THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Americans and Iraq on the Eve of the Presidential Election

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Oct 12–18, 2004 Margin of Error: +/- 3.2 % [full sample] Sample Size: 968 +/- 4.0 % [2/3 sample]

[SAMPLE DIVIDED INTO SIX SUB-SAMPLES] [FULL SAMPLE]

Q1. Compared to a year ago, do you think that the nation's economy has:

	10/04	8/04
Gotten better	26%	31%
Bush supporters	48	58
Kerry supporters		10
Is about the same	27	29
Bush supporters	32	29
Kerry supporters		28
Gotten worse	46	40
Bush supporters	20	13
Kerry supporters		60
(No answer)	1	1

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q2a-b. Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. DOES or DOES NOT participate in the following treaties and agreements?

	U.S. Does	U.S. Does Not
The Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming	34%	52
Bush supporters	36	49
Kerry supporters	31	58
The International Criminal Court that tries individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't	40	44
try them	42	44

Bush supporters	45	42
Kerry supporters	39	48

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q3. How closely are you following the news about the situation in Iraq now?

Very closely Bush supporters Kerry supporters	18
Fairly closely	47
Bush supporters	47
Kerry supporters	50
Not too closely	30
Bush supporters	
Kerry supporters	
Not closely at all	4
(No answer)	0

Q4:Q43. How confident are you that the US intervention in Iraq will succeed. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being not at all confident and 10 being extremely confident.

10/0	04 8/04
1089	6 7
94	4
812	9
710	10
66	6
516	17
48	9
311	9
211	10
14	5
011	13
(No answer)1	2
Confident (6-10)40	36
Bush supporters70	65
Kerry supporters	15
Neutral (5)16	17

Bush supporters	20 12
Not confident (4-0)45	46
Bush supporters15	14
Kerry supporters73	73
(No answer)1	2
Mean response4.80	4.63
Median5	5

Q5:Q44. 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.

10/04	8/04
5	14
47	5
38	7
24	5
13	3
018	19
-13	2
-23	4
-35	3
-44	3
-529	33
(No answer)2	3
Increase likelihood (1 to 5)36	34
Bush supporters71	69
Kerry supporters5	10
No effect either way (0)	19
Bush supporters21	22
Kerry supporters12	12
Degraps a likelihood (5 to 1)	44
Decrease likelihood (-5 to -1)	7
Bush supporters	,
Kerry supporters82	77
Mean0.53	-0.64
Median0	0

Q6. Do you think that the situation in Iraq is getting:

Much better	4%
Somewhat better	14
A little better	28
A little worse	18
Somewhat worse	18
Much worse	18
Better	46%
Bush supporters	79
Kerry supporters	16
Worse	54
Bush supporters	
Kerry supporters	
(No answer)	1

Q7. Do you think the US made the right decision or the wrong decision in going to war against Iraq?

	10/04	8/04
Right decision	46%	46
Bush supporters	85	87
Kerry supporters	8	14
Wrong decision	51	49
Bush supporters		10
Kerry supporters		85
(No answer)	3	5

[IF "RIGHT DECISION"]

Q7a. Which comes closer to your view? [ORDER RANDOMIZED]:

	10/04	8/04
I support having gone to war,		
because I think it was the best		
thing for the US to do	33%	33
Bush supporters	62	65
Kerry supporters	6	8

I am not sure if going to war was the best thing to do, but I

support Bush's decision, because	
he is the president1	2 13
Bush supporters2	22
Kerry supporters	3 6
(No answer)	1 0
[2/3 SAMPLE] Q7b: Do you think the US military presence in Iraq is currently: [A	ARO]
A stabilizing force4	6%
Bush supporters7	
Kerry supporters1	
Provoking more conflict than it is preventing5	1
Bush supporters1	9
Kerry supporters8	0
(No answer)	3
Q8. If the operation to establish security and reconstruction in Irac command do you think:	were to be put under UN
Other countries would be more willing than they are	
today to contribute troops and resources4	9%
Bush supporters3	
Kerry supporters6	7
Such a change would make no difference	7
Such a change would make no difference	
Bush supporters	
Kerry supporters3	1
(No answer)	4
Q9. If other countries would be willing to contribute more troops is be put under UN command, would you then favor or oppose putting command?	
Favor 6	8%
Bush supporters5	
Kerry supporters8	
Oppose2	.6
Bush supporters	

