

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

AMERICANS ON IRAQ: WMD, LINKS TO AL-QAEDA, RECONSTRUCTION

July 1, 2003

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

STEVEN KULL

RESEARCH STAFF

CLAY RAMSAY

STEFAN SUBIAS

PHILLIP WARF

EVAN LEWIS



**PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL
POLICY ATTITUDES (PIPA)**

A joint program of the Center on Policy
Attitudes and the Center for International and
Security Studies at the University of Maryland



**Knowledge
NETWORKS**

A polling, social science, and
market research firm based in
Menlo Park, California

PIPA Board of Advisors		
I.M. Destler University of Maryland	Alan Kay Americans Talk Issues Foundation	Robert Shapiro Columbia University
Gloria Duffy Commonwealth Club	Catherine Kelleher US Naval War College	Fred Steeper Market Strategies
Bill Frenzel Brookings Institution	Anthony Lake Georgetown University	Daniel Yankelovich Public Agenda Foundation
Alexander George Stanford University	Benjamin Page Northwestern University	

The Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) is a joint program of the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland and the Center on Policy Attitudes. PIPA undertakes research on American attitudes in both the public and in the policymaking community toward a variety of international and foreign policy issues. It seeks to disseminate its findings to members of government, the press, and the public as well as academia.

Knowledge Networks is a polling, social science, and market research firm based in Menlo Park, California. Knowledge Networks uses a large-scale nationwide research panel which is randomly selected from the national population of households having telephones and is subsequently provided internet access for the completion of surveys (and thus is not limited to those who already have internet access).

The Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM), at the University of Maryland's School for Public Affairs, pursues policy-oriented scholarship on major issues facing the United States in the global arena. Using its research, forums, and publications, CISSM links the University and the policy community to improve communication between scholars and practitioners.

The Center on Policy Attitudes (COPA) is an independent non-profit organization of social science researchers devoted to increasing understanding of public and elite attitudes shaping contemporary public policy. Using innovative research methods, COPA seeks not only to examine overt policy opinions or positions, but to reveal the underlying values, assumptions, and feelings that sustain opinions.

Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay and Phil Warf designed the questionnaire and wrote the analysis.

Knowledge Network's Stefan Subias adapted the questionnaire and managed the fielding of the poll.

Trent Perrotto, Monika Kacinskiene, Helena Saele, Roman Gershkovich and Batsuuri Haltar contributed to the production of the report.

The search of existing poll data was done with the aid of the Roper POLL database.

This study was made possible by grants from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Ford Foundation.

INTRODUCTION

Although the war with Iraq has been over for two months, it continues to dominate the news. The failure to find evidence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction or evidence of links to al-Qaeda have raised serious questions about whether the administration was being fully truthful when making its case for war and whether the intelligence agencies operated appropriately. Debates have emerged about whether freeing the Iraqi people from violations of their human rights is itself a valid *casus belli*. As the operation in Iraq has faced persistent difficulties and the US continues to take casualties, concerns have arisen about whether the public will sustain support for the operation. Growing voices in Congress are calling for the UN to take a greater role in Iraq reconstruction. New global surveys reveal growing international criticism of US foreign policy in the wake of the Iraq war, prompting debates about whether this should concern the US.

To find out how the American public is feeling about this welter of issues, the Program on International Policy Attitudes and Knowledge Networks conducted a nationwide poll that sought to find out:

- In light of the continuing failure to find evidence of weapons of mass destruction or links to al-Qaeda, does the public feel that the administration was fully truthful in its presentation of the evidence? Does the public support a congressional investigation?
- What are the public's perceptions about whether links to al-Qaeda or WMD have been found?
- How does the public feel about the process of Iraq reconstruction? Are they willing to continue to make the effort in light of economic problems at home? Would they like to see the UN play a bigger role?
- How aware is the public of the level of US troop casualties? Are casualties

affecting support for the continuing operation?

- Has support for the original decision to go to war changed in light of recent events?
- In light of the failure to find evidence of Iraqi WMD or links to al-Qaeda some have argued that large-scale violations of human rights is an adequate basis for military intervention. How does the American public respond to this broader principle?
- How does the public now view the UN, and the question of whether in the future the US needs to get UN approval for using military force?
- What are the public's perceptions of how world public opinion views US foreign policy, or the war with Iraq? How do Americans perceive Europeans' attitudes on these subjects?

PIPA and Knowledge Networks conducted a nationwide poll of 1051 American adults over June 18-25, 2003. The margin of error for the full sample was plus or minus 3-3.5%, depending on whether the question was asked to the full sample or three-quarters of the sample. The poll was fielded using Knowledge Networks' nationwide panel, which is randomly selected from the entire adult population and subsequently provided internet access. For more information about this methodology see page 13, or go to www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.

Funding for this research was provided by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Ford Foundation.

Key findings were:

Weapons of Mass Destruction

A majority now believes that the Bush administration was at least stretching the truth when it presented evidence of Iraq having weapons of mass destruction, though it was not

making false statements. The public is divided on how well the intelligence agencies performed, but a strong majority favors a Congressional investigation. At the same time a majority continues to believe that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction before the war and one in four believe that weapons have even been found.

Links to al-Qaeda

Majorities believe that the administration was at least stretching the truth when it presented evidence of links between Saddam Hussein's government and al-Qaeda. Seven in ten say the administration implied Iraq was involved in 9/11, though only one in four believe this is true. However, a majority believes that there was some link between Iraq and al-Qaeda and a modest majority even believes, incorrectly, that clear evidence of this link has been found.

Iraq Reconstruction

A majority now feels that the rebuilding process in Iraq is not going well. Support for the UN taking the lead in Iraq reconstruction has increased sharply and is now a strong majority. Though the public has a correct awareness of the level of US casualties in Iraq, an overwhelming and stable majority says that the US has the responsibility to remain in Iraq for an extended period.

