

# THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

## THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

### PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Americans on Iraq: WMD, Links to al-Qaeda, Reconstruction

#### Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: June 18-25, 2003  
Sample Size: 1051 respondents

Margin of Error: +/- 3% [full sample]  
+/-3.5% [3/4 sample]

[HALF SAMPLE: A,B]

Q1. Overall, how would you rate President Bush's leadership in dealing with international problems and issues?

Very strong leadership (+2).....	26%*
Somewhat strong leadership (+1).....	35
Neither strong nor weak (0).....	19
Somewhat weak leadership (-1).....	10
Very weak leadership (-2).....	10
(No answer).....	-

Q2. How would you rate President Bush's leadership in dealing with the following international problems and issues?

Q2a. The Israel-Palestinian conflict

Very strong leadership (+2).....	14%
Somewhat strong leadership (+1).....	32
Neither strong nor weak (0).....	33
Somewhat weak leadership (-1).....	11
Very weak leadership (-2).....	8
(No answer).....	2

Q2b. The situation in Iraq

Very strong leadership (+2).....	35%
Somewhat strong leadership (+1).....	30
Neither strong nor weak (0).....	16
Somewhat weak leadership (-1).....	10
Very weak leadership (-2).....	9
(No answer).....	1

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\* Some columns may not add up to 100 percent because of rounding.

[HALF SAMPLE: C, D]

Q3. Overall, how well do you think President Bush is managing US foreign policy-- that is, dealing with international problems and handling relations with other countries around the world? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being very poorly and 10 being very well.

0	6%
1	4
2	5
3	5
4	8
5	18
6	10
7	12
8	14
9	7
10	8
(No answer)	2

Negative (0-4).....	28%
Neutral (5).....	18
Positive (6-10) .....	52
(No answer) .....	2
Mean .....	5.67
Median.....	6

Q4. How well do you think President Bush is dealing with the following international problems and issues? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being very poorly and 10 being very well.

Q4a. The situation with Iraq

0	8%
1	4
2	6
3	5
4	5
5	16
6	8
7	11
8	15
9	9
10	9
(No answer)	5

Negative (0-4).....	28%
Neutral (5).....	16
Positive (6-10).....	52
(No answer).....	5

Mean ..... 5.68  
 Median ..... 6

Q4b. The Israel-Palestinian conflict

0	8%
1	3
2	6
3	7
4	8
5	20
6	9
7	9
8	12
9	4
10	6
(No answer)	7

  

Negative (0-4).....	32%
Neutral (5).....	20
Positive (6-10).....	41
(No answer).....	7

  

Mean ..... 5.21  
 Median ..... 5

Q4c. The situation with Iran

0	8%
1	4
2	6
3	5
4	7
5	20
6	11
7	7
8	11
9	5
10	7
(No answer)	11

  

Negative (0-4).....	30%
Neutral (5).....	20
Positive (6-10).....	40
(No answer).....	11

  

Mean ..... 5.24  
 Median ..... 5

Q5. Thinking now about the rest of the world, on average, how do you think people in other countries would rate how well the US is managing its foreign policy? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being very poorly and 10 being very well.

0	12%
1	5
2	14
3	11
4	12
5	21
6	7
7	5
8	5
9	1
10	2
(No answer)	5
Negative (0-4)	54%
Neutral (5)	21
Positive (6-10)	19
(No answer)	5
Mean	3.81
Median	4

Q6. Thinking now about our European allies, on average, how do you think people in those countries would rate how well the US is managing its foreign policy? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being very poorly and 10 being very well.

0	9%
1	4
2	8
3	10
4	11
5	23
6	10
7	7
8	5
9	1
10	3
(No answer)	10
Negative (0-4)	42%
Neutral (5)	23
Positive (6-10)	25
(No answer)	10
Mean	4.30
Median	5

[3/4 SAMPLE: A, B, C]

Q7. Do you think that in the period after the war with Iraq, the UN's role in the world will be:

- More important ..... 30%
- Less important ..... 23
- About the same as before the war with Iraq . 45
- (No answer)..... 2

[3/4 SAMPLE: B, C, D]

Q8. Do you think that in the future the US should or should not feel more free to use military force without UN authorization?