Kerry supporters	16
J 11	
(No answer)	6

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q10. Who do you think would be more effective at getting other countries to contribute troops and resources to the effort in Iraq?

John Kerry	47%
Bush supporters	6
Kerry supporters	
George W. Bush	46
Bush supporters	90
Kerry supporters	
(No answer)	7

Q11. 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:

10/04	8/04
Increased a lot9%	6
Increased some19	12
Maintained at the current level29	26
Decreased some11	17
Decreased a lot8	12
Withdrawn completely19	24
(No answer)5	3
Increased	18
Bush supporters33	26
Kerry supporters25	14
Maintained29	26
Bush supporters45	43
Kerry supporters14	11
Decreased	29
Bush supporters13	23
Kerry supporters26	36
Withdrawn19	24
Bush supporters6	6
Kerry supporters31	38

Q12. Thinking back, for the war on terrorism, do you think the better use of US resources would have been:

	10/04	8/04
To invade Iraq and overthrow Saddam Hussein,		
as the US did	39%	39
Bush supporters	70	70
Kerry supporters		14
To use those same resources instead for pursuing al-Qaeda and stabilizing Afghanistan		52
Bush supporters		22
Kerry supporters	84	80
(No answer)	8	10

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q12a. Do you think a majority of people in the Islamic world favor or oppose US-led efforts to fight terrorism?

	10/04	9/03
Favor	35%	48%
Bush supporters	51	
Kerry supporters	21	
Oppose Bush supporters Kerry supporters	44	46
(No answer)	5	6

Q12b. In the effort to fight terrorism, do you think that in the future, compared with what it has been doing, the US:

	10/04	9/03
Should put more emphasis on military methods	38%	35%
Bush supporters	61	
Kerry supporters	16	
Should put more emphasis on diplomatic and		
economic methods	58	58
Bush supporters	33	
Kerry supporters	82	
Has the balance about right	3	4
Bush supporters	5	

Kerry supporters1	
(No answer)1	3
[FULL SAMPLE] Q13. Is it your belief that, just before the war, Iraq: [ARO]	
10/04	8/04
Had actual weapons of mass destruction27%	35
Bush supporters47	63
Kerry supporters8	13
Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a	
major program for developing them22	18
Bush supporters25	18
Kerry supporters18	18
Had some limited activities that could be used to help	
develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an	
active program37	34
Bush supporters25	16
Kerry supporters51	50
Did not have any activities related to weapons of	
mass destruction12	10
Bush supporters2	2
Kerry supporters22	18
(No answer)2	4

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q14. 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?

	10/04	8/04
US has	38%	41
Bush supporters	63	68
Kerry supporters	12	20
US has not	57	54
Bush supporters	32	28
Kerry supporters	85	78
(No answer)	5	5

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q15. Thinking about how all the people in the world feel about the US having gone to war with Iraq, do you think:

	10/04	8/04
The majority of people favor the US having		
gone to war	14%	16
Bush supporters	26	28
Kerry supporters		7
The majority of people oppose the US having		
gone to war	53	50
Bush supporters	31	27
Kerry supporters	74	72
Views are evenly balanced	31	33
Bush supporters	42	44
Kerry supporters	20	21
(No answer)	2	2

Q16. 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. [ARO]

	10/04	8/04
There was no connection at all	9%	10
Bush supporters	2	2
Kerry supporters		18
A few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq or had contact		
with Iraqi officials but Iraq did not provide substantial		
support to al-Qaeda	32	32
Bush supporters	.19	16
Kerry supporters		47
Iraq gave substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was not		
involved in the September 11th attacks	.38	35
Bush supporters	.55	52
Kerry supporters	.22	21
Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September		
11 th attacks	.14	15
Bush supporters		23
Kerry supporters		8
(No answer)	7	9

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q17. Is it your impression the Bush administration is currently saying that the US has found clear evidence Saddam Hussein was working closely with the al Qaeda terrorist organization?

