# PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Americans on Iraq & the UN Inspections II

## Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Feb 12-18, 2003 Margin of Error: +/- 2.6% Sample Size: 3,163 respondents Half sample: +/- 3.7%

[The survey was answered by a national sample of 2,186 American adults. An additional 977 provided oversamples for the states of California, Florida, Illinois, New York and Texas. The full sample of 3,163 was weighted so that it is correctly proportional to the geographic distribution of the US population.]

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

All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
First Response					
The situation in Iraq37	31	32	38	32	37
The Israeli-Palestinian conflict6	7	6	8	7	7
The situation with North Korea15	13	18	16	14	16
Osama bin Laden's terrorist group al Q'aeda34	37	35	30	41	32
Tensions with our European allies8	11	8	8	6	8
No Answer1	1	1	1	1	1
Mean ranking All(%)	CA	FL	IL	NY	TX
The situation in Iraq	2.23	2.18	2.12	2.26	2.08
The Israeli-Palestinian conflict	3.82	4.00	3.88	3.77	4.02
The situation with North Korea	2.94	2.78	2.86	2.98	2.82
Osama bin Laden's terrorist group al Q'aeda 2.23	2.24	2.21	2.29	2.04	2.19
Tensions with our European allies	3.74	3.81	3.82	3.93	3.88

Q2. There has been some discussion about whether the US should use its troops to invade Iraq and overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein. Which of the following positions is closest to yours?

	All(%)	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
The US should only invade Iraq with UN approval and the support of its allies	52	51	55	54	49	48
The US should invade Iraq even if we have to go it alone	32	30	32	29	31	36
The US should not invade Iraq	15	17	12	15	19	13
No Answer	2	2	1	3	1	4

[Half sample and all states]

Q3. Imagine that President Bush moves that the UN approve an invasion of Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein, but most of the other members of the UN Security Council want to continue to use threats and diplomatic pressure to get Iraq to comply, and the motion does not pass. President Bush then decides that the US will undertake an invasion of Iraq, even if the US has to do so on its own. Just based on this information, what do you think your attitude would be about this decision?

All I would agree with this decision	( <b>%</b> ) 37				<b>NY</b> 36	
I would not agree with this decision	36	36	32	37	37	28
I would not agree with this decision, but I would still support the President2	25	28	29	29	24	24
No Answer	2	2	1	3	2	3

[Half sample that did not hear Q3 and all states]

Q4. Suppose the United Nations Security Council does not approve of the US invading Iraq, but some U.S. allies such as Great Britain, Australia, Italy and some Eastern European countries support it, while other allies such as Germany, France and Belgium oppose it. In that case would you favor or oppose the US invading Iraq.

	<b>All(%)</b>	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Favor	59	55	65	53	57	66
Oppose	37	41	32	41	40	30
No Answer	4	4	3	6	3	4

#### [Half sample that did not hear Q4]

Q5. Suppose some U.S. allies such as Great Britain, Australia, Italy and some Eastern European countries support invading Iraq, while other allies such as Germany, France and Belgium want to continue the inspections. And suppose the United Nations Security Council votes in favor of continuing inspections rather than invading Iraq. Would you then favor: [rotate]

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
The US invading Iraq	43	*	*	*	*	*
Continuing the inspections	54					
No answer	3					

<sup>\*</sup> sample size too small to yield meaningful results

Q6. Which of the following positions is closest to yours?

All(%	) CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
If the UN were to intensify its efforts by					
tripling the number of inspectors and having					
U-2 fly surveillance flights over Iraq, with					
enough time the UN inspectors would					
eventually find any weapons of mass					
destruction Iraq may have29	31	24	27	32	23
No matter what the UN inspectors do and how					
long they try, as long as Iraq does not want					
to cooperate, the UN inspectors will never					
find Iraq's weapons of mass destruction	65	67	68	65	73
•					
No Answer4	4	2	6	4	4

## [Half sample]

Q7: Please select which of the following you believe is the greatest threat. [Order randomized; question repeated with remaining problems until all rated.]

