

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

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

0	11%	8
1	4	4
2	8	6
3	6	5
4	5	5
5	14	16
6	7	8
7	10	11
8	15	15
9	9	9
10	8	9
(No answer).....	3	5
Negative (0-4).....	33%	28
Neutral (5)	14	16
Positive (6-10)	49	52
(No answer).....	3	5
Mean	5.39	5.68
Median.....	6	6

Q2b. The Israel-Palestinian conflict

6/03

0	9%	8
1	3	3
2	6	6
3	7	7
4	8	8
5	18	20
6	8	9
7	11	9
8	14	12
9	6	4
10	4	6
(No answer).....	7	7
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

		6/03
0	10%	8
1	3	4
2	7	6
3	8	5
4	7	7
5	19	20
6	8	11
7	11	7
8	10	11
9	5	5
10	3	7
(No answer).....	8	11
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.

		6/03
0	14%	12
1	4	5
2	12	14
3	13	11
4	13	12
5	21	21
6	8	7
7	6	5
8	4	5
9	1	1
10	2	2
(No answer).....	3	5
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.

		6/03
0	10%	9
1	4	4
2	8	8
3	11	10
4	13	11
5	20	23
6	11	10
7	11	7
8	4	5
9	1	1
10	2	3
(No answer).....	6	10
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?

		6/03
Very closely	13%	7
Somewhat closely	43	34
Not very closely	28	41
Not closely at all	16	17
(No answer)	1	1

[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?

		6/03	4/03	2/03
Yes, does.....	72%	80	86	86
No, does not.....	25	15	12	10
(No answer)	3	5	2	4

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q11. How do you think the process of rebuilding Iraq is going?

		6/03
Very well	3%	1
Somewhat well	35	39
Not very well	44	40
Not at all well	13	13
(No answer)	5	7

[3/4 SAMPLE A,B,C]

Q12. Six months from now, do you think it is more likely that Iraq will:

		4/03
Have a stable government.....	30%	53
Be unstable and chaotic	65	42
(No answer)	6	4

[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

[3/4 SAMPLE C,D,A]

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 efforts22%	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 reconstruction59	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%	6/03
Did not imply	25	71
(No answer)	8	25
		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.

	6/03
-5	14% 11
-4	3 4
-3	5 7
-2	4 5
-1	3 4
0	14 15
1	4 3
2	5 5
3	12 12
4	11 10
5	25 24
(No answer).....	2 2
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 Iraq59%

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]

	6/03	2/03
There was no connection at all7%	7	7
A few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials35	26	29
Iraq gave substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was not involved in the September 11 th attacks33	36	36
Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September 11 th attacks20	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?

	6/03	5/03
US has21%	23	34
US has not.....76	73	59
(No answer)3	4	7

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

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?

		6/03
US has.....	45%	52
US has not.....	49	43
(No answer)	6	5

[FULL SAMPLE]

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.

		6/03
0	6%	3
1	1	2
2	4	3
3	3	4
4	3	3
5	26	24
6	6	5
7	7	8
8	11	11
9	7	8
10	22	26
(No answer).....	4	3
Did not have (0-4).....	17%	15
Unsure (5)	26	24
Had (6-10).....	53	58
(No answer).....	4	3
Mean	6.42	6.76
Median.....	6	7

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q34. 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?

		6/03
Being misleading	42%	42
Not being misleading.....	52	53
(No answer)	5	5

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?

		6/03	5/03
Right decision	63%	65	68
Wrong decision.....	32	29	22
(No answer)	5	6	10

[IF "right decision"]

Q40a. Which comes closer to your view [order randomized]:

		6/03	5/03
I support having gone to war, because I think it was the best thing for the US to do	45% *	46	53
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	17	18	15
(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:

		6/03
The majority of people favor the US having gone to war.....	24%	25
The majority of people oppose the US having gone to war.....	42	41
Views are evenly balanced	30	32
(No answer)	4	2

[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.....	20%
Should not.....	69
(No answer)	11

[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?

		4/03
For the US to take the lead	32%	39
For the UN to take the lead.....	62	57
(No answer)	7	4

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

		4/03
Trying to build better relations	74%	80
Pressuring it with implied threats that the US may use military force against it.....	21	16
(No answer)	6	4

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	60%
Very likely	14
Somewhat likely	10
Not very likely	15

(No answer) 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