	10/04	8/04*
Is	53%	55
Bush supporters	55	61
Kerry supporters	52	52
Is not	40	36
Bush supporters	37	31
Kerry supporters	43	45
(No answer)	8	9

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q18. At this point do you think the majority of the Iraqi people want the US to:

	10/04	8/04
Stay for now	52%	45
Bush supporters	76	70
Kerry supporters		25
Leave	45	51
Bush supporters	22	29
Kerry supporters	67	72
(No answer)	3	4

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q19: 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?

	10/04	11/03
Should have taken more time	67%	59%
Bush supporters	38	
Kerry supporters	96	
Charles at home taken many time	21	20
Should not have taken more time		38
Bush supporters	60	
Kerry supporters	4	

^{*} Question wording has been changed slightly from the question wording in August 2004. In August, the question read "Bush administration has been saying." This has been replaced with "is currently saying."

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q20:Q41. If, before the war, US intelligence services had concluded that Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction and was not providing substantial support to al Qaeda, do you think the US:

Q21:Q42. 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:

Q22:Q42a. Which position in closer to yours?

If Saddam Hussein did not have weapons of mass destruction, just the desire for them, then instead of invading Iraq, the US should have made sure he did not get the capability to make them.......60

Bush supporters	35
Kerry supporters	
(No answer)	5

Q23 To be released

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q24a-b. What is your impression of the positions of the following people on this question:

With regard to missile defense, should the US:

- --Build a missile defense system right away
- --Do more research until such a system is proven to be effective
- --Not build a missile defense system at all

Build a missile Do more research Not				
	defense system	until proven	build	No
	right away	effective	at all	answer
President George W. Bush	50%	30	7	13
Bush supporters	47	41	2	10
Kerry supporters	56	20	13	11
Senator John Kerry	7	48	31	14
Bush supporters	6	29	51	14
Kerry supporters	9	68	13	10

Q25a-b. What is your impression of the positions of the following people on this question:

Should countries that are part of international trade agreements be required or not be required to maintain minimum standards for working conditions and for protection of the environment?

	Should be required	Should not be required	No answer
President George W. Bush	56%	30	14
Bush supporters	74	13	13
Kerry supporters	39	51	10
Senator John Kerry	70	15	15
Bush supporters	63	21	16
Kerry supporters	81	10	9

Q26 a-b. What is your impression of the positions of the following people on this question:

Should the US participate or not participate in the International Criminal Court that tries individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them?

	Participate	Not Participate	No answer
President George W. Bush	48%	39	13
Bush supporters	53	38	9
Kerry supporters	45	43	12
Senator John Kerry	58	27	14
Bush supporters	56	30	14
Kerry supporters	65	24	11

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q27. Please just give your impression. About how many American soldiers do you think have been killed by hostile fire in Iraq since the US went to war with Iraq in March 2003? [GIVE NUMBER - 0FFER 4 DIGITS]

Below 800	19%
Bush supporters	
Kerry supporters	
800 – 1100	53
Bush supporters	55
Kerry supporters	53
More than 1100	23
Bush supporters	21
Kerry supporters	
(No answer)	5

	10/04	8/04
Mean response	1170	1004
Median response	1008	900

Q28. Please just give your impression. About how many Iraqi civilians have been killed in Iraq since the beginning of the war? [GIVE NUMBER - 0FFER 5 DIGITS]