Perspectives on Iraq War

Two-thirds continue to support the decision to go to war, though just under half do so because they think it was the best thing to do, with the remainder wanting to show support for the president.

Human Rights as Basis for Intervention

As a general principle, an overwhelming majority endorses the idea that the US should be willing to intervene when a government is committing large-scale violations of human rights, even when US security interests are not threatened, but only a small minority supports doing so without broad international approval. An equally large majority perceives the Bush administration as willing to do so, but is divided on whether the administration would be ready to do so without broad international approval.

Support for United Nations

Though the UN was sidelined in the Iraq war and postwar reconstruction, a very strong majority continues to believe that the UN will play an important role in the world, as well as believing that it should take the lead in Iraq reconstruction. A strong majority also believes that in the future the US should continue to seek UN approval before using military force.

Views of World Public Opinion

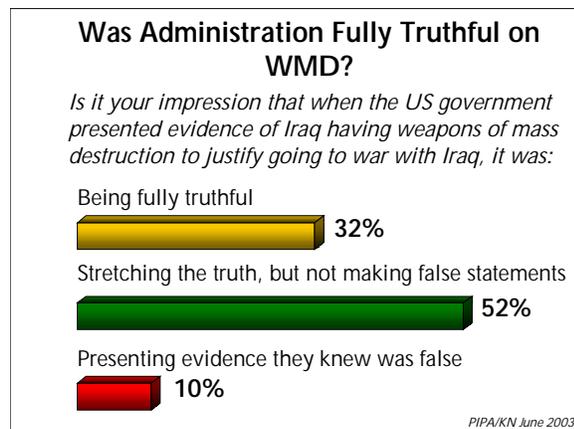
Over the last two months Americans' assumptions about how people in other countries view US foreign policy in general and the war with Iraq have become sharply more negative. A modest majority now believes that world public opinion is critical of US foreign policy in general and many more now assume that others' views of the Iraq war are negative than assume they are positive. Strong majorities believe that it is a problem for the US if a majority of the people in the world oppose the US having gone to war with Iraq.

FINDINGS

Weapons of Mass Destruction

A majority now believes that the Bush administration was at least stretching the truth when it presented evidence of Iraq having weapons of mass destruction. The public is divided on how well the intelligence agencies performed in their prewar assessments, but a strong majority favors a Congressional investigation. At the same time a majority continues to believe that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction before the war and one in four even believes that weapons have been found.

A majority of 62% said that “when the US government presented evidence of Iraq having weapons of mass destruction to justify going to war with Iraq” it was either “stretching the truth, but not making false statements” (52%) or was “presenting evidence they knew was false” (10%). Just 32% said they thought the government was “being fully truthful.”

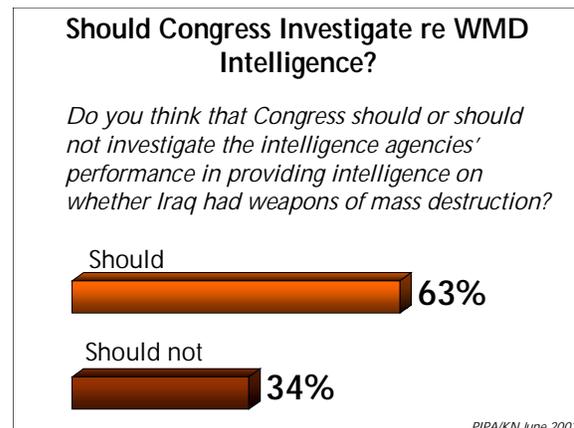


At the same time, a majority would not go so far as to say that the government was being misleading. Asked, “Is it your impression that when the US government presented the evidence to justify going to war with Iraq, it was being misleading or not being misleading?” only 42% said that it was being misleading. This represents no significant change from the 40% who answered this way in the May PIPA/KN poll. A modest majority of 53% said that the government was “not being misleading.”

However, only 48% said they were very certain or somewhat certain of this (18% and 30% respectively). Five percent said they were not certain. Of those who said the government was being misleading, 10% were very certain, 24% somewhat certain and 8% not certain.

The public is divided on how well the intelligence agencies performed “in providing intelligence on whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction.” Fifty-two percent said they performed very well or somewhat well (12% and 40% respectively), while 45% said they performed not very well or not well at all (37% and 8% respectively).

Nonetheless, a strong majority of 63% said that Congress should “investigate the intelligence agencies’ performance in providing intelligence on whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction.” Just 34% said it should not.



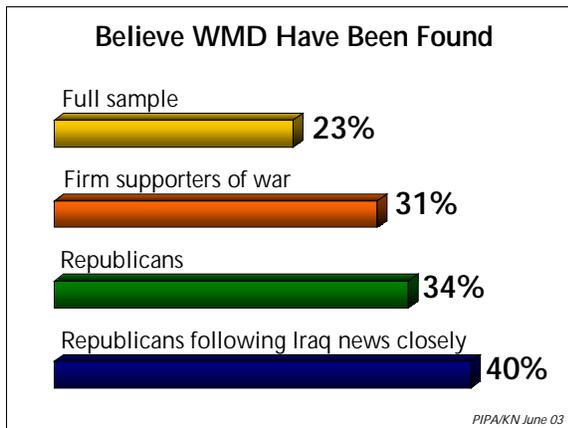
Beliefs About WMD

At the same time, a majority continues to believe that just before the war Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. Respondents were asked to indicate their position 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.” A majority of 58% gave a score above 5, 24% gave a score of 5, and 15% gave a score below 5. The mean score was 6.76. These numbers were essentially the same

as when PIPA/KN last asked this question in May.

