

# THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

## THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

### PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Americans on Detention, Torture, and the War on Terrorism

#### Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: July 9–15, 2004

Sample Size: 892

Margin of Error: +/- 3.3 % [full sample]

+/- 4.0% [2/3 sample]

+/- 6.7 % [1/4 sample]

#### [FULL SAMPLE]

Q1. The US has signed a number of treaties establishing international laws governing how a country, in the context of armed conflict, must treat an individual it has detained—that is, has captured and is holding. These rules limit what the US can do to detainees and what other countries can do when they detain Americans. Do you favor or oppose having such laws?

Favor .....	88%
Oppose .....	10
(No answer).....	2

#### [2/3 SAMPLE - A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H]

Q2. STATEMENT: Here are some legal requirements for the treatment of detainees that are part of international laws the US has agreed to. Please say whether you favor or oppose having these legal requirements.

#### [RANDOMIZE PRESENTATION OF 2a-2d]

2a. The names of all detainees must be registered and made available to the detainee's government.

Favor .....	92%
Oppose .....	6
(No answer).....	2

2b. Detainees have a right to a hearing in which the government makes its case for why the detainee should be held and the detainee can challenge the government's right to hold him or her.

Favor .....	81%
Oppose .....	17

(No answer).....2

2c. An international humanitarian organization like the Red Cross should have access to the detainee to make sure he or she is being properly treated.

Favor .....	93%
Oppose .....	5
(No answer).....	2

2d. Detainees have the right to communicate their whereabouts to a family member.

Favor .....	77%
Oppose .....	21
(No answer).....	2

Q3. Historically, the laws governing the treatment of detainees have applied to all detainees in an armed conflict. However, recently there has been a debate about whether the laws should apply to captured individuals who are part of a conflict but not conventional soldiers, such as members of the al Qaeda terrorist group.

Some people argue that because such people do not wear uniforms, do not fight in a conventional military fashion, and are not part of a nation that has signed these treaties, when dealing with them the US should not be required to give them the rights provided by the treaties.

Others argue that, legally, the US is required to treat all detainees in a way that is consistent with the treaties and, furthermore, not giving detainees the rights of the treaties would be immoral, set a bad example, hurt America’s image and ultimately weaken the rule of law.

Do you think the US should or should not give captured individuals who are not conventional soldiers the rights provided by the treaties?

Should .....	60%
Should not .....	37
(No answer).....	4

Q4. As you may know, it was recently revealed that the Defense Department in response to a request from the CIA did not register a detainee and held him in secret for seven months. The Defense Department has since said that this should not have been done and has registered that detainee. Do you think it is most likely that:

This was only a one-time occurrence ..... 13%  
 Others have been held secretly without being registered...83  
 (No answer).....4

Q5. As you may know, the Bush administration has taken the position that if the President determines that it is necessary for the war on terrorism, the US has the right to refuse to give a detainee a hearing in front of a neutral judge. However, the Supreme Court has recently ruled that the President does not have the authority to override the US constitutional law that requires all detainees, including non-US citizens, be given a hearing. Do you think the President should or should not have the authority to deny a detainee the right to a hearing?

Should ..... 28%  
 Should not .....68  
 (No answer).....4

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: As you may know there has been a controversy about how the US has treated people being held in a major prison in Iraq called Abu Ghraib.

[2/3 SAMPLE A,B,C,D,I,J,K,L]

Q7. Do you think Donald Rumsfeld should resign or be removed from his job as Secretary of Defense as a result of the Iraqi prisoner scandal, or should he remain as Secretary of Defense?

	<b>PIPA/KN Newsweek</b>	
	<b>7/04</b>	<b>5/04</b>
Yes, be removed.....	35%	30
No, remain as Secretary of Defense.....	59	57
(No answer).....	6	13

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q8. Please just give your impression. What percentage of the people being held at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq were terrorists or insurgents who had attacked US troops or Iraqi civilians?