First Response	All(%)	CA	FL	IL	NY	TX
Attacks by terrorist groups using chemical or biological weapons	46	47	52	49	50	43
Attacks by nations using chemical or biological weapons	11	10	11	12	9	13
Attacks by terrorist groups using nuclear weapons	9	9	7	4	9	6
Attacks by nations using nuclear weapons	10	10	9	8	8	8
Attacks by terrorist groups using means other than weapons of mass destruction, such as conventional bombs or hijackings	24	24	20	25	23	28
No Answer	1	1	*	2	1	1

	Mean Ranking	All(%)	CA	FL	IL	NY	TX
	Attacks by terrorist groups using chemical or biological weapons	1.89	1.86	1.79	1.80	1.76	1.86
	Attacks by nations using chemical or biological weapons	3.14	3.15	3.13	3.19	3.27	3.23
	Attacks by terrorist groups using nuclear weapons	3.46	3.44	3.52	3.62	3.37	3.40
	Attacks by nations using nuclear weapons	3.70	3.73	3.67	3.71	3.89	3.84
	Attacks by terrorist groups using means other than weapons of mass destruction, such as conventional bombs or hijackings	2.81	2.80	2.87	2.66	2.70	2.66
- 0	ample that did not hear Q4] you favor? [rotate]						
	The UN seeking to disarm Iraq of its	All(%)	CA	FL	IL	NY	TX
	weapons of mass destruction through a strengthened inspection process.	43	45	36	41	45	36
	The UN passing a new resolution authorizing an invasion to overthrow the Iraqi government.	52	51	54	53	53	59
	No Answer		5	3	6	2	5

[Those who answered "authorize invasion" in Q8]

Q8a: If the UN Security Council does not pass a new resolution authorizing the invasion of Iraq, would you then favor: [rotate]

	All(%)	CA	FL	IL	NY	TX
The UN continuing the inspection process?	20	15	17	23	20	16
The United States and some other countries invading Iraq anyway?	78	82	80	74	79	83
No Answer	1	3	4	3	1	1

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[Q8,	Q8a combine	d – without <b>(</b>	JN authorizatio	on for invasion]
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Favor:	All(%)	CA	FL	IL	NY	TX
The UN continuing the inspection process?	54	53	49	53	56	46
The United States and some other countries invading Iraq anyway?	41	42	47	39	42	49
No Answer	6	6	5	7	3	6
[Those who say "authorize invasion" in Q8 or Q8a] Q8b: What if the cost of invading and occupying Iraq w the US, would you:  Still favor invading Iraq	All(%)	ndreds CA 82	s of bil FL 88	IL 88	of doll <b>NY</b> 87	TX 92

[Q8, Q8a, Q8b combined - without UN authorization and with costs]

process for the time being?.....10

No Answer......1

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	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
The UN continuing the inspection process	58	60	54	57	60	49
The United States and some other countries invading Iraq anyway?	36	34	41	35	36	45
No Answer	6	6	6	8	3	6

### [Half sample that did not hear Q4]

Statement: As you may know, there is a currently a debate about whether the UN should seek to disarm Iraq through a strengthened inspection process, or if the UN should authorize an invasion to overthrow the Iraqi government. Here are arguments on both sides of this debate. For each argument, please select whether you find it very convincing, somewhat convincing, somewhat unconvincing or very unconvincing. [Arguments for military action and arguments for continued inspections rotated, order within each set randomized]

#### Arguments for Continued Inspections

Q9: Going to war would be a very destructive process that may even include Iraq using biological and chemical weapons, and will likely result in the deaths of many thousands of American soldiers, Iraqi soldiers, and Iraqi civilians. The UN should not authorize going to war until it has first tried every possible method for resolving this problem peacefully.