One in four even believe, incorrectly, that Iraqi WMD have been found. Asked, “Since the war with Iraq ended, is it your impression that the US has or has not found Iraqi weapons of mass destruction?” 23% said that it has and 73% that it has not. This is actually down sharply from May when 34% thought that the US had found WMD, while 59% said that it had not. Apparently the intense discussion of the issue in the press is making an impact on the public.

In certain subgroups this misperception was more widespread. Among those who thought the decision to go to war was the best thing to do (46% of the sample), 31% believed that WMD have been found. Among Republicans, 34% said that WMD have been found and, curiously, among Republicans who said they were following the news on Iraq very closely 40% assumed that WMD had been found. This suggests that this misperception is to some extent motivated by a desire to avoid cognitive dissonance between the respondent’s support for the war and the president and the fact that WMD have not been found.



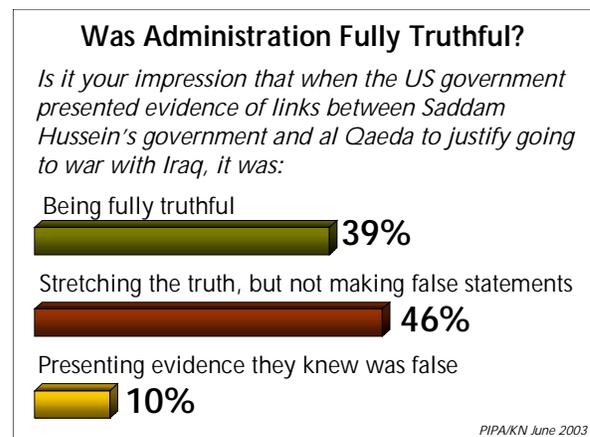
There was a strong relationship between the belief that weapons have been found and the belief that the Bush administration was fully truthful before the war when presenting evidence of Iraqi WMD. Among those who believed the Bush administration had been fully truthful, 36% believed WMD have been found. But among those who felt that the Bush

administration had been stretching the truth just 16% believed WMD have been found, and among those who believed that the administration had presented evidence it knew was false just 15% believed WMD have been found.

Links to al-Qaeda

Majorities believe that the administration was at least stretching the truth when it presented evidence of links between Saddam Hussein’s government and al-Qaeda. Seven in ten say the administration implied Iraq was involved in 9/11, though only one in four believe this is true. However, a majority believes that there was some link between Iraq and al-Qaeda and a modest majority even believes, incorrectly, that clear evidence of this link has been found.

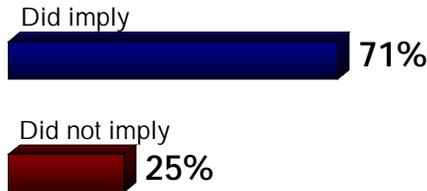
A majority of 56% said that “when the US government presented evidence of links between Saddam Hussein’s government and al-Qaeda to justify going to war with Iraq” it was either “stretching the truth, but not making false statements” (46%) or was “presenting evidence they knew was false” (10%). Just 39% said they thought the government was “being fully truthful.”



Asked, “Do you think that the Bush administration did or did not imply that Iraq under Saddam Hussein was involved in the September 11th attacks?” a very strong 71% said that it did, while 25% said it did not.

Did Administration Imply Iraq Involved in September 11?

Do you think the Bush administration did or did not imply that Iraq under Saddam Hussein was involved in the September 11th attacks?



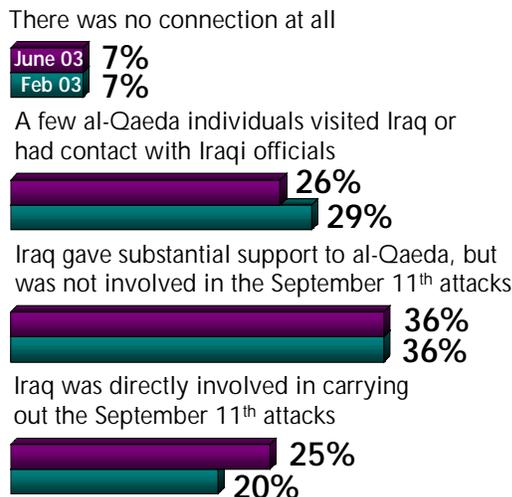
PIPA/KN June 03

Most of these believe that Bush was being misleading in making this implication. Asked what is “the best description of the relationship between the Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein and the terrorist group al-Qaeda,” only 25% said they thought “Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September 11th attacks.”

However, a clear majority does appear to believe that there was a significant link between Iraq and al-Qaeda. When asked what is “the best description of the relationship between the Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein and the

Perceptions of Relationship Between Iraq and al-Qaeda

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.



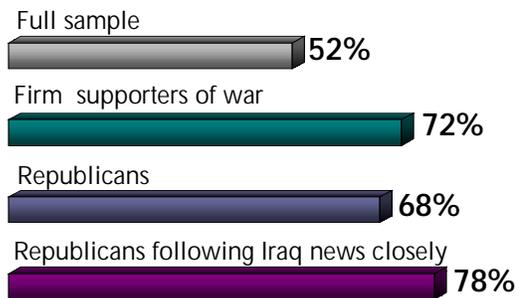
PIPA/KN June 03

terrorist group al-Qaeda,” 36% said “Iraq gave substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was not involved in the September 11th attacks.” Together with the 25% who said they thought “Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September 11th attacks,” 61% said there was a significant link. Just 33% characterized the association as being more minimal, with 26% saying “a few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials” and 7% saying there was no connection at all.

Beliefs About Evidence of Links

Perhaps most striking, a modest majority even believes--incorrectly--that clear evidence of this link has been found. Asked, “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?” 52% said that the US has found evidence, while just 43% said that it has not.

