

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Americans Reevaluate Going to War With Iraq

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Oct 29 - Nov 10, 2003
Sample Size: 1008

Margin of Error: +/- 3.2% [full sample]
+/-3.7% [3/4 sample]
+/-4.5% [1/2 sample]

[Full Sample]

Q1a. What is your feeling about how things are going with the economy in the US?
Overall, would you say the economy is getting:

A lot better	4%
Somewhat better.....	15
A little better	35
A little worse.....	20
Somewhat worse	11
A lot worse.....	14
(No answer).....	1

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q1: How closely are you following the news about the situation in Iraq now?

	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03
Very closely	14%	17	13	7
Somewhat closely	44	45	43	34
Not very closely	32	27	28	41
Not closely at all	9	11	16	17
(No answer).....	1	1	1	1

Q2: Do you think the US made the right decision or the wrong decision in going to war against Iraq?

	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03	5/03
Right decision	57%	62	63	65	68
Wrong decision	38	33	32	29	22
(No answer).....	5	5	5	6	10

[IF “right decision”]

Q2a: Which comes closer to your view [order randomized]:

	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03	5/03
I support having gone to war, because I think it was the best thing for the US to do.....	42%*	47	45	46	53
I am not sure if going to war was the best thing to do, but I support Bush’s decision, because he is the president....	15	14	17	18	15
(No answer).....	1	1	1	1	10

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: Next are a series of questions that ask for your impression of some things that you may or may not know. Please just indicate your impression whether or not you are very confident that it is correct.

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q3: Please estimate the average number of attacks per day on US forces in Iraq. [fill in blank with number]

Fewer than 15.....	78%
15 to 35	13
More than 35.....	4
(No answer).....	6
Median	5

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q4. Please just give your impression: About how many American soldiers do you think have been killed by hostile fire in Iraq since the fall of Baghdad on April 9 up to the present?

Fewer than 100.....	17%
100 to 160	36
More than 160.....	45
(No answer).....	2
Median	150

* Percentage of full sample.

Q5: *To be released at a later date.*

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q6: Is it your impression that other countries have or have not contributed troops to the current operation in Iraq?

Have contributed troops 75%
 Have not contributed troops 23
 (No answer) 2

[IF “have contributed”]

Q6a: Please estimate what percentage of troops currently in Iraq is from countries other than the US. [FILL IN BLANK WITH NUMBER]

Less than 10% 16%*
 10% to 20% 38
 More than 20% 17
 (No answer) 3

 Median 10

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q7: *To be released at a later date.*

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q8: Since the war with Iraq ended, is it your impression that the US has or has not found Iraqi weapons of mass destruction?

	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03	5/03
US has	15%	24	21	23	34
US has not	84	73	76	73	59
(No answer)	1	3	3	4	7

[IF “US has not”]

Q8a: Do you think that it is more likely that US inspectors in Iraq will eventually find clear evidence that Iraq had an active program for developing weapons of mass destruction or is it more likely that they will not find such evidence?

More likely will find

* Percentage of full sample.

clear evidence37%*

More likely will not
find clear evidence46

(No answer).....1

Q9: Is it your impression that the US has or has not found clear evidence in Iraq that Saddam Hussein was working closely with the Al Qaeda terrorist organization?

	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03
US has	52%	49	45	52
US has not	46	45	49	43
(No answer).....	2	6	6	5

[IF “US has not”]

Q9a: Do you think that it is more likely that US inspectors in Iraq will eventually find clear evidence that Iraq was working closely with al Qaeda or is it more likely that they will not find such evidence?

More likely will find
clear evidence11%**

More likely will not
find clear evidence35

(No answer).....1

Q10: Thinking about how all the people in the world feel about the US having gone to war with Iraq, do you think:

	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03
The majority of people favor the US having gone to war.....	21%	27	24	25
The majority of people oppose the US having gone to war.....	45	38	42	41
Views are evenly balanced.....	33	33	30	32
(No answer).....	1	2	4	2

* Percentage of full sample.

** Percentage of full sample.

[3/4 SAMPLE C,D,A]

Q11: Do you think that, before the war, the Bush administration did or did not say that, after the war, the US would make a long-term commitment to bring a stable and democratic government to Iraq?

Did	80%
Did not	18
(No answer).....	2

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q12: Do you think the Bush administration, before the war, did or did not portray Iraq as an imminent threat to the US?

Did.....	87%
Did not	11
(No answer).....	2

[3/4 SAMPLE D,A,B]

Q13: How do you think the majority of Iraqis feel about the fact that the US overthrew the government of Saddam Hussein?