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Very convincing	42	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	36					
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	8					
No Answer						

Q10: If the US goes to war with Iraq, it will likely face costs running into hundreds of billions of dollars, including the costs of fighting the war, rebuilding Iraq and keeping troops there for years to come. Given that the US is already running a huge deficit, it does not make sense for the US to leap into a war when inspections are a peaceful and less costly alternative that has not been fully tried.

	<b>All(%)</b>	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Very convincing	32	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	38					
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	10					
No Answer						

Q11: The disarmament process is a better method than invasion, because if Iraq is invaded, Saddam Hussein would have nothing left to lose and would likely use weapons of mass destruction against US forces and US cities, and distribute these weapons to terrorist groups.

	<b>All(%)</b>	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	IL	NY	TX
Very convincing	32	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	39					
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	8					
No Answer						

Q12: If the UN were to strengthen its effort to disarm Iraq by putting many more UN inspectors
on the ground and the US were to give the inspectors better intelligence, in the short run this
would prevent Iraq from deploying any weapons it may have and in the long run would lead to
finding and destroying these weapons.

	<b>All(%)</b>	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Very convincing	21	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing						
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	14					
No Answer						

## Arguments for Military Action

Q13: Even if UN inspectors find some of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, chances are they won't find them all. If Iraq has even a few such weapons and chose to use them, many thousands of civilians would die.

	All(%)					
Very convincing	50	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	35					
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	4					
No Answer	2					

Q14. Given Iraq's size, if the Iraqi government does not want to cooperate with the inspection process, it can successfully hide some weapons of mass destruction. Since it is now clear that Iraq will not cooperate, the UN really has no choice but to overthrow the Iraqi government.

	All(%)	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Very convincing	39	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	35					
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	8					
No Answer						

Q15. The Bush administration has proven that Iraq has violated the terms of UN Security Resolution 1441 by refusing to cooperate with, and actively undermining, the efforts of the UN inspectors to find Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Therefore the UN must follow through and authorize the removal of the Iraqi government by force.

All(%) CA FL IL NY TX

	<b>All(%)</b>	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Very convincing	40	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	37					
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	7					
No Answer	1					

O16. The longer we wait, the more advanced Iraq's weapons program will become. Saddam Hussein will be more able to threaten the US and his neighbors than he is now, and the harder it will be to stop him. So an invasion of Iraq should be launched as soon as possible. CA FL IL All(%) TX Very convincing .......32 [Note: questions 17, 17a, 17b are same as questions 8, 8a, 8b, but only go to those who heard the set of arguments. Respondents in 8, 8a, 8b did not hear arguments. All oversamples heard Q8] Q17. Having considered these arguments, do you favor? [rotate] All(%) CA FL  $\mathbf{IL}$ NY TX The UN seeking to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction through a The UN passing a new resolution authorizing an invasion to overthrow No Answer......3 [Those who answered "authorize invasion" in Q17] Q17a: If the UN Security Council does not pass a new resolution authorizing the invasion Iraq, would you then favor: [rotate] All(%)  $\mathbf{FL}$ TX CA  $\mathbf{IL}$ NY The UN continuing the inspection process?......21 The United States and some other countries invading Iraq anyway?......78 No Answer......2 [Q17, Q17a combined – without UN authorization for invasion] Favor: All(%)  $\mathbf{FL}$  $\mathbf{IL}$ TX CA NY The UN continuing the inspection process?......59 The United States and some other countries invading Iraq anyway?...... 37