Believe Evidence of Close Links to al-Qaeda Found



PIPA/KN June 03

There was a very strong relationship between the belief that evidence for links have been found and the belief that the Bush administration was fully truthful before the war when presenting evidence of a link between Saddam Hussein’s Iraq and al-Qaeda. Among those who believed the Bush administration had been fully truthful, 84% believed evidence of links have been found. But among those who felt that the Bush administration had been stretching the truth, just 40% believed evidence has been found, and among those who believed that the administration had presented evidence they

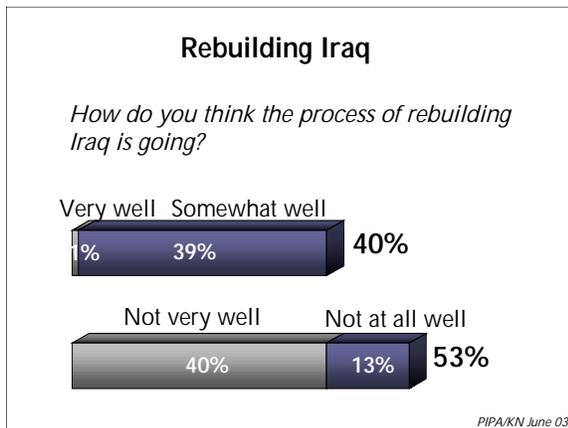
knew was false, just 13% believed that evidence has been found.

Here again it appears that this misperception may to some extent be motivated by a desire to avoid cognitive dissonance. Among those thought the decision to go to war was the best thing to do (46% of the sample), 72% thought that clear evidence of close links have been found. Among Republicans 68% believed evidence has been found, and among Republicans who say they follow news on Iraq very closely 78% believed that evidence has been found.

Iraq Reconstruction

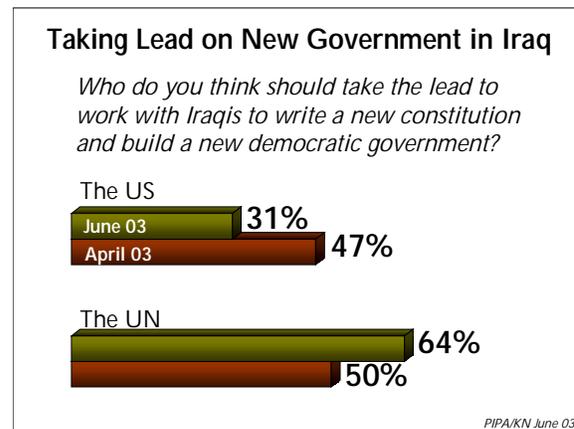
A majority now feels that the rebuilding process in Iraq is not going well. Support for the UN taking the lead in Iraq reconstruction has increased sharply and is now a strong majority. Though the public has a correct awareness of the level of US casualties in Iraq, an overwhelming and stable majority says that the US has the responsibility to remain in Iraq for an extended period.

A majority now feels that the rebuilding process in Iraq is not going well. Fifty-three percent described the process as going “not very well” (40%) or “not at all well” (13%), while just 40% described it as going “somewhat well” (39%) or “very well” (1%). This appears to be a new development, as polls from other organizations conducted in May found majorities saying that the operation was going well. This movement is consistent with the finding that 51% said that

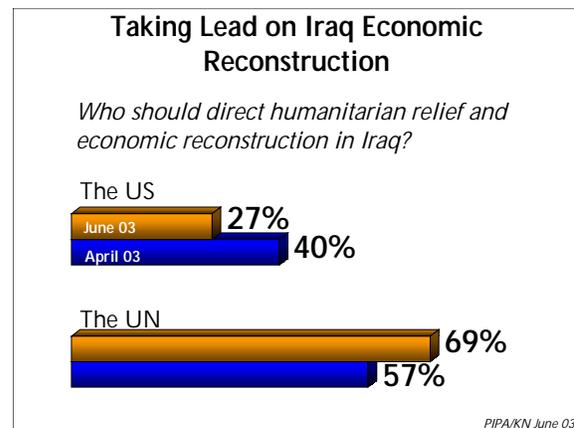


they are following the news about the situation in Iraq very (11%) or fairly (40%) closely.

Perhaps in response to these perceived difficulties in the reconstruction process, the last two months has seen sharp growth in the numbers of Americans wanting to see the UN take a leadership role. The percentage saying that the UN should “take the lead to work with Iraqis to write a new constitution and build a new democratic government” has jumped 14%-- from 50% in April to 64% today. Those choosing the US to take the lead dropped to just 31%, from 47% in April.



Similarly, those saying the UN “should direct humanitarian relief and economic reconstruction in Iraq” are now a very strong 69%—up from 57% in April. Those saying the US should do so is down to 27% from 40% in April.



The difficulties faced in Iraq may also explain why the large majority saying that President

Bush is showing strong leadership in dealing with the situation in Iraq has eroded somewhat. Those who say the president is showing very strong leadership have dropped from 53% in May to 35% in June. Those saying he is showing very or somewhat strong leadership is still high—65%—though down from 74% in May.

Fatalities and Support for the Operation

Americans show a fairly accurate perception of the level of US troop fatalities. Asked to give their impression of “about how many American soldiers... have been killed by hostile fire in Iraq since the fall of Baghdad on April 9 up to the present,” the median estimate was 40. This is quite close to the actual number of US deaths in postwar Iraq from hostile fire over that period—46. Likewise, the public’s median estimate of combat deaths from the beginning of the war to the fall of Baghdad—100 deaths—is fairly correct. The Pentagon’s official figure is 87. (Source: Reuters, according to official Pentagon figures.)