More than 60% ..... 40%  
 40-60% .....21  
 Less than 40% .....25  
 (No answer).....14  
  
 Mean ..... 59%

Q9. How do you think the way that President Bush has handled the issue of the treatment of detainees in Iraq and Guantanamo Bay will affect the likelihood that you will vote for him in

November? Please answer on a scale of +5 to -5, with +5 meaning that it will greatly increase the likelihood you will vote for the candidate, -5 meaning that it will greatly decrease the likelihood you will vote for the candidate, and 0 meaning that it will have no effect either way.

5.....	11%
4.....	3
3.....	3
2.....	2
1.....	3
0.....	38
-1.....	1
-2.....	5
-3.....	3
-4.....	2
-5.....	26
(No answer).....	2
Increase likelihood (1 to 5).....	22
No effect either way (0).....	38
Decrease likelihood (-5 to -1).....	37
Mean .....	-0.65

Q10. Who do you think would do a better job of dealing with an issue like the treatment of detainees in Iraq and Guantanamo Bay?

President George W. Bush .....	43%
Senator John Kerry .....	45
(No answer).....	12

[2/3 SAMPLE - E,F,G,H,I,J,K,L]

Q11. As you may know, the Eighth Amendment of the US Constitution forbids the government from inflicting cruel and unusual punishments. Do you think that:

The government should be restricted from inflicting cruel and unusual punishments in all cases.....	62%
It is too restrictive to say that the government can never inflict cruel and unusual punishments.....	35
(No answer).....	3

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q14 STATEMENT. The US and most countries in the world have signed a number of conventions—that is, treaties that create international laws--that prohibit certain methods for trying to get information from detainees. Here are some of these prohibitions. For each one please select whether you favor having it or if you think it is too restrictive.

Q14a. Governments should never use physical torture

Favor ..... 66%  
Too restrictive .....30  
(No answer).....4

[IF “TOO RESTRICTIVE”]

Q15a. If another government were to use physical torture against an American it was detaining, would you find this acceptable or unacceptable?

Acceptable..... 5%  
Unacceptable.....24

Q14b. Governments should never threaten physical torture

Favor ..... 48%  
Too restrictive .....48  
(No answer).....4

[IF “TOO RESTRICTIVE”]

Q15b. If another government were to threaten physical torture against an American it was detaining, would you find this acceptable or unacceptable?

Acceptable..... 16%  
Unacceptable.....31  
(No answer).....1

Q14c. Governments should never use mental torture (such as making someone think that they or their family members will be killed)

Favor ..... 55%  
Too restrictive .....41  
(No answer).....4

[IF “TOO RESTRICTIVE”]

Q15c. If another government were to use mental torture against an American it was detaining, would you find this acceptable or unacceptable?

Acceptable.....	16%
Unacceptable.....	24
(No answer).....	0

Q14d. Governments should never use humiliating or degrading treatment

Favor .....	52%
Too restrictive .....	44
(No answer).....	4

[IF “TOO RESTRICTIVE”]

Q15d. If another government were to use humiliating and degrading treatment against an American it was detaining, would you find this acceptable or unacceptable?

Acceptable.....	19%
Unacceptable.....	24
(No answer).....	1

STATEMENT: Currently there is a debate about whether, when it comes to interrogating detainees who are suspected of involvement in terrorism or who might have information that would be useful in the war on terrorism, the US should be able to make exceptions to the legal prohibitions on the treatment of detainees.

Here are some arguments. Please select whether you find them convincing or unconvincing:

[RANDOMLY START WITH A PRO OR CON THEN ALTERNATE BETWEEN THREE OF FOUR PROS AND THREE OF FOUR CONS.]

[PRO]

Q16. Given what we learned from the September 11 attacks, we cannot afford to tie our hands by declaring off limits any method for getting information that could be useful in the war on terrorism.

Convincing .....	52%
Unconvincing.....	44
(No answer).....	4

Q17. Whenever possible, military interrogators should limit themselves to methods that are humane and consistent with international conventions. However, at times, military necessity may call for making exceptions to these rules.

Convincing..... 63%  
Unconvincing.....33  
(No answer).....4

Q18. Because getting information from suspected terrorists could save many innocent people’s lives, it would be immoral to limit ourselves from using whatever method may be useful for getting that information.

Convincing..... 47%  
Unconvincing.....49  
(No answer).....5

Q19. Terrorist groups obviously do not feel obliged to abide by international laws against torture and abuse. So the US should not feel obliged to always be limited by these laws when dealing with terrorists.