- Should feel more free to use force  
without UN authorization ..... 34%
- Should not feel more free to use force  
Without UN authorization ..... 60
- (No answer) ..... 6

[3/4 SAMPLE: D, A, B]

Q9. There is some discussion of whether, in some cases, the US should be willing to take military action--risking the lives of US troops--to stop a government from conducting large-scale violations of the human rights of its people, when that government is not threatening US security. Which of the following comes closest to your position?

- The US should be willing, whether or  
not it has broad international approval ..... 23%
- The US should be willing, but  
only with broad international approval ..... 52
- The US should not be willing ..... 18
- (No answer) ..... 7

Q10. What do you think the Bush administration’s position is on whether, in some cases, the US should be willing to take military action-- risking the lives of US troops--to stop a government from conducting large-scale violations of the human rights of its people, when that government is not threatening US security. Do you think the Bush administration’s position is:

- The US should be willing, whether or not it has broad international approval .....41%
- The US should be willing, but only with broad international approval..... 40
- The US should not be willing ..... 11
- (No answer) ..... 8

*[FULL SAMPLE]*

Q11. How closely are you following the news about the situation in Iraq now?

- Very closely ..... 11%
- Fairly closely ..... 40
- Not too closely ..... 31
- Not closely at all ..... 18
- (No answer) .....-

Q11a. Do you think the Bush administration did or did not imply that Iraq under Saddam Hussein was involved in the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks?\*

- Did imply ..... 71%
- Did not imply ..... 25
- (No answer)..... 4

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\* 416 respondents answered this question.

Q12. Do you think the decision to go to war in Iraq was the right decision or the wrong decision? Please answer on a scale of -5 to +5, with -5 being certain it was the wrong decision, +5 being certain it was the right decision, and 0 being unsure.

-5	11%
-4	4
-3	7
-2	5
-1	4
0	15
1	3
2	5
3	12
4	10
5	24
(No answer)	2
Wrong decision (-5--1) .....	30%
Unsure (0) .....	15
Right decision (1-5) .....	54
(No answer).....	2
Mean .....	1.06
Median .....	2

Q13. What is your impression of how the average American would answer the question of whether the decision to go to war in Iraq was the right decision or the wrong decision? Please answer on a scale of -5 to +5, with -5 being certain it was the wrong decision, +5 being certain it was the right decision, and 0 being unsure.

-5	4%
-4	2
-3	5
-2	4
-1	5
0	21
1	9
2	13
3	21
4	10
5	6
(No answer)	2
Wrong decision (-5--1) .....	20%
Unsure (0) .....	21
Right decision (1-5) .....	58
(No answer).....	2
Mean .....	1.13
Median .....	2

[3/4 SAMPLE:A,B,C]

Q14. Compared with how you felt at the beginning of the war, knowing what you know now, would you say you are more or less supportive of the decision to go to war with Iraq?

More supportive.....53%  
 Less supportive .....42  
 (No answer) .....5

[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.

[3/4 SAMPLE: A,B,C]

Q15. Please select what you think is the best description of the relationship between the Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein and the terrorist group al-Qaeda. [order randomized]

There was no connection at all ..... 7%  
 A few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq  
 or had contact with Iraqi officials ..... 26  
 Iraq gave substantial support to  
 al-Qaeda, but was not involved in  
 the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks ..... 36  
 Iraq was directly involved in carrying  
 out the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks. .... 25  
 (No answer) ..... 6

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q16. Since the war with Iraq ended, is it your impression that the US has or has not found Iraqi weapons of mass destruction?

US has.....23%  
 US has not.....73  
 (No answer) .....4

[3/4 SAMPLE: B,C,D]

Q17. 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?