	11/03	9/03	7/03
The majority is glad	75%	72	76
The majority resents it	22	22	18
(No answer).....	3	5	6

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q14: Do you think President Bush decided to go to war on the basis of assumptions about Iraq that were--

Correct	40%
Incorrect, but the President believed they were correct	30
Incorrect, and the President knew they were incorrect	25
(No answer).....	5

[THOSE WHO SAY either “incorrect” response in Q14]

Q15: Do you think that some key people in US intelligence agencies knew these assumptions were incorrect or do you think none of the key people knew?

Some key people knew48%*
 None of the key people knew.....6
 (No answer).....1

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: Next are a series of questions that ask for you to make assessments regarding the situation in Iraq.

Q16: Which of the following positions is closest to yours?

Overthrowing Saddam Hussein
 was a good thing and the US did
 it the right way 49%

Overthrowing Saddam Hussein
 was a good thing but the US did
 not do it the right way43

Overthrowing Saddam Hussein
 was a mistake5

(No answer).....3

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q17: There is some discussion about how many troops the US should have in Iraq now. Do you think the number of US troops in Iraq should be:

	11/03	9/03	7/03
Increased a lot	11%	9	6
Increased some.....	16	22	18
Maintained at the current level	33	33	37
Decreased some	15	13	17
Decreased a lot.....	9	7	8
Withdrawn completely.....	15	12	9
(No answer).....	2	4	5

[3/4 SAMPLE C,D,A]

* Percentage of full sample.

Q17a. Is it your impression that when the US government presented evidence of Iraq having weapons of mass destruction to justify going to war with Iraq, it was

	11/03	7/03	6/03
Presenting evidence it knew was false.....	21%	16	10
Stretching the truth, but not making false statements	51	47	52
Being fully truthful	25	30	32
(No answer).....	3	7	5

[3/4 SAMPLE C,D,A]

Q17b. Is it your impression that when the US government presented evidence of links between Saddam Hussein’s government and al Qaeda to justify going to war with Iraq, it was:

	11/03	7/03	6/03
Presenting evidence it knew was false.....	17%	15	10
Stretching the truth, but not making false statements	43	44	46
Being fully truthful	35	34	39
(No answer).....	4	8	5

[3/4 SAMPLE, DAB]

Q18: Do you think that before the war, the Bush administration should or should not have taken more time to try to build international support for going to war?

Should have taken more time	59%
Should not have taken more time	38
(No answer).....	3

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,C]

Q19: Do you think the administration did or did not do a good job of planning for post war Iraq?

Did..... 31%
Did not66
(No answer).....4

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q20: If, before the war, US intelligence services had told President Bush there was no reliable evidence that Iraq possessed or was building weapons of mass destruction or was providing substantial support to al Qaeda, do you think:

He would still have gone to war
with Iraq for other reasons 63%

He would not have gone
to war with Iraq.....34

(No answer).....4

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: For some time there have been debates about when, as a rule, countries have the right to overthrow the government of another country. For each of the following please indicate which position is closest to yours.

Q21: Which position is closest to yours:

- a. Countries have the right to overthrow another government if they have strong evidence that the other country is acquiring weapons of mass destruction that could be used to attack them at some point in the future 31%

- b. Countries have the right to overthrow another government only if they have strong evidence that they are in imminent danger of being attacked with weapons of mass destruction by the other country41

- c. Countries have the right to

overthrow another government
only if the other country attacks
them first9

d. Countries have the right to
use military force to stop another
country from invading, but this
does not give them the right to
overthrow the invading country's
government15

(No answer).....4

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF PRESENTATION FOR THE QUESTIONS 22-24]

Q22: When countries have evidence that another government is acquiring weapons of mass destruction that could be used to attack them at some point in the future, do you think

a. They have the right to
overthrow the other
government, even if they do
not have UN approval 39%

b. They only have the right to
overthrow the other government
if they first present their evidence
to the UN and the UN determines
that such an action is necessary48

c. They never have the right
to overthrow the other
government8

(No answer).....5

Q23: Please indicate under what conditions you think countries have the right to overthrow another government when they have evidence that it is providing substantial support to a terrorist group.

a. Whenever they deem it
necessary, even without UN
approval..... 23%

b. As a general rule, only with

UN approval, but if the terrorist group has attacked them, UN approval may not be necessary44

c. Only when they first present their evidence to the UN and the UN determines that such an action is necessary.....23

d. Under no circumstances6

(No answer).....4

Q24: Please indicate under what conditions you think countries have the right to overthrow another government that is committing violations of the human rights of its citizens.

a. Whenever a government is committing substantial violations of the human rights of its citizens 27%

b. As a general rule, only with UN approval, but when the violations are large-scale, extreme and equivalent to genocide, UN approval may not be necessary41

c. Only when the UN reviews the evidence of such violations and approves military action.....23

d. Under no conditions5

(No answer).....4

Q25-Q37: *To be released at a later date.*

[FULL SAMPLE]

Statement: The next group of questions returns to the issue of Iraq.