Convincing..... 52%  
Unconvincing.....46  
(No answer).....3

[CON]

Q20. Torturing and abusing people are morally wrong. The United States as a great nation, and as a moral leader in the world, should not set a bad example and lower itself by engaging in torture or cruel or degrading treatment.

Convincing..... 75%  
Unconvincing.....21  
(No answer).....4

Q21. Research says that torture and abuse is not an effective way to get information out of people because people will lie just to get the torture to stop. Rather, it is better to use positive incentives.

Convincing..... 66%  
Unconvincing.....30  
(No answer).....4

Q22. Because we often do not know for sure that someone actually has useful information or is in fact a terrorist, if torture or abuse is allowed a significant number of innocent people will end up being tortured or abused.

Convincing..... 70%  
Unconvincing.....26  
(No answer).....4

Q23. If the US makes exceptions to international laws against torture and abuse, other countries and groups will feel freer to make exceptions, thus making it more likely that when Americans are detained they will be tortured or abused.

Convincing..... 75%  
Unconvincing.....21  
(No answer).....4

[2/3 SAMPLE - E,F,G,H,I,J,K,L]

Q25. Do you think that government officials who engage in, or order others to engage in, torture or cruel and humiliating treatment as a way to get information should or should not be tried and punished?

Should ..... 71%  
Should not .....24  
(No answer).....5

[1/4 SAMPLE A,B,C]

SC-1. STATEMENT: Let's say that the US is holding someone prisoner and intelligence sources say that there is a modest chance that this prisoner has some information about a suspected member of a terrorist group, but the prisoner denies having such information. Please select whether you would favor or oppose using each of the following methods as a way of trying to get the prisoner to reveal the information he may have.

[1/4 SAMPLE D,E,F]

SC-2. STATEMENT: Let's say that the US is holding someone prisoner and intelligence sources say that there is a modest chance that this person has some information about a possible terrorist attack on the US that may prove critical to stopping the attack, but this person denies having such information. Please select whether you would favor or oppose using each of the following methods as a way of trying to get the prisoner to reveal the information he may have.

[1/4 SAMPLE G,H,I]

SC-3. STATEMENT: Let's say that the US is holding someone prisoner and intelligence sources say that there is a strong chance that this person has some information about a suspected member of a terrorist group, but the prisoner denies having such information. Please select whether you would favor or oppose using each of the following methods as a way of trying to get the prisoner to reveal the information he may have.

[1/4 SAMPLE J,K,L]

SC-4. STATEMENT: Let's say that the US is holding someone prisoner and intelligence sources say that there is a strong chance that this person has information about a possible terrorist attack on the US that may prove critical to stopping the attack, but this person denies having such information. Please select whether you would favor or oppose using each of the following methods as a way of trying to get the prisoner to reveal the information he may have.

Q26a. Not allowing the detainee to sleep

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	55%	56	55	65
Oppose .....	41	40	37	35
(No answer).....	3	4	8	1

Q26b. Keeping a hood over the detainee's head for long periods of time

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	47%	50	49	56
Oppose .....	49	46	44	43
(No answer).....	4	5	7	1

Q26c. Bombarding the detainee with loud noise for long periods of time

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	43%	48	47	56
Oppose .....	51	49	45	43
(No answer).....	6	3	8	2

Q26d. Threatening to shoot the detainee

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	27%	36	30	34
Oppose .....	68	60	62	63
(No answer).....	5	4	8	3

Q26e. Exposing the detainee to extreme heat or cold

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	28%	31	23	34
Oppose .....	68	65	69	65
(No answer).....	5	4	8	1

Q26f. Withholding food and water

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	33%	34	30	44
Oppose .....	63	63	64	54
(No answer).....	4	3	6	2

Q26g. Punching or kicking the detainee

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	17%	18	9	18
Oppose .....	79	79	84	81
(No answer).....	4	3	8	1

Q26h. Making the detainee go naked

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	21%	28	19	25
Oppose .....	75	69	74	75
(No answer).....	4	3	8	1