US has.....52%  
 US has not.....43  
 (No answer) .....5

Q18. Please indicate your position on the question of whether, just before the war, Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning you are completely certain that Iraq did NOT have weapons of mass destruction, 10 meaning that you are completely certain that Iraq DID have weapons of mass destruction, and 5 meaning you are unsure.

0	3%
1	2
2	3
3	4
4	3
5	24
6	5
7	8
8	11
9	8
10	26
(No answer)	3
Did not have (0-4).....	15%
Neutral (5).....	24
Had (6-10).....	58
(No answer).....	3
Mean .....	6.76
Median .....	7

Q19. As compared to the average American, do you think you have more doubts or fewer doubts about whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction?

More doubts.....	36%
Fewer doubts.....	59
(No answer) .....	5

[3/4 SAMPLE: C,D,A]

Q20. Is it your impression that when the US government presented the evidence to justify going to war with Iraq, it was being misleading or not being misleading?

Being misleading .....	42%
Not being misleading.....	53
(No answer) .....	5

Q20a.

Very certain not being misleading .....	18%
Somewhat certain not being misleading .....	30
Not very certain not being misleading.....	5
Not very certain being misleading.....	8
Somewhat certain being misleading .....	24
Very certain being misleading .....	10
(No answer) .....	6

Q21. Please just give your impression: About how many American soldiers do you think were killed by hostile fire in Iraq from the beginning of the war on March 17 to the fall of Baghdad on April 9?

Mean .....	990
Median .....	100

Q22. 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?

Mean .....	234
Median .....	40

[3/4 SAMPLE: D,A,B]

Q23. 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

Presenting evidence they knew was false .....	10%
Stretching the truth, but not making false statements.....	52
Being fully truthful .....	32
(No answer) .....	5

[3/4 SAMPLE: A,B,C]

Q24. 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:

- Presenting evidence they knew was false ..... 10%
- Stretching the truth, but not making false statements..... 46
- Being fully truthful ..... 39
- (No answer) ..... 5

Q25. How well do you think US intelligence agencies have performed in providing intelligence on whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction?

- Very well ..... 12%
- Somewhat well ..... 40
- Not very well ..... 37
- Not at all well ..... 8
- (No answer) ..... 3

Q26. Do you think that Congress should or should not investigate the intelligence agencies’ performance in providing intelligence on whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction?

- Should..... 63%
- Should not..... 34
- (No answer) ..... 3

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q27. Do you think the US made the right decision or the wrong decision in going to war against Iraq?

- Right decision ..... 65%
- Wrong decision..... 29
- (No answer) ..... 6

[IF “right decision”]

Q27a. Which comes closer to your view [order randomized]:

I support having gone to war, because I think  
it was the best thing for the US to do..... 46% (of full sample)

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.....18 (of full sample)

(No answer) ..... 1

[IF “I support...”]

Q27b. As you may know, contrary to expectations, the US has not found any weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. If, after further investigations US intelligence agencies conclude that Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction, would you still feel that having gone to war was the best thing for the US to do?

Would still feel .....43% (of full sample)

Would not still feel ..... 4 (of full sample)

(No answer) ..... 0

[3/4 SAMPLE: B,C,D]

Q28. 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?

Yes, does.....80%

No, does not..... 15

(No answer) ..... 5

[3/4 SAMPLE: C,D,A]

Q29. Which of the following is closer to your point of view:

We shouldn’t spend money on  
rebuilding Iraq when we have so  
many problems here at home..... 32%

It would be unwise and immoral  
for the US to overthrow the government  
of Iraq and then just leave..... 65

(No answer) .....4

Q30. About how long do you think the US will have to keep troops in Iraq?  
Please enter one number.

Up to 1 year ..... 28%  
 13 months to 2 years ..... 23  
 25 months to 5 years ..... 31  
 More than 5 years ..... 11  
 (No answer) ..... 8

Q31. How do you think the process of rebuilding Iraq is going?

Very well ..... 1%  
 Somewhat well ..... 39  
 Not very well ..... 40  
 Not at all well ..... 13  
 (No answer) ..... 7

[3/4 SAMPLE: D,A,B]

Q32. Who do you think should take the lead to work with Iraqis to write a new constitution and build a new democratic government?

The US ..... 31%  
 The UN ..... 64  
 (No answer) ..... 5

Q33. Who should direct humanitarian relief and economic reconstruction in Iraq?

The US ..... 27%  
 The UN ..... 69  
 (No answer) ..... 4

[HALF SAMPLE: A,B]

Q34. Thinking about how all the people in the world feel about the US having gone to war with Iraq, do you think:

The majority of people favor  
 the US having gone to war..... 25%  
  
 The majority of people oppose  
 the US having gone to war..... 41  
  
 Views are evenly balanced ..... 32  
  
 (No answer) ..... 2

Q35. If a majority of the people in the world oppose the US having gone to war with Iraq, how much of a problem do you think this is for the US?

- A big problem..... 22%
- Somewhat of a problem..... 49
- Not much of a problem..... 24
- No problem at all ..... 4
- (No answer) ..... 2

[HALF SAMPLE: C,D]

Q36. Thinking about how people in Europe feel about the US having gone to war with Iraq, do you think:

- the majority of people favor  
the US having gone to war..... 18%
- the majority of people oppose  
the US having gone to war..... 48
- views are evenly balanced ..... 29
- (No answer) ..... 5

Q37. If a majority of the people in Europe oppose the US having gone to war with Iraq, how much of a problem do you think this is for the US?

- A big problem..... 15%
- Somewhat of a problem..... 51
- Not much of a problem..... 27
- No problem at all ..... 3
- (No answer) ..... 4

[3/4 SAMPLE: A,B,C]

Q38. Do you think the UN will not be relevant to matters of war and peace in the future, or do you think that the UN will continue to be relevant to matters of war and peace?

- UN will not be relevant ..... 30%
- UN will continue to be relevant..... 63
- (No answer) ..... 7

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q39. How closely do you follow foreign affairs?

Very closely .....	7%
Somewhat closely .....	34
Not very closely.....	41
Not closely at all .....	17
(No answer) .....	1

Q39A. Where do you tend to get most of your news?

From newspapers and magazines .....	19%
From TV and radio .....	80
(No answer) .....	2

[If “from TV and radio”]

Q39A-a. If ONE of the networks below is your favorite source of news, please select it. If you get news from two or more networks about equally, just go on to the next question.

Broadcast networks:

NBC .....	14%
CBS.....	7
ABC .....	12

Cable networks:

Fox News.....	17%
CNN.....	16
MSNBC .....	5
(No answer) .....	28

*Demographics*

D1. Finally, just a few questions for statistical purposes. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

Strongly Republican .....	14%
Leaning toward Republican.....	16
Leaning toward Democrat .....	13
Strongly Democrat.....	21
Independent .....	26
Other .....	7
(No answer) .....	4

D2. Did you vote for a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate in the election in November 2002?

Yes ..... 51%  
 No ..... 45  
 (No answer) ..... 4

D3. When you decide how to vote in a Presidential or Congressional election, how important is a candidate's position on foreign policy issues?

One of the most important ..... 18%  
 Somewhat important ..... 62  
 Not very important ..... 11  
 Not at all important ..... 4  
 (No answer) ..... 5

D4. Have you ever contributed money or done volunteer work in support of a Presidential or Congressional candidate?

Yes ..... 17%  
 No ..... 81  
 (No answer) ..... 2

D5. Gender

Male ..... 48%  
 Female ..... 52

D6. Age (calculated from birth date)

18-29 ..... 21%  
 30-44 ..... 31  
 45-59 ..... 26  
 60+ ..... 22

D7. Education level (collapsed categories)

Less than High School ..... 16%  
 High School Graduate ..... 33  
 Some College ..... 28  
 College Graduate ..... 24

D8. Region

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

D9. Race/Ethnicity

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