[3/4 SAMPLE C,D,A]

Q38: Do you think that before the war, the US did or did not have strong evidence that Iraq had an active program for developing weapons of mass destruction that could be used to attack the US at some point in the future?

Did have strong evidence..... 53%
Did not have strong evidence.....44
(No answer).....3

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q39: Do you think that, before the war, the US did or did not have strong evidence that the US was in imminent danger of being attacked by Iraq with weapons of mass destruction?

Did have strong evidence..... 40%
Did not have strong evidence.....58
(No answer).....2

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q40: Do you think that, in fact, before the war, the US was or was not in imminent danger of being attacked by Iraq with weapons of mass destruction?

Was in imminent danger 42%
Was not in imminent danger54
(No answer).....3

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,C]

Q41: Do you think that before the war, the US did or did not have strong evidence that Iraq under Saddam Hussein was providing substantial support to al Qaeda?

Did have strong evidence..... 52%
Did not have strong evidence.....45
(No answer).....3

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q42: Do you think that just before the war, Iraq:

Was not committing substantial
violations of the human rights
of its citizens 8%

Was committing substantial
violations of the human rights

of its citizens48

Was committing violations of the human rights of its citizens that were large-scale, extreme and equivalent to genocide42

(No answer).....2

[3/4 SAMPLE C,D,A]

Q43: Do you think that there are other governments existing today that have human rights records as bad as that of Iraq under Saddam Hussein?

Yes 88%
No.....10
(No answer).....2

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q44: *To be released at a later date.*

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q45: Was the effort to overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein more difficult or less difficult than you expected?

More difficult 42%
Less difficult54
(No answer).....5

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q46: Has the effort to reconstruct Iraq been more difficult or less difficult than you expected?

More difficult 85%
Less difficult10
(No answer).....5

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q47: Do you think that before the war, the Bush administration should or should not have taken more time to find out whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction?

Should have 61%

Should not have.....36
 (No answer).....3

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q48: Now that Saddam Hussein’s government is toppled, do you think the US does or does not have the responsibility to remain in Iraq as long as necessary until there is a stable government?

	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03	4/03	2/03
Yes, does	77%	74	72	80	86	86
No, does not	21	24	25	15	12	10
(No answer).....	2	2	3	5	2	4

[3/4 SAMPLE D,A,B]

Q49: Thinking about how many terrorists are based in Iraq today, is it your impression that there are:

More terrorists than before
 the war 35%

Fewer terrorists than before
 the war.....27

About the same number of
 terrorists as before the war35

(No answer).....3

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,C]

Q50: Is it your impression that the attacks on US forces reflect attitudes held by:

A majority of the Iraqi people..... 17%
 About half of the Iraqi people31
 A minority of the Iraqi people50
 (No answer).....3

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q51: At this point do you think the majority of the Iraqi people want the US to:

	11/03	9/03	7/03
Stay for now	58%	47%	53
Leave.....	39	50	42
(No answer)	3	3	5

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q52. About how long do you think the US will have to keep troops in Iraq?
Please enter one number.

___months
___years

	11/03	7/03	6/03	2/03
1 year or less	21%	26	28	22
13 months to 2 years	24	26	23	19
25 months to 5 years	35	31	31	30
More than 5 years	14	8	11	17
(No answer).....	6	8	8	11
Median (months).....	36	24	24	36

[FULL SAMPLE – EACH PART GOES TO 1/4 SAMPLE]

Q53a: Imagine that it is six months from now. In Iraq, attacks on US forces continue, and it is now clear that around half of those fighting US forces are not Iraqis but foreign terrorists from various parts of the Islamic world. The US is still providing most of the troops and covering most of the costs of the operation.