Public's Perception of Iraq Casualties

About how many American soldiers do you think were killed by hostile fire in Iraq:

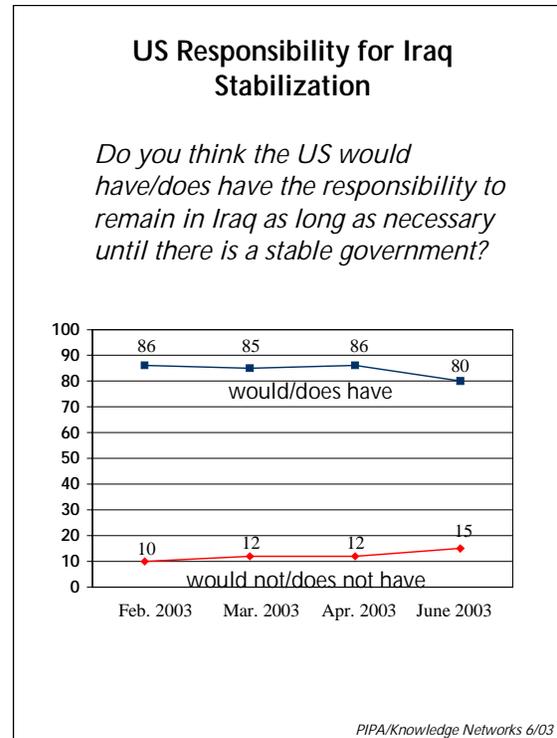
from the beginning of the war on March 17 to the fall of Baghdad on April 9

Median estimate: 100 Pentagon figure: 87

since the fall of Baghdad on April 9 up to the present

Median estimate: 40 Pentagon figure: 46

Despite this awareness of troop fatalities and the perception that Iraq reconstruction is not going very well, the public is showing overwhelming support for the operation. Eighty percent said the US has “the responsibility to remain in Iraq as long as necessary until there is a stable government.” This is down only slightly from the 86% that answered this way in April.



Perhaps most striking, there was no relationship between support for the operation and the perceived number of fatalities. Even respondents whose estimate of fatalities was substantially higher showed the same level of support. This suggests that increased fatalities alone will not drive down support for the operation.

Americans show a readiness to invest resources in the reconstruction effort, even when reminded of the tradeoff with priorities at home. Presented two statements, only 32% endorsed the one that said, “We shouldn’t spend money on rebuilding Iraq when we have so many problems here at home,” while 65% endorsed the statement “It would be unwise and immoral for the US to overthrow the government of Iraq and then just leave.” This result is down slightly from when the question was asked in April (24% to 73% respectively).

The public is also not assuming that the operation will be short-lived. Asked to estimate how long US troops will have to remain in Iraq, the median estimate was two years. This is the same answer that PIPA/KN found in March and

April 2003 when it asked how long it would take to establish a stable government in Iraq.

Perspectives on Iraq War

Two-thirds continue to support the decision to go to war, though just under half do so because they think it was the best thing to do, with the remainder wanting to show support for the president.

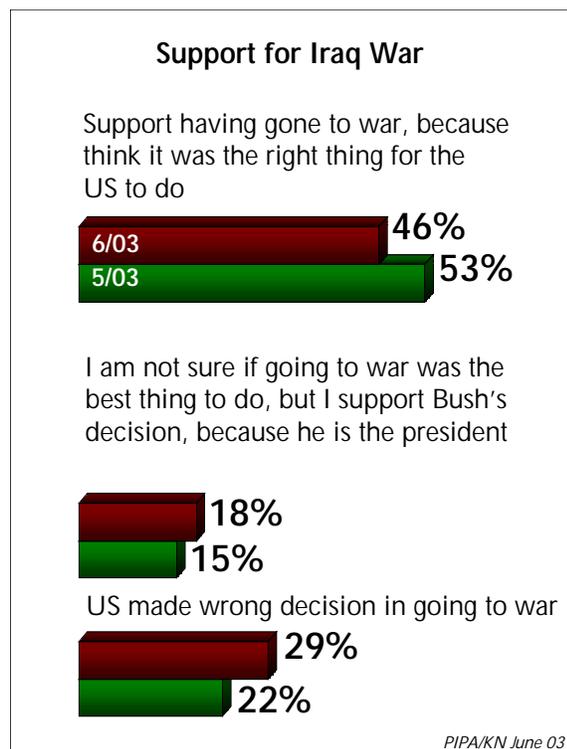
About two-thirds (65%) continue to say that the US made the right decision in going to war with Iraq (down from 68% in May) while 29% say that it was the wrong decision (up from 22% in May).

A large portion of those who say they approve of the decision continue to say that their approval is based on their desire to support the president rather than their belief that it was the best policy decision. Asked a follow-on question, 18% (of the full sample) said, “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.” Just under half—46%--said they “support having gone to war, because I think it was the best thing for the US to do.” This is slightly down from

53% in May. These responses represent also no significant change from when Gallup, Pew and others asked this question during the war.

When respondents were given more fine-grained options for expressing their view of the decision to go to war support was somewhat lower, as more chose a neutral position. Respondents asked to rate their degree of confidence in the decision to go to war on a scale from -5 (meaning “certain it was the wrong decision”) to +5 (meaning “certain it was the right decision”), and 0 meaning unsure. A modest majority of 54% gave a positive score, 30% gave a negative score, and 15% were unsure.

Most of those who express the most solid support for the decision to go to war also say that their views would not be influenced if weapons of mass destruction are never found. The above-mentioned 46%--who said that they supported the decision to go to war because it was the best thing to do--were asked how they would feel if “after further investigations US intelligence agencies conclude that Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction.” Forty-three percent (of the whole sample) said they would still approve of the decision.



