PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll:
Americans on the War with Iraq

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: March 22-25, 2003
Margin of Error: +/- 3.5%
Sample Size: 795 respondents

Q1. Here are five foreign policy problems that the US is facing these days. Thinking about the long term, please select the one that you feel is the most important. [order randomized; question repeated with remaining problems until all rated.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Response</th>
<th>Mean Rating</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The situation in Iraq ........................................52% 1.88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Osama bin Laden’s terrorist group al Q’aeda ............20 2.48</td>
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<td>The situation with North Korea .........................15 2.87</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Israeli-Palestinian conflict ........................7 3.77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tension with our European allies .......................6 3.99</td>
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<tr>
<td>(No answer).....................................................1</td>
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Q2. Overall, how well do you think the US government is managing its 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.

| Negative (0-4) ..............................................29% |
| Neutral....................................................16 |
| Positive (6-10).............................................54 |
| (No answer)..................................................1 |

Mean.......................................................5.71

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.

| Negative (0-4) ..............................................52% |
| Neutral....................................................19 |
| Positive (6-10).............................................25 |
| (No answer)..................................................4 |

Mean.......................................................4.10
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.

- Negative (0-4) ........................................ 48%
- Neutral .................................................. 20
- Positive (6-10) ........................................ 27
- (No answer) .............................................. 2

Mean ..................................................... 4.31

Q5. How well do you think the U.S government 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...The situation with Iraq [randomize order]

- Negative (0-4) ........................................ 22%
- Neutral .................................................. 8
- Positive (6-10) ........................................ 68
- (No answer) .............................................. 2

Mean ..................................................... 6.77

Q6. As you may know, President Bush did not get UN Security Council authorization to invade, but decided to invade Iraq nonetheless. How do you feel about this decision?

- I agree with the decision ......................... 54%
- I do not agree with the decision .............. 23
- I do not agree with the decision, but I still support the President ..................... 21
- (No answer) .............................................. 2

Q7. There is some debate about whether the US should seek to punish those countries on the UN Security Council that did not support the US position on going to war with Iraq. [Some/others] say that, given how much the US has done for these countries and the importance of this vote for the US, the US should find economic and diplomatic ways to punish them. [Some/others] say that these countries have a legitimate right to vote the way they see fit, and seeking to punish them will be seen as high-handed and further damage US relations with the world. Do you think the US should or should not seek to punish those countries that did not support the US position?

- Should seek to punish those countries ....... 25%
- Should not seek to punish those countries .... 72
- (No answer) .............................................. 3
Q8. Do you favor or oppose the US going to war with Iraq?

- Favor strongly ........................................ 39%
- Favor somewhat ..................................... 27
- Oppose somewhat .................................. 18
- Oppose strongly .................................... 14
- (No answer) ........................................... 2

Q9. How do you feel about the decision to go to war with Iraq without UN Security Council authorization? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being certain that it was the wrong decision, 10 being certain that it was the right decision, and 5 being unsure.

- Certain, wrong decision (0-4) ............... 27%
- Unsure (5) ........................................ 11
- Certain, right decision (6-10) ............... 59
- (No answer) ......................................... 3

Mean ...................................................... 6.32

Q10. As compared with the average American, would you say you are more or less supportive of the US going to war with Iraq?

- More supportive than the average American..... 62%
- Less supportive than the average American...... 33
- (No answer) ........................................... 6

Q11. Thinking about how all the people in the world feel about the US going to war with Iraq, do you think:

- The majority of people favor it ............... 31%
- The majority of people oppose it, OR........ 35
- Views are evenly balanced .................... 31
- (No answer) ......................................... 3

Q12. If a majority of the people in the world do oppose the US war with Iraq, how much of a problem do you think this is for the US?

- A big problem ....................................... 25%
- Somewhat of a problem .......................... 48
- Not much of a problem ............................ 22
- No problem at all ................................... 4
- (No answer) ......................................... 2
Q13. As you may know, there is a controversy about whether in combat situations like Iraq, the US should fire artillery shells that contain depleted uranium. Proponents say that such shells are especially effective against tanks and other hardened targets, and could thus save US lives. Opponents say that because the depleted uranium releases radioactive particles on impact, using the shells is too great a health risk for US troops and Iraqi noncombatants. Do you think the US should or should not use artillery shells with depleted uranium?

Should use .................................................. 31%
Should not use ............................................. 60
(No answer) .................................................. 9

Q14. Once Saddam Hussein’s government is toppled and hostilities have ceased, do you think the US will or will not have the responsibility to remain in Iraq as long as necessary until there is a stable government?

Yes, will .................................................... 85%
No, will not ............................................... 12
(No answer) .................................................. 3

Q15. Do you think the US should:

Try to limit the number of deaths of Iraqi civilians, even if this would mean the war would last longer ......................... 63%

Try to get the war over as soon as possible, even if this would mean that there would be more deaths of Iraqi civilians ................... 32

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

Q16. How long do you think it will take to establish a stable government in Iraq after the end of hostilities? [Please enter only one number, either of months or of years]

1 year or less ............................................. 27%
13 months to 2 years ................................. 22
25 months to 5 years ................................. 29
More than 5 years ................................. 11
(No answer) ............................................. 11

Median (months) ................................. 24

Q17. How important do you think it is to bring democracy to Iraq?

Very important ............................................. 52%
Somewhat important ............................. 34
Not very important ............................... 8
Not important at all ............................... 4
(No answer) ............................................. 3
Q18. Five years from now, do you think it is more likely that Iraq will:

- have a democratic government .................. 63%
- not have a democratic government ............ 33
- (No answer) ......................................... 4

Q19. Five years from now, do you think it is more likely that Iraq will:

- have a stable government ......................... 67%
- be unstable and chaotic ........................... 28
- (No answer) ......................................... 4

Q20. Once Saddam Hussein’s government is toppled and all hostilities have ceased, who do you think should be in charge of governing Iraq until a new Iraqi government is established?