Q26i. Holding the detainee's head under water

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	12%	16	8	17
Oppose .....	85	81	87	81
(No answer).....	3	3	6	2

Q26j. Threatening to harm the detainee's family members

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	20%	24	18	28
Oppose .....	77	72	76	71
(No answer).....	3	4	6	1

Q26k. Applying electric shocks to the detainee

	<b>SC-1</b>	<b>SC-2</b>	<b>SC-3</b>	<b>SC-4</b>
Favor .....	14%	20	11	19
Oppose .....	83	76	84	81



[1/3 SAMPLE B,E,H,K]

Q27b. Suppose US military forces have detained an individual in Iraq who they believe may have information about a terrorist group. However, when asked, he refuses to give this information because he says that if he does the terrorists group will hurt him or his family. Would you favor or oppose putting pressure on him by forcing him into a physically stressful position for an extended period of time?

Favor .....	47%
Oppose .....	50
(No answer).....	4

[1/3/SAMPLE C,F,I,L]

Q27c. Suppose US military forces have detained an individual in Iraq who they believe is a member of a terrorist group. However, when asked for information about the terrorist group, he repeatedly refuses to answer. Would you favor or oppose putting pressure on him by forcing him into a physically stressful position for an extended period of time?

Favor .....	47%
Oppose .....	48
(No answer).....	6

[RANDOM TWO THIRDS SAMPLE]

Q28. STATEMENT: Is it your impression that Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld did or did not approve of military interrogators using the following methods as a way of trying to get detainees to reveal information they may have?

[ARO EACH OF THE FOLLOWING: Q28a-Q28d]

Q28a. Keeping a hood over the detainee's head for long periods of time

Did approve.....	55%
Did not approve.....	30
(No answer).....	14

Q28b. Making the detainee go naked

Did approve.....	35%
Did not approve.....	50
(No answer).....	15

Q28c. Using threatening dogs to frighten detainees

Did approve.....	45%
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Did not approve.....40  
(No answer).....14

Q28d. Forcing them to remain in a physically stressful position for an extended period

Did approve..... 55%  
Did not approve.....31  
(No answer).....14

[TWO THIRDS SAMPLE - A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H]

Q29. As you may know there were a number of memos written by lawyers in the Justice Department that presented a legal opinion that in the war on terrorism the international laws against torture and abuse were not fully applicable. Members of the Bush administration have said that these memos were simply opinions and did not impact policy. Others have argued that they set a tone that filtered down into the military and contributed to the abuses that occurred in the Abu Ghraib prison. Do you think that these memos did or did not contribute to what occurred at the Abu Ghraib prison?

Did contribute ..... 51%  
Did not contribute .....37  
(No answer).....12

[2/3 SAMPLE - E,F,G,H,I,J,K,L]

Q30. If a soldier is ordered to take an action against a detainee that the soldier believes is in violation of international law should the soldier have the right to refuse to follow the order or not?

Should ..... 77%  
Should not .....19  
(No answer).....4

Q31-Q37. *Released previously.*

Q38. If the upcoming election for president were held today for whom would you vote:

George W. Bush..... 40%  
John F. Kerry .....44  
Ralph Nader .....4  
(No answer).....12

[ONLY TO THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWER THE ABOVE QUESTION]

Q38a. How sure are you that you will vote this way?

Very sure Bush.....	31%
Somewhat sure Bush.....	6
Not very sure Bush.....	3
Very sure Kerry.....	32%
Somewhat sure Kerry.....	8
Not very sure Kerry .....	3
Very sure Nader .....	2%
Somewhat sure Nader .....	2
Not very sure Nader .....	1
(No answer).....	12

[TO NADER VOTERS ONLY]

Q38b. If Nader does not run or is not on the ballot would you:

Vote for Bush .....	1%
Vote for Kerry .....	2
Write-in Nader .....	2

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

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

Strongly Republican .....	13%
Leaning toward Republican .....	13
Independent.....	27
Leaning toward Democrat .....	15
Strongly Democrat.....	20
Other .....	9

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

Yes .....	58%
No.....	39
(No Answer).....	3

D3. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School .....	16%
High School Graduate.....	32
Some College .....	28
College Graduate .....	24

D4. Gender

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

D5. Region

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