In this situation, do you think you would want for the US to

Increase US forces in Iraq..... 21%
Stay the course in Iraq.....38
Withdraw US forces from Iraq37
(No answer).....5

Q53b: Imagine that it is six months from now. In Iraq, attacks on US forces continue, and it is now clear that a large majority are Iraqis including many who served in Iraq’s army and that there are very few foreign terrorists. The US is still providing most of the troops and covering most of the costs of the operation.

In this situation, do you think you would want for the US to

Increase US forces in Iraq..... 26%
Stay the course in Iraq.....35
Withdraw US forces from Iraq33
(No answer).....6

Q53c: Imagine that it is six months from now. In Iraq, attacks on US forces continue, and it is now clear that around half of those fighting US forces are not Iraqis but foreign terrorists from various parts of the Islamic world. Many more countries are participating in the Iraq operation now and the US is providing only half the troops and covering half the costs of the operation.

In this situation, do you think you would want for the US to

- Increase US forces in Iraq..... 24%
- Stay the course in Iraq.....39
- Withdraw US forces from Iraq36
- (No answer).....1

Q53d: Imagine that it is six months from now. In Iraq, attacks on US forces continue, and it is now clear that a large majority of those fighting US forces are Iraqis including many who served in Iraq’s army and that there are very few foreign terrorists. Many more countries are participating in the Iraq operation now and the US is providing only half the troops and covering half the costs of the operation.

In this situation, do you think you would want for the US to

- Increase US forces in Iraq..... 13%
- Stay the course in Iraq.....53
- Withdraw US forces from Iraq29
- (No answer).....5

[3/4 SAMPLE C,D,A]

Q54: Do you think that, in fact, just before the war, Iraq did or did not have an active program for developing weapons of mass destruction?

- Did have 71%
- Did not have25
- (No answer).....4

[3/4 SAMPLE C,D,A]

Q55: Do you think that before the war, Iraq under Saddam Hussein was or was not providing substantial support to Al Qaeda?

- Was 67%
- Was not29
- (No answer).....5

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q56: Given what you know now as compared to before the war, which of the following statements best describes your feelings about the decision to go to war?

I thought it was the wrong decision and I think that now 32%

I thought it was the wrong decision, but now I am having second thoughts.....6

I thought it was the right decision and I think that now43

I thought it was the right decision but now I am having second thoughts.....16

(No answer).....4

[FULL SAMPLE]

[T] Q57: How do you think the way that President Bush has dealt with the situation in Iraq will affect whether you vote for him? Please answer on a scale of with +5 meaning that it will greatly increase the likelihood you will vote for him, -5 meaning that it will greatly decrease the likelihood you will vote for him and 0 meaning that it will have no effect either way.

	11/03	9/03	7/03
5.....	14%	16	11
4.....	6	2	5
3.....	8	7	8
2.....	4	5	6
1.....	3	5	7
0.....	21	31	30
-1	4	4	3
-2	3	3	3
-3	3	3	3
-4	4	1	3
-5	28	20	16
(No answer).....	3	3	4
Increase likelihood (1 to 5)	35	35	37
No effect either way (0)	21	31	30
Decrease likelihood (-5 to -1)	42	30	29

Mean -0.5 0.03

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q58. If the upcoming election for president were held today and the candidates were Republican George W. Bush and the Democratic nominee for President -- for whom would you vote -- Republican George W. Bush or the Democratic nominee for President?

Vote for President George Bush ... 43%
Vote for Democratic nominee.....50
(No answer).....7

[ONLY TO THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWER THE ABOVE QUESTION]

Q58a: How sure are you that you will vote this way?

Very sure Bush..... 30%
Somewhat sure Bush.....11
Not very sure Bush.....2
Very sure Democrat36
Somewhat sure Democrat11
Not very sure Democrat3
(No answer).....7

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q59. Do you think that President George Bush is honest and frank or do you sometimes have doubts about things he says:

Honest and frank 42%

Sometimes have doubts
about things he says56

(No answer).....2

Demographics

D1. Did you vote for a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate in the election in November 2002?

Yes 58%
No.....39
(No answer).....3

D2. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

Republican	29%
Democrat.....	33
Independent.....	29
Other	8
(No answer).....	3

D3. Age (calculated from birth date)

18-29	22%
30-44	31
45-59	26
60+	22

D4. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	15%
High School Graduate.....	33
Some College	28
College Graduate	24

D5. Race/Ethnicity

White, non-Hispanic	73%
Black	12
Hispanic	11
Other	5

D3. Gender

Male	48%
Female.....	52

D8. Region

Northeast.....	19
Midwest.....	23
South	36
West	23