- The US .............................................. 30%
- The UN .............................................. 52
- Other, specify (detailed below) ................. 14
  - The Iraqi people ........................................ 4
  - Coalition countries who fought the war .... 3
  - Iraqis selected by the US.......................... 1
  - Iraqi opposition in exile .......................... 1
  - Others ................................................. 4
- (No answer) ......................................... 5

Q21. 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 ..................................... 26
- About the same as before the war .............. 41
- (No answer) ......................................... 3

Q22. Do you think that the fact that the US has gone to war with Iraq makes it more likely, makes it less likely, or has no effect on the likelihood that North Korea will make nuclear weapons?

- Makes it a lot more likely .......................... 22%
- Makes it a little more likely ....................... 23
- Has no effect ........................................ 38
- Makes it a little less likely ....................... 12
- Makes it a lot less likely ............................ 2
- (No answer) ......................................... 4
Q23. What about Iran?

- Makes it a lot more likely ....................... 15%
- Makes it a little more likely ...................... 26
- Has no effect ......................................... 30
- Makes it a little less likely ....................... 17
- Makes it a lot less likely .......................... 7
- (No answer) ........................................... 5

Q24. When it comes to trying to stop North Korea from making nuclear weapons, which would be better?

- For the US to take the lead ....................... 26%
- For the UN to take the lead ...................... 72
- (No answer) ........................................... 3

Q25. Do you think the US should deal with the government of North Korea primarily by:

- Trying to build better relations ............... 79%
- Pressuring it with implied threats that the US may use military force against it? .... 15
- (No answer) ........................................... 6

Q26. As you may know, the US did not succeed in getting UN Security Council authorization for war against Iraq. Do you think this means that 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 ............................. 37%
- UN will continue to be relevant ................... 58
- (No answer) ........................................... 5

Statement: I would like you to think now about how things will be after the war with Iraq is over. At that time do you think:

Q27. The risk of terrorist attacks against the US will be:

- higher .................................................. 51%
- lower .................................................... 21
- unchanged ............................................ 27
- (No answer) ........................................... 2
Q28. In the Muslim world feelings toward the US will be:

- Better.............................................. 12%
- Worse............................................ 48
- Unchanged.................................. 38
- (No answer)..................................... 2

Q29. For the US to get cooperation from other countries on important international issues in general, it will be:

- Harder .............................................. 37%
- Easier ............................................. 15
- No different................................... 45
- (No answer)..................................... 4

Q30. For the US to get cooperation from other countries in the war on terrorism it will be:

- Harder .............................................. 25%
- Easier ............................................. 29
- No different................................... 44
- (No answer)..................................... 2

Q31. Trying to find a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict will be:

- Harder .............................................. 30%
- Easier ............................................. 16
- No different................................... 50
- (No different)..................................... 4

Q32. Statement: Currently there is some debate about whether the US has the right, without UN approval, to overthrow another government when that government has not first attacked the US. Here are three positions on this issue. Please select the one that is closest to yours, or write your own.

- The US does not have the right to overthrow another government unless it gets UN authorization, in general, but Iraq is a special case........................................... 15%

- The US does not have the right to overthrow another government unless it gets UN authorization, including the case of Iraq................................................. 22

- The US has the right to overthrow another government whether or not it has UN authorization if the US believes doing so is critical for its security........................................ 53

- Other ........................................................................ 3

- (No answer)................................................. 6
Now, turning to the subject of Iran.

Q33. When it comes to trying to ensure 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......................... 32%
- For the UN to take the lead......................... 63%
- (No answer)........................................... 5

Q34. Do you think the US should deal with the government of Iran primarily by:

- Trying to build better relations................. 80%
- Pressuring it with implied threats that the US may use military force against it? ........ 16%
- (No answer)........................................... 4

Q35. You may recall that, as well as Iraq, President Bush has named North Korea and Iran as members of an “axis of evil.” Do you believe that doing this makes it more likely, makes it less likely, or has no effect on the likelihood that North Korea will make nuclear weapons.

- Makes it a lot more likely ......................... 23%
- Makes it a little more likely ....................... 25%
- Has no effect........................................... 44%
- Makes it a little less likely ....................... 3%
- Makes it a lot less likely ......................... 1%
- (No answer)........................................... 5

Q36. What about Iran?

- Makes it a lot more likely ......................... 19%
- Makes it a little more likely ....................... 28%
- Has no effect........................................... 39%
- Makes it a little less likely ....................... 8%
- Makes it a lot less likely ......................... 2%
- (No answer)........................................... 5

Q37. Do you think that in the future the US:

- Should feel more free to use force without UN authorization......................... 29%
- Should not feel more free to use force Without UN authorization ................. 66%
- (No answer)........................................... 5
Demographics (from respondent profile)

Q. Gender

Male ........................................ 49%
Female ...................................... 51

Q. Age (calculated from birth date)

18-29 ...................................... 27%
30-44 ...................................... 24
45-59 ...................................... 26
60+ ........................................ 23

Q. Party Affiliation

Republican ............................. 20%
Lean Republican...................... 9
Independent ............................ 26
Lean Democrat.......................... 6
Democrat ................................. 29
Other ...................................... 5

Q. Education level (collapsed categories)

Less than High School.......... 15%
High School Graduate .......... 33
Some College ......................... 28
College Graduate ................. 25

Q. Region

Northeast ............................. 18%
Midwest ................................. 23
South .................................... 36
West ..................................... 23

Q. Race/Ethnicity

White, non-Hispanic .......... 74%
Black ................................. 11
Hispanic .............................. 11
Other ................................. 5