Human Rights as Basis for Intervention

As a general principle, an overwhelming majority endorses the idea that the US should be willing to intervene when a government is committing large-scale violations of human rights, even when US security interests are not threatened, but only a small minority supports doing so without broad international approval. An equally large majority perceives the Bush administration as willing to do so, but is divided on whether the administration would be ready to do so without broad international approval.

Given the government’s failure to find weapons of mass destruction or significant links to al-Qaeda, there has been much recent discussion about whether ending the severe violations of Iraqis’ human rights committed by Saddam Hussein’s regime constitutes an appropriate justification for invading Iraq, even if there was no significant and direct threat to US national

security interests. If so, this would be an interesting reversal from the administration’s security doctrine at an earlier stage—that a threat to US security was a prerequisite for any major use of force.

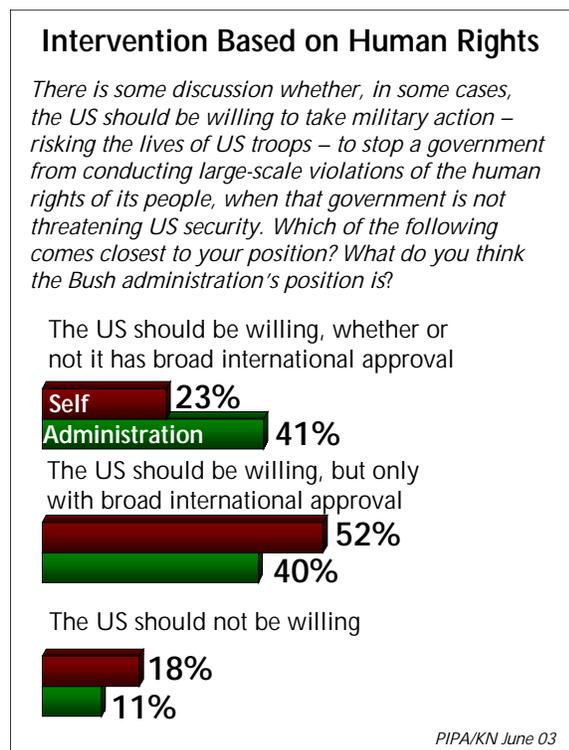
To introduce this broader issue, respondents were told: “There is some discussion whether, in some cases, the US should be willing to take military action—risking the lives of US troops—to stop a government from conducting large-scale violations of the human rights of its people, when that government is not threatening US security.” They were then given three response options—two of which endorsed the idea in principle. An overwhelming 75% chose one of these options and just 18% rejected the idea.

However, not unlike the public’s views of using military force against Iraq, over two-thirds of those who supported the idea of using military force to stop human rights abuses (52% of the whole sample) said this should only be done with “broad international approval.” Just 23% of the whole sample thought the US should be willing to do so whether or not there was broad international approval.

Respondents were then asked what they thought was the position of the Bush administration on this issue. An equally large majority—81%—thought the administration was willing to undertake such an intervention; but this majority was divided on whether the administration would be ready to do so without broad international approval. Forty-one percent of the whole sample thought the administration would be willing to intervene whether or not there was broad international approval, while 40% thought the administration would only do so with international approval. Only 11% thought the administration would not take military action in such a circumstance without a US security threat.

Support for United Nations

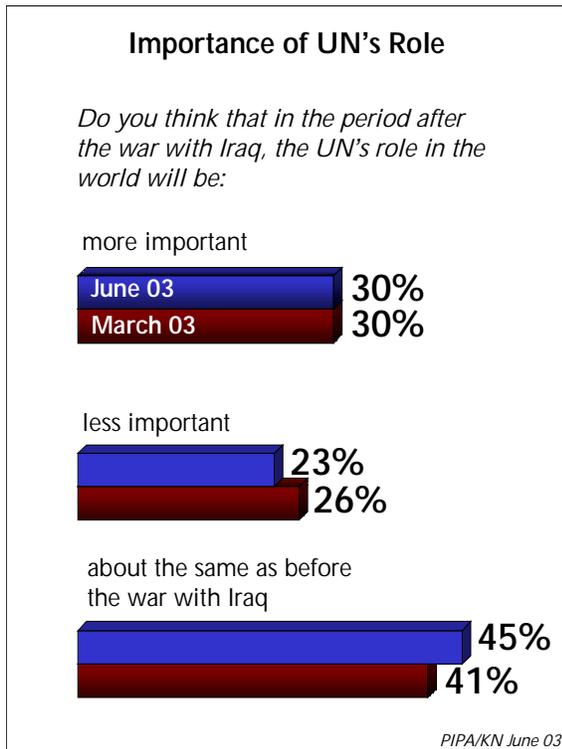
Though the UN was sidelined in the Iraq war and postwar reconstruction, a very strong majority continues to believe that the UN will play an important role in the world, as well as believing that it should take the lead in Iraq reconstruction. A strong majority also believes that in the future the US should continue to seek UN approval before using military force.



The fact that the United Nations was sidelined in the final decision to go to war in Iraq and in the process of Iraq reconstruction has led to speculation that the public may now view the United Nations as a significantly less significant factor in international affairs. As noted above, those wanting the UN, rather than the US, to take the lead in postwar Iraq have grown to a strong majority, with 64% wanting the UN to take the lead on building a new government (up from 50% in April) and 69% wanting the UN to take the lead on economic reconstruction (up from 57%).