Less than 6000	65%
Bush supporters	70
Kerry supporters	

More than 6000	25	
Bush supporters		
Kerry supporters		
(No answer)	11	
	10/04	8/04
Mean response	6476	5047
Median response		2000
Q29. Do you think the US should or should not have	e permanent military ba	ses in Iraq?
Should	30%	
Bush supporters	42	
Kerry supporters	21	
Should not	67	
Bush supporters		
Kerry supporters		
(No answer)	3	
Q30. Do you think the majority of the Iraqi people military bases in Iraq?	favor or oppose the US	having permanent
Favor	21%	
Bush supporters	31	
Kerry supporters	12	
Oppose	76	
Bush supporters		
Kerry supporters		
(No answer)	4	
[2/3 SAMPLE]	udla alamaina da	
Q31. Do you think that the US government is prese	ntry pranning to	
Have permanent military bases in Iraq		
Bush supporters		
Kerry supporters	72	
Remove all of its military forces once Iraq is	stabilized42	
Rush supporters	61	

Q31a: To be released

Q32: 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?

	10/04	11/03
Should have	67%	61%
Bush supporters	37	
Kerry supporters		
Should not have	30	36
Bush supporters	59	
Kerry supporters	3	
(No answer)	4	3

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q33. Is it your impression that the Bush administration is saying that Iraq, just before the war: [ARO]

	10/04	8/04
Had actual weapons of mass destruction	68%	60
Bush supporters	.63	58
Kerry supporters	.73	63
Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a major		
program for developing them	.15	20
Bush supporters	.19	24
Kerry supporters	.11	19
Had some limited activities that could be used to help		
develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an		
active program	.11	15
Bush supporters	.15	15
Kerry supporters		14
Did not have any activities related to weapons of		
mass destruction	2	1
Bush supporters	1	*
Kerry supporters	4	3
(No answer)	4	4

Q34. Which of the following comes closest to your impression of what the Bush administration is currently saying the relationship was, just before the war, between the Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein and the terrorist group al-Qaeda? [ARO]

	10/04	8/04
There was no connection at all	4%	3
Bush supporters	2	4
Kerry supporters		2
A few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq or had		
contact with Iraqi officials, but Iraq did not give		
substantial support to al-Qaeda	.15	18
Bush supporters	.17	17
Kerry supporters		20
Iraq gave substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was		
not involved in the September 11th attacks	.52	43
Bush supporters	.56	52
Kerry supporters	.49	38
Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the		
September 11 th attacks	.23	27
Bush supporters		19
Kerry supporters		35
(No answer)	7	9

Q35. Do you think President Bush decided to go to war on the basis of assumptions about Iraq that were--

510	10/04	8/04
Correct	23%	27
Bush supporters	39	54
Kerry supporters	8	7
Incorrect, but the President believed they were correct	49	39
Bush supporters	58	42
Kerry supporters	41	35
Incorrect, and the President knew they were incorrect	24	30
Bush supporters	2	2
Kerry supporters		56
(No answer)	4	4

[IF ANSWER "INCORRECT" ON Q35]

Q35a. 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?

	10/04	8/04
Some key people knew	56%	59
Bush supporters	50	27
Kerry supporters	92	87
None of the key people knew	16	9
Bush supporters		15
Kerry supporters	6	3
(No answer)	2	1

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q36. On the question of what Iraq had just before the war, is it your impression experts

	10/04	8/04
Mostly agree Iraq DID have weapons of		
mass destruction	37%	31
Bush supporters	56	51
Kerry supporters	18	15
Mostly agree Iraq DID NOT have weapons of mass		
destruction, though it may have had some programs		
for developing them	38	43
Bush supporters	23	22
Kerry supporters		63
Are evenly divided on the question	21	21
Bush supporters		22
Kerry supporters		19
(No answer)	4	5

Q37. On the question of the relationship between Iraq and al Qaeda is it your impression experts

	10/04	8/04
Mostly agree Iraq WAS providing substantial		
support to al Qaeda	41%	40
Bush supporters	60	56
Kerry supporters	21	26
Mostly agree Iraq WAS NOT providing substantial		
support to al Qaeda	28	29

Bush supporters	14 46
Are evenly divided on the question26	24
Bush supporters24	24
Kerry supporters30	24
(No answer)6	7

Q38. As you may know, Charles Duelfer, the chief weapons inspector selected by the Bush administration to investigate whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction, has just presented his final report to Congress. Is it your impression he concluded that, just before the war, Iraq...