No Answer.....4

[Those who say "authorize invasion" in Q17 or Q17a] Q17b: What if the cost of invading and occupying Iraq would be hundreds of billions of dollars for the US, would you: IL All(%) CA FL Still favor invading Iraq ......89 Favor continuing the inspection process for the time being?.....10 [Q17, Q17a, Q17b combined – without UN authorization and with costs] Favor: All(%) CA FL IL NY TX The UN continuing the inspection process.................63 The United States and some other countries invading Iraq anyway?......33 No Answer. 4 [Full sample] Q18. Which of the following positions is closer to yours? [rotate] All(%) CA FL IL NY TX Past experience has shown that with time The UN will lose its resolve in the inspection process, and Iraq will become increasingly uncooperative. Therefore it is necessary to invade Iraq and remove the Iraqi government......45 49 41 43 52 Even if the UN showed too little resolve in dealing with Iraq the past, we can and should insist that it do a better job this time. War should only be used as a last resort after having tried in every way to make the inspection process work......51 53 48 55 45 56 No Answer...... 4 5 2 3 6 4

[Full sample]

Q19: Do you think that for the US to invade Iraq at this point, it is necessary or not necessary to get approval from the UN Security Council?

	<b>All(%)</b>	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	$\mathbf{NY}$	TX
Necessary	56	57	56	59	59	49
Not necessary	41	39	40	37	38	47
No Answer	3	4	4	4	2	4

[Those who reply "necessary" in Q19; no states] Q19a. Why do you think it is necessary?

[open-ended response]

## [Half sample]

Q20: What if the UN inspection process continues for another *two months* with the UN inspectors continuing to not find any weapons of mass destruction and the US continuing to say that Iraq is not fully cooperating with the inspection process? Would you then favor: [randomize]

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
the UN continuing the inspection process	37	37	27	34	41	32
the UN authorizing an invasion of Iraq	58	58	68	62	55	64
No Answer	5	5	5	4	4	4

[Those who answer "authorizing" in Q20]

Q20a: If the UN Security Council did not authorize invading Iraq, would you then favor: [randomize]

	All(%)	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
the UN continuing the inspection process	24	24	20	23	23	17
the US invading Iraq without UN approval	75	73	71	73	74	80
No Answer	2	3	9	4	2	3

#### [Q20-Q20a combined]

	<b>All(%)</b>	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	IL	NY	TX
the UN continuing the inspection process	51	51	40	49	54	43
the US invading Iraq without UN approval	43	42	48	45	41	51
No Answer	6	7	11	6	5	6

[Half sample that did not hear Q20]

Q21: What if the UN inspection process continues for another *six months* with the UN inspectors continuing to not find any weapons of mass destruction and the US continuing to say that Iraq is not fully cooperating with the inspection process? Would you then favor: [randomize]

the UN continuing the inspection process	<b>All(%)</b> 29					
the UN authorizing an invasion of Iraq to overthrow its government	65	60	66	63	63	70
No Answer	5	8	5	8	3	7

[Those who answered "authorizing" in Q21]

Q21a: If the UN Security Council did not authorize invading Iraq, would you then favor: [rotate]

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
the UN continuing the inspection process	23	26	16	30	26	23
the US invading Iraq without UN approval	74	70	80	64	71	74
No Answer	4	5	4	5	3	3

[Q21-Q21a combined – without UN authorization]

	All(%)	CA	FL	IL	NY	TX
the UN continuing the inspection process	44	47	40	48	51	39
the US invading Iraq without UN approval	48	42	53	41	45	51
No Answer	8	11	8	11	4	9

[Half sample that did not hear Q9-17; no states]

Statement: Currently the US is pressing for the UN Security Council to authorize military action against Iraq, but some members of the UN Security Council want to continue seeking disarmament through inspections. There is some debate about whether the US, if it fails to get UN Security Council authorization, should nonetheless proceed with military action against Iraq, or whether the US should not act unless the UN Security Council authorizes such action. Here are some arguments that have been made on this issue. Please tell me if you find them convincing or not convincing. [Arguments for and against military action without UN approval rotated, order within each set randomized]

Arguments for military action even without approval

Q22. The UN Security Council has already passed a resolution saying that if Iraq does not cooperate with the disarmament process, it will face severe consequences. Clearly Iraq is not cooperating with the disarmament process, and thus the US already has adequate UN authorization to proceed with military action against Iraq.