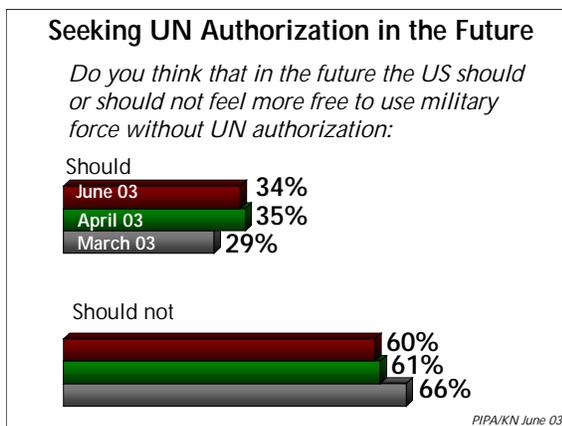
Furthermore, when asked broader questions about the significance of the UN there was no indication of a widespread belief that the UN had declined in importance. Asked about “the period after the war with Iraq,” only 23% thought the UN would be less important (down from 26% when the same question was asked in March). Seventy-five percent said that “in the UN would either be “more important” (30%) or

that its importance would be “about the same as before the war with Iraq” (45%).



Likewise, 63% thought the UN “will continue to be relevant to matters of war and peace” (up from 58% in March); 30% thought it would not be relevant.

There also continues to be no indication that the fact that the US used military force against Iraq without UN approval has created a precedent for not seeking it in the future. Sixty percent said



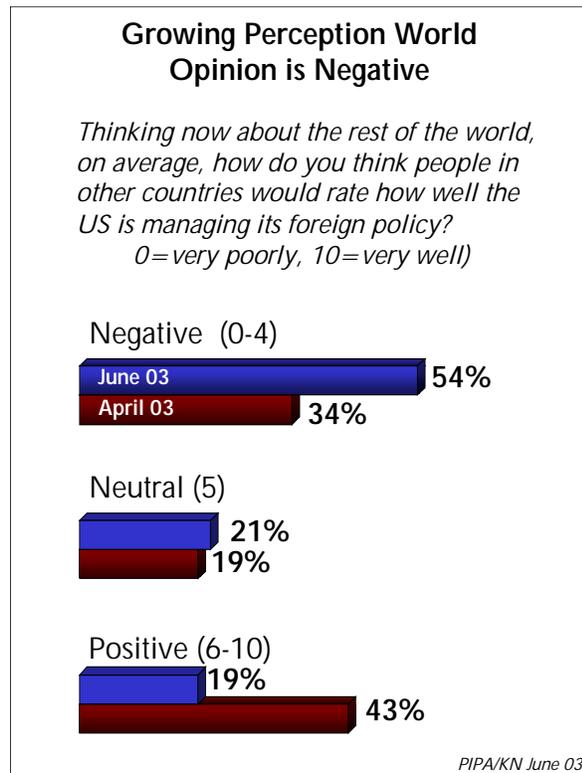
the US “should not feel more free to use military force without UN authorization,” while 34% said the US should. This is almost identical to results in April (61% should not, 35% should), though slightly lower than in March (66% to 29%).

Two poll questions asked by the Pew Research Center in May did find some sharp shifts in views on the UN. Apparently these were declines in perceptions of the UN’s influence in the wake of the failure to be the central forum for decision making on the Iraq war. When Pew asked in March, “Does the current controversy over what to do about Iraq show that the United Nations still plays an important role in dealing with international conflicts, or does it show that the United Nations is not so important anymore?” 54% said it was still important. When the same question, in a retrospective form, was asked in May, those saying “still important” dropped to 34%--presumably an assessment that in the context of the Iraq controversy, the UN had failed to play an important role. Pew also found a sharp drop from 72% to 43% of those who said the UN was a good influence on the way things are going in the US--perhaps due to a mix of those who were assessing its recent lack of influence and those who resented opposition to US efforts in the UN Security Council. In any case, the trend line questions discussed in this section suggest that these assessments of recent developments do not reflect a fundamental shift in support for the UN playing a key role in international affairs.

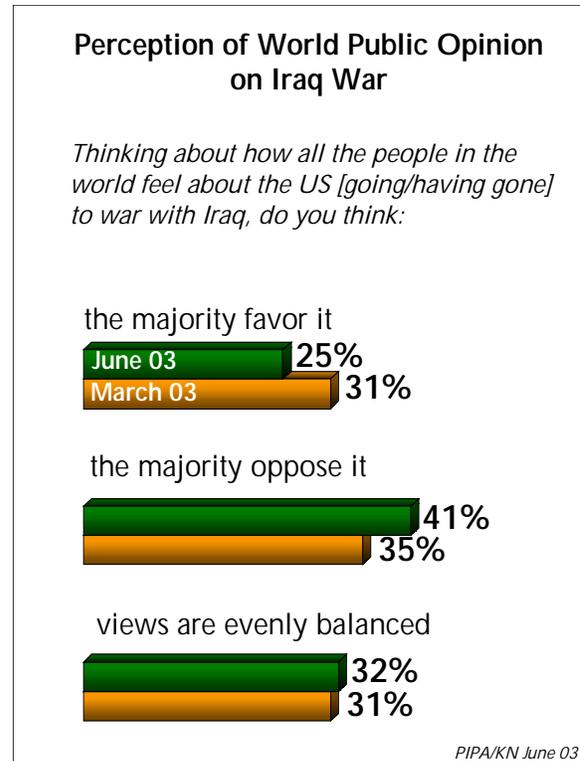
Views of World Public Opinion

Over the last two months Americans’ assumptions about how people in other countries view US foreign policy in general and the war with Iraq have become sharply more negative. A modest majority now believes that world public opinion is critical of US foreign policy in general and many more now assume that others’ views of the Iraq war are negative than assume they are positive. Strong majorities believe that it is a problem for the US if a majority of the people in the world oppose the US having gone to war with Iraq.