Had actual weapons of mass destruction
Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a
major program for developing them27
Bush supporters38
Kerry supporters16
Had some limited activities that could be used to help develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an active program
Did not have any activities related to weapons of
mass destruction
Bush supporters4
Kerry supporters
(No answer)9

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q39: Do you think that most people in the Middle East want the US military presence in the Middle East maintained at its present level, or do you think most people want it reduced?

	10/04	9/03
Maintained at its present level	18%	29%
Bush supporters	28	
Kerry supporters		
Reduced	77	68

Bush supporters	69	
Kerry supporters		
(No answer)	5	3
(140 answer)		5

[2/3 SAMPLE]

Q40: If most people in the Middle East want the US to reduce its military presence in the Middle East, do you think that it should or should not do so?

	10/04	9/03
Should	62%	51%
Bush supporters	44	
Kerry supporters	79	
Should not	34	45
Bush supporters	53	
Kerry supporters	18	
(No answer)	4	4

Q41: See Q20 for combined results Q42: See Q21 for combined results Q42a: See Q22 for combined results Q43: See Q4 for combined results Q44: See Q5 for combined results

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q45. Do you think that President George Bush is honest and frank or do you sometimes have doubts about things he says:

	10/04	8/04
Honest and frank	40%	36
Bush supporters	80	78
Kerry supporters	4	7
Sometimes have doubts about things he says	58	60
Bush supporters	19	20
Kerry supporters	96	94
(No answer)	2	3

Q46. If the upcoming election for president were held today for whom would you vote:

George W. Bush	46%
John F. Kerry	46
(No answer)	

[IF ANSWER QUESTION 46]

Q46a. How sure are you that you will vote this way?

Very sure Bush	38%
Somewhat sure Bush	
Not very sure Bush	2
•	
Very sure Kerry	37%
Somewhat sure Kerry	8
Not very sure Kerry	2
·	
(No answer)	7

[ARO GOP AND DEMS IN QUESTION]

Q47. If the election for U.S. (United States) Congress were being held today, would you vote for...the [Republican/Democratic] Party's candidate or the [Democratic/Republican] Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

Republican	42%
Democrat	
(No answer)	12

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

D1. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

Republican	15%
Leaning toward Republican	
Independent	
Leaning toward Democrat	
Strongly Democrat	19
Other	

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

Yes	62%
No	21

D3. What is your religious preference? Do you consider yourself:

almost

	Christian	72%
	Jewish	2
	Muslim	*
	Buddhist	1
	Hindu	*
	Other religion	6
	No religious preference	
	Agnostic	
	Atheist	
	(No answer)	
_	CHRISTIAN"] Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' o	or evangelical?
	, ,	
	Yes	22%*
	No	
	No opinion	
	(No answer)	
D4. H	GION" IN QUESTION D3] Iow often do you attend church or attend religious week, about once a month, seldom, or never? Once a week	
D5. A	age	
	18-29	28 26
D6. E	ducation level (categorical)	
	Less than High School	

	Some College	28
	College Graduate	
D7. Ra	ace/Ethnicity	
	White, Non-Hispanic	79%
	Black, Non-Hispanic	9
	Other, Non-Hispanic	
	Hispanic	
	-	
D8. Ge	ender	
	Male	
	Female	54
D9. R	egion	
D). K	Cgion	
	Northeast	18%
	Midwest	
	South	
	West	22