	<b>All(%)</b>					
Very convincing	34	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	34					
Somewhat unconvincing	21					
Very unconvincing	7					
No Answer	3					

Q23. If the US shows leadership by deciding to take military action even without further UN approval, many other nations will ultimately follow the US and most nations will realize that the US did the right thing.

	<b>All(%)</b>	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	IL	NY	TX
Very convincing	21	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	32					
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	14					
No Answer						

Q24. Overthrowing the Iraqi government will create an opportunity for a transformation of the Middle East, making it more stable and democratic. The US cannot forgo this option simply because it cannot get enough votes on the UN Security Council.

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Very convincing	20	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing						
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	16					
No Answer						

Q25. The threat to the US from Iraq is so great that it cannot let the UN Security Council prevent it from exercising its legitimate right of self-defense.

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	IL	$\mathbf{N}\mathbf{Y}$	TX
Very convincing	29	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	31					
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	14					
No Answer						

Arguments against military action without UN approval

Q26. In Europe as well as in other parts of the world, there have been rising anti-American feelings and criticism of the US as not being cooperative enough. If the US proceeds to take action in defiance of the other countries on the UN Security Council, it could seriously damage US relations with some of its most important allies and could weaken support for the war against Terrorism.

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Very convincing	35	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	35					
Somewhat unconvincing	20					
Very unconvincing	6					
No Answer	4					

Q27. If countries were to feel that they could attack each other whenever they thought it was
best, the world would soon fall into chaos and conflict. It is very important for the US to set a
good example to other countries by getting UN approval for taking military action.

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Very convincing	40	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	31					
Somewhat unconvincing	15					
Very unconvincing						
No Answer						

Q28. If the US takes military action against Iraq without UN approval, this will increase hostility toward the US, especially in the Muslim world, and will increase the likelihood of terrorist attacks against the US.

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Very convincing	40	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	39					
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing	7					
No Answer	4					

Q29. The US should not play the role of world policeman. If the US invades Iraq with UN approval it is more likely that other countries will participate and share the costs of occupying and rebuilding Iraq.

	<b>All(%)</b>					
Very convincing	28	*	*	*	*	*
Somewhat convincing	39					
Somewhat unconvincing						
Very unconvincing						
No Answer	4					

Q30. Now, having considered these arguments, if the US fails to get to UN Security Council authorization, should the US: [rotate]

	All(%)	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
proceed to invade Iraq on its own	38	*	*	*	*	*
continue to urge the UN to act, but not						
invade Iraq on its own	60					
No Answer	3					

[Those who say "not invade Iraq on its own" in O30] Q30a. What if several of America's allies would be ready to join with the US, even though the UN Security Council did not approve of invading Iraq? Should the US then: [rotate] All(%) CA FL IL NY proceed to invade Iraq with these allies ......24 continue to urge the UN to act, but not invade Iraq without UN approval......73 [Q30 and Q30a combined – if several allies join but no UN approval] All(%) CA  $\mathbf{FL}$  $\mathbf{IL}$ NY TX proceed to invade Iraq with these allies ......52 continue to urge the UN to act, but not invade Iraq without UN approval.......44 No Answer.....4 [Full sample] O31. There is some discussion about what the UN should do if UN inspectors find some hidden weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Which view is closer to yours? All(%) CA FL IL NY TXIf the UN weapons inspectors discover weapons of mass destruction, this provides proof that Iraq is not cooperating and will not cooperate in the effort to disarm it, so the UN should pass a new resolution authorizing the invasion of Iraq......62 57 66 59 60 68 If the UN weapons inspectors discover weapons of mass destruction and destroy them, this would be proof that the UN is capable of finding Iraq's