At frequent intervals PIPA/KN asks respondents how they think “people in other countries would rate how well the US is managing its foreign policy.” In April, shortly after the fall of Baghdad, the largest percentage--43%-- thought people in other countries would give a positive rating; 34% thought they would give a negative rating; and 19% assumed a neutral rating. In the current poll, those thinking people in other countries would give a positive rating dropped 24 percentage points to 19%, while those assuming a negative rating has jumped by 20 percentage points to a majority of 54%.



When asked to think about “how all the people in the world feel about the US having gone to war with Iraq,” perceptions have also moved in a negative direction, but to a lesser extent. While in April those believing that views were negative, positive, or evenly balanced were within several percentage points of each other, now 41% believe that the majority of people oppose the US going to war with Iraq, 25% assume they favor it and 32% assume that views are evenly balanced.



Asked, “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 very large majority—71% said it would be a “big problem” (22%) or “somewhat of a problem” (49%). Only 28% saw it as being “not much of a problem” (24%) or “no problem at all” (4%).

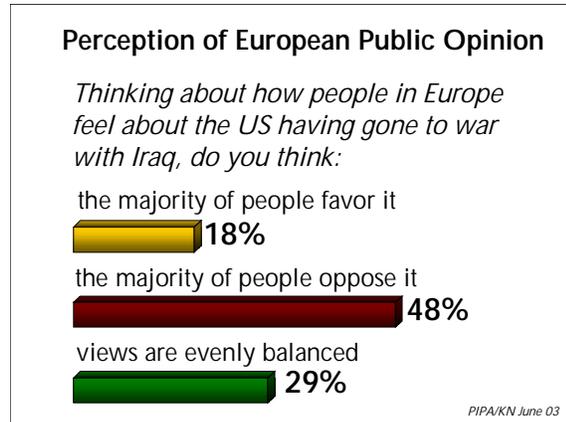
Views of European Public Opinion

When the same questions were asked about European opinion, there was the same pattern of rising perceptions of criticism. However, as compared to perceptions of the world, smaller percentages perceive Europeans as critical of US foreign policy in general, while larger percentages view Europeans as critical of the Iraq war.

The number of those who think people in countries that are “our European allies” would give a positive rating to US foreign policy has dropped 13 points, from 38% in April to 25% now. Perceived negative ratings, though, have only risen five points from 37% to 42%, and

those perceiving a neutral rating of 5 have risen from 19% to 23%.

In this poll PIPA/KN asked respondents, for the first time, to assess “how people in Europe feel about the US having gone to war with Iraq.” A definite plurality of 48% said that the majority of Europeans opposed it, while 18% said a majority favored it and 29% said views are evenly balanced.



Two-thirds (66%) said that if a majority of Europeans were opposed, this would be “a big problem” or “somewhat of a problem” (15% and 51% respectively).

APPENDIX

Attitudes of Independent Likely Voters

From a political perspective, Americans who are not identified with either political party and are likely to vote form a key demographic group—the group that may constitute the swing vote in elections. To identify this group, PIPA/KN asked all respondents whether they had voted for a House or Senate candidate in November 2002. About half (50.5%) said they had voted. Out of this group, those who described themselves as independents made up 12% of the full sample. Listed below are the cases in which the independent likely voters (ILVs) were significantly different from the rest of the sample, and the direction of the views of the ILVs relative to the full sample.

Weapons of Mass Destruction

More likely to feel the government stretched the truth in presenting its case on Iraqi WMD or was presenting evidence they knew was false

- ILVs 72%
- Full sample 62%

More likely to say intelligence agencies did not perform well

- ILVs 57%
- Full sample 46%

Less likely to think that Iraq had WMDs before the war

- ILVs 47%
- Full sample 58%

Less likely to think Iraqi WMD have been found

- ILVs 13%
- Full sample 23%

Links to al-Qaeda

Less likely to believe US found evidence of links to al-Qaeda

- ILVs 48%
- Full sample 52%

Iraq Reconstruction

More likely to say Iraq rebuilding is not going well

- ILVs 68%
- Full sample 53%

More likely to say that it would be unwise and immoral for the US to pull out of Iraq now

- ILVs 79%
- Full sample 65%

More likely to want the UN to take the lead in building a new government in Iraq

- ILVs 78%
- Full sample 64%

More likely to want the UN to direct economic reconstruction

- ILVs 82%
- Full sample 69%.

Perspectives on Iraq War

Less likely to approve of decision to go to war with Iraq

- ILVs 54%
- Full sample 65%

United Nations

More likely to say the US should not feel more free in future to use force without UN authorization

- ILVs 74%
- Full sample 60%

Views of World Public Opinion

More likely to think that the majority of people in other countries would give a negative rating of US foreign policy

- ILVs 67%
- Full sample 54%

More likely to think that the majority of Europeans would give a negative rating to US foreign policy

- ILVs 59%
- Full sample 48%

More likely to think that a majority of Europeans oppose Iraq war

- ILVs 65%
- Full sample 48%

METHODOLOGY

The poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks, a polling, social science, and market research firm in Menlo Park, California, with a randomly selected sample of its large-scale nationwide research panel. This panel is itself randomly selected from the national population of households having telephones and subsequently provided internet access for the completion of surveys (and thus is not limited to those who already have internet access). The distribution of the sample in the web-enabled panel closely tracks the distribution of United States Census counts for the US population on age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, geographical region, employment status, income, education, etc.

The panel is recruited using stratified random-digit-dial (RDD) telephone sampling. RDD provides a non-zero probability of selection for every US household having a telephone. Households that agree to participate in the panel are provided with free Web access and an Internet appliance, which uses a telephone line to connect to the Internet and uses the television as a monitor. In return, panel members participate in surveys three to four times a month. Survey responses are confidential, with identifying information never revealed without respondent approval. When a survey is fielded to a panel member, he or she receives an e-mail indicating that the survey is available for completion. Surveys are self-administered.

For more information about the methodology, please go to:

www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp