PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll:
Americans on Iraq

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: July 11-20, 2003
Sample Size: 1066 respondents

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

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

Q1. 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.

6/03

0 .............................................9%* 6
1 .............................................3 4
2 .............................................7 5
3 .............................................6 5
4 .............................................7 8
5 ..........................................17 18
6 ..........................................9 10
7 ..........................................12 12
8 ..........................................16 14
9 ..........................................7 7
10 ..........................................7 8
(No answer)............................1 2

Negative (0-4).......................31% 28
Neutral (5) ............................17 18
Positive (6-10) ......................51 52
(No answer)............................1 2

Mean .....................................5.48 5.67
Median....................................6 6

* Some columns may not add up to 100 percent because of rounding.
Q2. 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.

Q2a. The situation with Iraq 6/03

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Negative (0-4) ............................................33% 28
Neutral (5) ............................................14% 16
Positive (6-10) ...........................49% 52
(No answer) ............................................3% 3

Mean ............................................5.39 5.68
Median.....................................6 6

Q2b. The Israel-Palestinian conflict 6/03

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Negative (0-4) ............................................33% 32
Neutral (5) ............................................18% 20
Positive (6-10) ...........................43% 41
(No answer) ............................................7% 7

Mean ............................................5.18 5.21
Median.....................................5 5
Q2c. The situation with Iran

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Negative (0-4).......................35%  30
Neutral (5) ...........................19  20
Positive (6-10) ...........................38  40
(No answer)...........................8  11

Mean ............................................4.91  5.24
Median.....................................5  5

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q3. 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.

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Negative (0-4).......................56%  54
Neutral (5) ...........................21  21
Positive (6-10) ...........................20  19
(No answer)...........................3  5

Mean ............................................3.80  3.81
Median.....................................4  4
Q4. 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.

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Negative (0-4)..........................46% 42
Neutral (5) ...........................20 23
Positive (6-10) ..........................29 25
(No answer)..............................6 10

Mean .....................................4.30 4.30
Median ...................................5 5

[HALF SAMPLE A, B]
Q5. Sometimes people feel more or less reluctant to criticize than at other times. Thinking about how people feel about criticizing the President’s current handling of the situation in Iraq, these days do you think people are generally feeling:

- A lot more reluctant than usual to criticize the President..........................15%
- A little more reluctant than usual to criticize the President ..........................18
- No different than usual ..............................................38
- A little less reluctant than usual to criticize the President ..........................16
- A lot less reluctant than usual to criticize the President ............................11
- (No answer).........................................................1
[HALF SAMPLE C, D]
Q6. Sometimes people feel more or less reluctant to criticize than at other times.
Thinking about the President’s current handling of the situation in Iraq, these days are you generally feeling:

- A lot more reluctant than usual to criticize the President ...................... 6%
- A little more reluctant than usual to criticize the President .................... 10
- No different than usual ......................................................... 62
- A little less reluctant than usual to criticize the President ................. 8
- A lot less reluctant than usual to criticize the President ..................... 11
- (No answer) ................................................................. 2

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]
Q7. President Bush is considering sending approximately 2,000 marines to Liberia to be part of a UN peacekeeping mission along with several thousand troops from other countries. Would you approve or disapprove of this?

- Approve .................................................................. 48%
- Disapprove .......................................................... 41
- (No answer) ............................................................ 10

[3/4 SAMPLE C,D,A]
Q8. Thinking about another country, would you support or oppose the United States taking military action against Iran to prevent it from developing nuclear weapons/

- Support ............................................................... 65%
- Oppose ............................................................... 31
- (No answer) .......................................................... 5

[THOSE WHO “Support”:
Q8a. What if most members of the UN Security Council opposed such military action—in that case would you favor or oppose having US forces take military action against Iran?

- Favor ........................................................................ 77%  [50% full sample]
- Oppose ................................................................. 19  [12% full sample]
- (No answer) ............................................................ 4
[FULL SAMPLE]
Q9. How closely are you following the news about the situation in Iraq now?

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<td>Not very closely</td>
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[3/4 SAMPLE: D,A,B]
Q10. 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?

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[FULL SAMPLE]
Q11. How do you think the process of rebuilding Iraq is going?

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[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,C]
Q12. Six months from now, do you think it is more likely that Iraq will:

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<td>Have a stable government</td>
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<td>Be unstable and chaotic</td>
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[HALF SAMPLE C,D]
Q13. What do you think the US should do in regard to conducting elections in Iraq at this point:

Proceed to hold elections, even if it is likely that candidates will be elected that are unfriendly to the US................. 44%

Put off holding elections until candidates emerge who are friendly to the US, even if it is likely the US will then be accused of not supporting democracy........... 43

(No answer) .................................................. 13

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]
Q14. Do you think that in Iraq the greatest challenges are behind us or do you think the greatest challenges remain ahead?

Greatest challenges are behind us............... 16%
Greatest challenges remain ahead............ 80
(No answer) .................................................... 4

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]
Q15. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: At some point the US will need to let the Iraqi people decide who should lead their government, even if they elect a leader who is unfriendly to the US.

Agree ............................................................ 76%
Disagree ...................................................... 22
(No answer) .................................................... 2

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]
Q16. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: At some point the US will need to let the Iraqi people decide who should lead their government, even if they elect an Islamic religious leader who wants to institute Islamic law.

Agree ............................................................ 77%
Disagree ...................................................... 18
(No answer) .................................................... 6
Q17. Here are three statements about what the role of the US military should be in Iraq in the post war period. Please select the one that comes closest to your views.

4/03

- The US military should remain in Iraq, provide security and be in charge of all relief and reconstruction efforts ..........22% 29
- The US military should remain in Iraq and provide security, but the UN and international aid organizations should be in charge of relief and reconstruction ......59 54
- The US military should withdraw completely from Iraq ......................15 14
- (No answer) ...................................................4 3

Q18. 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:

- Increased a lot.................................6%
- Increased some .........................18
- Maintained at the current level ..........37
- Decreased some .........................17
- Decreased a lot.................................8
- Withdrawn completely ..................9
- (No answer) ........................................5

Q18a. The US has requested that other countries contribute troops to help deal with the situation in Iraq. If allies and other countries were only willing to contribute troops if the operation were under the UN with joint decision making, should the US be willing to do this or not?

- Should be willing..........................70%
- Should not be willing.....................24
- (No answer) ......................................7
[3/4 SAMPLE D,A,B]
Q19. Do you think that the difficulty that the US is currently facing in Iraq is:

Greater than the Bush administration assumed it would be .......................... 63%

About the same as the Bush administration assumed it would be .............. 31

Less than the Bush administration assumed it would be ............................... 3

(No answer) .................................................... 3

Q20. About how long do you think the US will have to keep troops in Iraq?
Please enter one number 6/03
Up to 1 year .................................................. 26%  28
13 months to 2 years ....................................... 26   23
25 months to 5 years ..................................... 31  31
More than 5 years ........................................... 8  11
(No answer) .................................................... 8  8

[3/4 SAMPLE: A,B,C]
Q21. Who do you think should take the lead to work with Iraqis to write a new constitution and build a new democratic government?

6/03  4/03
The US .......................................................... 34%  31  47
The UN ......................................................... 58  64  50
(No answer) .................................................... 8   4  3

Q22. Who should direct humanitarian relief and economic reconstruction in Iraq?

6/03  4/03
The US .......................................................... 26%  27  40
The UN ......................................................... 67  69  57
(No answer) .................................................... 7   4  3

[3/4 SAMPLE B,C,D]
Q23. How do you think the majority of Iraqis feel about the fact that the US overthrew the government of Saddam Hussein?

The majority resents it ............................... 18%
The majority is glad ................................. 76
(No answer) .................................................... 6
Q24. How do you think the majority of the Iraqi people feel about how the US is conducting the operation in Iraq now?

   The majority approves ......................... 51%
   The majority disapproves ..................... 40
   (No answer) ......................................... 10

Q25. At this point do you think the majority of the Iraqi people want the US to:

   Stay for now ........................................ 53%
   Leave ............................................... 42
   (No answer) ........................................ 5

Q26. Who do you think the majority of the Iraqi people would prefer to take the lead to work with them to write a new constitution and build a new democratic government:

   The US .............................................. 20%
   The UN .............................................. 30
   Neither ............................................. 43
   (No answer) ........................................ 8

[THOSE WHO SAY “Leave” ON Q25:]
Q27. If the UN would take the lead to work with the Iraqi people do you think the majority of them would then want the US military to:

   Stay for now ...................................... 27%
   Leave ............................................... 70
   (No answer) ........................................ 4

[FULL SAMPLE]
Q28. Do you think the Bush administration did or did not imply that Iraq under Saddam Hussein was involved in the September 11th attacks?

   Did imply ......................................... 67% 71
   Did not imply ..................................... 25 25
   (No answer) ........................................ 8 4
Q29. 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.

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Wrong decision (-5-1).............................. 28%  30
Unsure (0) .......................................... 14%  15
Right decision (1-5).............................. 56%  54
(No answer) .......................................... 2%  2

Mean ............................................. 1.13  1.06
Median ............................................ 2  2

[HALF SAMPLE: A, B]

Q29a. Do you think that going to war with Iraq was:

Necessary ........................................... 53%

Not necessary, though the results have been more positive than negative .......... 17

Not necessary, and the results have been more negative than positive .......... 27

(No answer) ........................................... 3
[HALF SAMPLE: C, D]
Q29b. To deal with the possibility that Iraq might develop weapons of mass destruction do you think:

It was necessary to go to war with Iraq ........59%

The threat could have been contained
by keeping some military forces in the
region and having UN inspectors in Iraq......36

(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: C,D,A]
Q30. 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%  6/03 2/03
A few al-Qaeda individuals visited
Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials ..........35  26  29
Iraq gave substantial support to
al-Qaeda, but was not involved in
the September 11th attacks .....................33  36  36
Iraq was directly involved in
carrying out the September 11th attacks......20  25  20
(No answer) .................................................6  6  8

[3/4 SAMPLE D,A,B]
Q31. 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.........................................................21%  23  34  6/03 5/03
US has not...................................................76%  73  59
(No answer) ..................................................3  4  7
Q32. 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?

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

6/03

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>6/03</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>US has</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US has not</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No answer)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>45%</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q33. 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.

**[FULL SAMPLE]**

6/03

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>6/03</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No answer)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Did not have (0-4)</strong></td>
<td><strong>17%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unsure (5)</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Had (6-10)</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No answer)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>6.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**[HALF SAMPLE A,B]**

6/03

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>6/03</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Being misleading</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not being misleading</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No answer)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>42%</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q34a. How certain are you about this?

- Not very certain ............................................ 17%
- Somewhat certain ........................................... 47
- Very certain .................................................. 32
- (No answer) .................................................... 4

Summary: 6/03

- Very certain not being misleading ............... 19%          18
- Somewhat certain not being misleading ........ 24        30
- Not very certain not being misleading .......... 9           5
- Not very certain being misleading .............. 6          8
- Somewhat certain being misleading ............. 23        24
- Very certain being misleading .................... 13        10

Q35. 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:

6/03

- Presenting evidence it knew was false.......... 16%          10
- Stretching the truth, but not making false statements .................. 47        52
- Being fully truthful ....................................... 30        32
- (No answer) .................................................... 7          5

Q36. 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:

6/03

- Presenting evidence it knew was false.......... 15%          10
- Stretching the truth, but not making false statements .................. 44        46
- Being fully truthful ....................................... 34        39
- (No answer) .................................................... 8          5
[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q37. Is it your impression that when president Bush presented the evidence to justify going to war with Iraq, he was being misleading or not being misleading?

- Being misleading .......................................... 36%
- Not being misleading.................................... 61
- (No answer) .................................................... 4

Q37a. How certain are you about this?

- Not very certain ............................................ 13%
- Somewhat certain ......................................... 48
- Very certain .................................................. 36
- (No answer) .................................................... 3

Summary:

- Very certain not being misleading ............ 23%
- Somewhat certain not being misleading ...... 31
- Not very certain not being misleading ....... 7
- Not very certain being misleading ............. 5
- Somewhat certain being misleading .......... 17
- Very certain being misleading ............... 13
- (No answer) .................................................... 4

Q38. Is it your impression that when President Bush presented evidence of Iraq having weapons of mass destruction to justify going to war with Iraq, he was:

- Presenting evidence he knew was false ....... 13%
- Stretching the truth, but not making false statements ..................... 42
- Being fully truthful .................................... 40
- (No answer) .................................................... 5
Q39. Is it your impression that when the President Bush presented evidence of links between Saddam Hussein’s government and al Qaeda to justify going to war with Iraq, he was:

- Presenting evidence he knew was false........11%
- Stretching the truth, but not making false statements..............................37
- Being fully truthful...........................................45
- (No answer) ....................................................7

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]
Q39a. When President Bush made the case for going to war with Iraq he said that Iraq had tried to purchase material for making nuclear weapons from an African country. The evidence for this was challenged and the White House recently confirmed that this information was in fact false. What is your impression of what happened here?

- President Bush knowingly presented false information..........................15%
- President Bush assumed that something like this was true, so he was not careful about the evidence he used to support his case ......33
- President Bush was simply given intelligence that proved to be wrong ........45
- (No answer) ....................................................7

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]
Q39b. When President Bush made the case for going to war with Iraq he said that Iraq had tried to purchase material for making nuclear weapons from an African country. The evidence for this was challenged and the White House recently confirmed that this information was in fact false. Do you think that when the president originally presented this evidence he:

- Knew it was false.............................................27%
- Did not know it was false ..................................68
- (No answer) ....................................................5
[HALF SAMPLE A,C]
Q39c. In the future, if the president presents evidence that a country has a secret program for building weapons of mass destruction do you think that you will:

Feel more wary than you did before .......... 50%

Trust what the president says just
as much as before ........................................ 45

(No answer) ............................................. 4

[HALF SAMPLE B,D]
Q39d. Does the fact that the president presented information that was in fact false lower your confidence in the president:

Not at all .................................................. 37%
A little ...................................................... 21
Some ....................................................... 19
A lot ......................................................... 21
(No answer) ............................................. 2

[FULL SAMPLE]
Q40. Do you think the US made the right decision or the wrong decision in going to war against Iraq?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision</th>
<th>6/03</th>
<th>5/03</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right decision</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrong decision</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No answer)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[IF “right decision”]
Q40a. Which comes closer to your view [order randomized]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>6/03</th>
<th>5/03</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I support having gone to war, because I think it was the best thing for the US to do ................ 45%*</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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 ..........</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (No answer) ........................................... | 1    | 1    | *

* numbers represent percentage from the full sample
[FULL SAMPLE]
Q41. 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... 24%
- The majority of people oppose the US having gone to war... 42%
- Views are evenly balanced
- (No answer)

6/03

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]
Q42. Do you think, in the near future, the US should or should not go to war to overthrow the government of Iran?

- Should...
- Should not...
- (No answer)

4/03

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]
Q43. Turning back to the subject of Iran, when it comes to trying to make sure that Iran does not make nuclear weapons and does not support Palestinian groups that use terrorism, which would be better?

- For the US to take the lead
- For the UN to take the lead
- (No answer)

4/03

Q44. Do you think the US should deal with the government of Iran primarily by:

- Trying to build better relations
- Pressuring it with implied threats that the US may use military force against it
- (No answer)

4/03

Q47. I know it is a long way off, but thinking about the elections in 2004, how likely are you to vote in that election?

- Extremely likely
- Very likely
- Somewhat likely
- Not very likely

4/03
Americans on Iraq .................................................... 1

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]
Q48. 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 ...................45%

Vote for Democratic nominee for President ....................................................... 44

(No answer) .................................................. 12

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]
Q49. If President Bush runs for election in 2004, do you think you will probably vote for President Bush or probably vote for the Democratic candidate?

Vote for President Bush................................ 47%

Vote for the Democratic candidate ...............44

(No answer) .................................................... 9

Q49a. 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 –5 to +5, 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.

-5 ............................................……...16%
-4 ............................................……...3
-3 ............................................……...3
-2 ............................................……...3
-1 ............................................……..3
0 ............................................……....30
1 ............................................……....7
2 ............................................……....6
3 ............................................……....8
4 ............................................……....5
5 ............................................……....11
(No answer)...........................……....4

Negative (-5 - 1).......................….. 29%
Neutral (0) ...........................…….30
Positive (6-10)................................37
(No answer)...........................……..4

Mean ............................................….0.09
Median.....................................……..0
[FULL SAMPLE]
In the next section, we would like to ask about how you voted in past elections.
Q50. Many people weren’t able to vote in the 2000 election for president, when the Democratic candidate was Al Gore and the Republican candidate was George W. Bush. Were you able to vote, or did things come up that kept you from voting?

I was able to vote .......................................... 67%
I wasn’t able to vote................................. 31
(No answer) .................................................... 3

Demographics
D1. Finally, just a few questions for statistical purposes. Which best describes you:

I always vote for Republican candidates ....... 8%
Usually I vote for Republican candidates but sometimes I vote for Democrats .......... 31

I always vote for Democratic candidates ...... 16
Usually I vote for Democratic candidates but sometimes I vote for Republicans .......... 32
(No answer) .................................................. 13

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

Strongly Republican ..................................... 15%
Leaning toward Republican .......................... 16
Leaning toward Democrat ............................ 16
Strongly Democrat ........................................ 17
Independent .................................................. 26
Other ............................................................... 7
(No answer) .................................................... 4

D3. Did you vote for a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate in the election in November 2002?

Yes .................................................. 52%
No .................................................. 44
(No answer) .................................................. 4
D6. Gender

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

D7. 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. How would you characterize where you live? Would you characterize it as

An urban area or part of a city… 31%
A suburban area or bedroom community just outside of a city..22
A small town or rural area ..........46
(No answer) ..............................1

D9. Region

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

D10. Race/Ethnicity

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