36

6

30

4

36

5

37

3

27

5

No Answer.....4

Q32. About how long do you imagine a war with Iraq would la	ast? Pleas	e ente	r one r	numbe	r:
weeks					
months					
years					
All(%		$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
2 months or less	23	26	26	30	23
3-6 months23	21	22	22	23	22
7-12 months	19	16	17	17	19
More than a year27	21	22	24	22	19
No answer	16	15	11	9	26
Mean (weeks)	69	75	67	66	87
Median (weeks)	26	26	26	26	26
Q33. About how many American soldiers do you imagine wou soldiers  All(%		a war	with I	raq? <b>NY</b>	TX
100 or fewer	16	18	15	17	17
101 to 1000	24	23	25	27	23
1001 to 5000	13	12	16	13	15
More than 5000	17	17	15	14	19
	30	30	29	29	26
No answer	30	30	29	29	20
Mean2131	K 484K	35K	55K	53K	344K
Median	0 1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Q34. How long do you think the US would have to keep troops Please enter one number. monthsyears	-	fter the			
All(%	*	FL	IL	NY	TX
1 year or less	20	20	19	21	24
13 months to 2 years			19	22	20
25 months to 5 years	32	34	32	32	28
More than 5 years17	14	18	19	17	16
No answer	15	12	12	9	13
Mean (months)66	67	63	67	70	57
Median (months)36	36	36	36	36	36

#### [Half of the sample]

Q35. If the UN does not approve and the US and a few allies invade Iraq, what do you think are the chances that there will be a major terrorist attack against the US as a form of revenge? Please answer on a scale of 0 to one hundred, 0 meaning no likelihood, 100 meaning that such an attack is certain, and 50 meaning that there is a 50 percent chance of this happening. [ENTER NUMBER BETWEEN 0 AND 100]

	All	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Mean	69.0	68.2	69.3	70.8	69.3	69.4
Median	79.0	70.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0

#### [Half sample that did not hear Q35]

Q36. If the UN approves invading Iraq and the US does so together with a number of allies, what do you think the chances are that there will be a major terrorist attack against the US as a form of revenge? Please answer on a scale of 0 to one hundred, 0 meaning no likelihood, 100 meaning that such an attack is certain, and 50 meaning that there is a 50 percent chance of this happening. [ENTER NUMBER BETWEEN 0 AND 100]

	All	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Mean	67.4	65.9	68.8	66.7	70.2	68.0
Median	70.0	70.0	75.0	70.0	75.0	75.0

Q37. Please select how well the following statement describes you: I would prefer to go to war with Iraq, but if most people think that we should continue seeking disarmament through inspections, that would be acceptable to me.

	<b>All(%)</b>	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	$\mathbf{NY}$	TX
Not at all	44	44	41	45	45	44
Somewhat	39	36	40	39	36	38
Very well	15	15	17	12	16	14
No Answer	3	4	2	4	3	4

#### [Half sample; all states full sample]

Q38. If the US were to invade Iraq successfully, do you think the US would or would not have the responsibility to remain in Iraq as long as necessary until there is a stable government?

	All(%)	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Yes, would	86	86	88	88	88	89
No, would not	10	9	9	8	9	6
No Answer	4	4	3	4	3	4

[Half sample that did not hear Q38; no states]

Q39. How important do you think it is to bring democracy to Iraq?

	<b>All(%)</b>					
Not at all important	6	*	*	*	*	*
Not very important	15					
Somewhat important						
Very important	36					
No Answer	5					

Q40. How important do you think it is to the Bush administration to bring democracy to Iraq?

	All(%)					
Not at all important	12	*	*	*	*	*
Not very important	16					
Somewhat important	29					
Very important	39					
No Answer	5					

Q41. How many years do you think it would be necessary for the US to keep troops in Iraq, in order to make Iraq democratic?

	All(%)					
Less than a year	5	*	*	*	*	*
1-2 years						
3-5 years						
6-10 years						
More than 10 years						
It would not be possible, ever	16					
No answer	6					

[Full sample]

Q42. On the question of invading Iraq how uncomfortable do you feel about expressing your views with people you know.

