/9/01*	92	76	16	6	4	2	1
10/7/01	94	83	11	4	2	2	2

\*10/9/01 and previous: "...the U.S.-led air strikes on Afghanistan that began this week?"

3. Would you support or oppose U.S. military action against other countries that assist or shelter terrorists?

	Support	Oppose	No opin.
11/27/01	81	15	4
10/9/01	87	10	2
9/11/01*	84	11	5

\*"Apart from those responsible for today's attacks, would you support or oppose..."

4. Would you favor or oppose having U.S. forces take military action against Iraq to force Saddam Hussein from power?

	Favor	Oppose	No opin.
11/27/01	78	17	6
10/11/94*	72	23	5
1/15/93**	82	15	3
8/21/92 RV	65	30	5
8/7/92 RV	65	30	6
2/9/92	62	35	3
4/22/91	51	43	6
4/5/91	54	37	9
3/15/91	57	38	5

\*10/11/94 and previous: Gallup  
\*\*1/15/93 and previous: "Would you support or oppose having U.S. forces resume military action...?"

5. Do you think the U.S. military action in Afghanistan is going very well, fairly well, not too well or not well at all?

	-----Well-----			-----Not well-----			No
	NET	Very	Fairly	NET	Not too	At all	opin.
11/27/01	93	42	51	5	3	2	2
11/6/01	85	23	62	12	8	4	3

6. Do you think it's worth risking a large number of U.S. military casualties in order to capture or kill Osama bin Laden, or not?

	Yes	No	No opin.
11/27/01	60	34	6

7. How likely do you think it is that there will be a large number of U.S. military casualties in Afghanistan - very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or very unlikely?

	-----Likely-----			-----Unlikely-----			No
	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Very	opin.
11/27/01	51	14	37	46	32	14	2

8. When it comes to (ITEM) do you think the United States should take the leading role, a large role but not the lead, a lesser role or no role at all?

11/27/01

	----Play a role----			--Not play a role--			No
	NET	Lead role	Large role	NET	Lesser role	No role	opin.
a. Establishing a new government in Afghanistan	64	22	42	33	22	11	2
b. Providing food and economic aid to Afghanistan	71	32	38	29	20	9	1
c. Sending peacekeeping forces to Afghanistan	73	32	40	25	18	7	3
d. Taking military action against terrorist groups that try to re-establish themselves in Afghanistan	87	55	33	11	8	3	1

9. How much confidence do you have in the ability of the U.S. government to prevent further terrorist attacks against Americans in this country: a great deal, a good amount, only a fair amount or none at all?

	-----Confident-----			-----Not confident----			No
	NET	Grt.deal	Good amt.	NET	Fair amt.	None	opin.
11/27/01	63	24	39	36	32	5	1
11/6/01	52	17	35	47	40	7	1
9/11/01	66	35	31	32	30	2	1
6/2/97	35	10	26	62	52	10	3
8/5/96	35	12	23	65	49	16	*
5/14/95	36	12	24	63	51	12	1
4/20/95	37	13	24	62	51	11	1
6/28/93	59	22	37	41	32	8	1
4/3/89	46	16	30	54	38	16	*

10. Do you think the United States is doing all it reasonably can do to try to prevent further terrorist attacks, or do you think it should do more?

	US doing all it can	US should do more	No opin.
11/27/01	62	36	1
11/6/01	56	43	2
10/15/01	68	29	3
10/9/01	71	27	2

11. As it conducts the war on terrorism, do you think the United States government is doing enough to protect the rights of (READ ITEM), or not?

11/27/01

	Yes	No	No opin.
a. Average Americans	81	16	2
b. Arab-Americans and American Muslims	73	19	8
c. Non-citizens from Arab and Muslim countries who are living in the US	69	22	9
d. People who've been investigated for suspected involvement in terrorism	71	21	8

12. As part of its terrorism investigation, the federal government says it wants to interview about 5,000 young men from the Middle East who are in the United States on temporary visas. The government says the men are not suspects and the interviews are voluntary. Others say this approach singles out these men unfairly on the basis of their national origin. What's your opinion - do you support or oppose the plan to interview these 5,000 men?

	Support	Oppose	No opin.
11/27/01	79	19	2

13a. SPLIT SAMPLE VERSION A: Do you think non-U.S. citizens who are charged with terrorism should be put on trial (in the regular U.S. criminal court system) or (in a special military tribunal)?

	US criminal court system	Military tribunal	No opin.
11/27/01	37	59	4

13b. SPLIT SAMPLE VERSION B: It's been proposed that non-U.S. citizens who are charged with terrorism should be put on trial in a special military tribunal, where trials can be closed to the public, with a military judge and jury, and there's no right to an appeal.

Some people (say this would protect ongoing investigations and avoid the use of civilian jurors who may fear for their lives.) Others (say it would be wrong to let the military conduct closed trials under new rules, and to single out non-citizens this way.)

Do you think non-U.S. citizens who are charged with terrorism should be put on trial (in the regular U.S. criminal court system) or (in a special military tribunal)?

	US criminal court system	Military tribunal	No opin.
11/27/01	38	58	4

14. George W. Bush favors the use of special military tribunals. Knowing Bush's position, what do you think - should non-U.S. citizens who are charged with terrorism be put on trial (in the regular U.S. criminal court system) or (in a special military tribunal)?

	US criminal court system	Military tribunal	No opin.
11/27/01	34	64	3

15. Do you think it should be legal or illegal for the federal government to wiretap conversations between people who are being held on terrorism charges and their lawyers?

	Legal	Illegal	No opin.
11/27/01	73	24	3

16. The U.S. government is detaining about 600 people in its investigation of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, most of them for overstaying their visas or otherwise violating immigration laws. Do you think the United States is or is not justified in detaining these people?

	Justified	Not justified	No opin.
11/27/01	86	12	2

\*\*\*END\*\*\*