	<b>All(%)</b>	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	$\mathbf{NY}$	TX
Not at all	54	49	56	50	57	55
A little	17	20	14	17	14	19
Some	18	17	15	17	17	13
A lot	10	12	13	13	10	11
No Answer	2	3	2	3	2	2

Q43. How closely are you following the news on the situation in Iraq?

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	$\mathbf{NY}$	TX
Very closely	34	36	45	35	40	37
Somewhat closely	44	41	38	46	44	47
Not too closely	18	18	14	15	13	13
Not at all	3	3	3	2	2	3
No Answer	2	2	1	2	2	1

Q44. Did you watch or hear any part of Secretary of State Colin Powell's recent speech to the UN Security Council?

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Yes	56	63	64	60	65	64
No	43	35	35	38	34	34
No Answer	1	2	-	2	2	1
Q44a. (IF NOT) Did you read about it, or hear news rep	oorts about All(%)		FI	ΤΤ	NV	тv
	` ′					IA
Yes	51	45	57	58	63	48

[Q44 and Q44a combined - total awareness of speech]

No......47

No Answer......3

	All(%)	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Yes	79	80	85	83	87	82
No	20	19	15	15	12	18
No Answer	1	2	1	2	1	1

51

5

41

2

38

34

4

50

2

Q45. Please select what you think is the best description of the relationship between the Iraqi government and the terrorist group al-Qaeda. [randomize]

All(%) There is no connection at all	<b>CA</b> 6	<b>FL</b> 4		<b>NY</b> 5	<b>TX</b> 5
A few al-Qaeda individuals have visited Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials29	30	28	34	32	31
Iraq has given substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was not involved in the September 11th attacks36	35	40	38	34	34
Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September 11 <sup>th</sup> attacks	19	22	16	20	23
No Answer8	10	6	9	9	7

Q46. If the US were to go to war with Iraq, how do you think this would affect America's war on terrorism? Do you think it would:

	All(%)	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	$\mathbf{N}\mathbf{Y}$	TX
Help the war on terrorism	44	42	48	40	44	52
Hurt the war on terrorism	25	27	23	29	29	22
Have no significant effect either way	25	25	24	27	23	22
No Answer	5	7	5	5	4	4

Q47. If Saddam Hussein is willing to give up power and go into exile provided that he will not be charged with war crimes, would you favor or oppose the US agreeing to this?

	<b>All(%)</b>	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Favor	58	59	58	63	69	59
Oppose	36	35	38	31	28	35
No Answer	5	6	4	6	4	6

[Those who say "oppose" in Q47]

Q47a. What if President Bush says that he would agree to this? Would you then favor it or would you still oppose it?

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Favor	22	21	24	24	24	30
Oppose	77	78	75	76	74	70
No Answer			1	1	2	-
[Q47-Q47a combined]	All(%)	CA	FL	IL	NY	TX
Favor	67	66	68	70	75	70
Oppose	28	27	28	24	20	24
No Answer	6	7	6	6	4	6

Q48. Would you favor or oppose the US imposing economic sanctions to punish European allies who do not support US policy on Iraq?

	All(%)	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	$\mathbf{NY}$	TX
Favor	29	28	37	26	29	37
Oppose	64	66	57	66	66	56
No Answer	7	7	6	7	5	7

Q49. Please select how well the following statement describes you: I would prefer to continue seeking disarmament through inspections, but if most people think that we should go to war with Iraq, that would be acceptable to me.

	<b>All(%)</b>	$\mathbf{C}\mathbf{A}$	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Not at all	38	38	39	40	44	41
Somewhat	44	39	42	41	38	40
Very well	14	17	16	15	14	14
No Answer	4	5	3	4	4	6

Q50. Do you think that the majority of Americans think it would be best to go to war to remove Saddam Hussein from power, or to seek to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction through continued inspections?

	<b>All(%)</b>	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	IL	NY	TX
Most want to go to war	47	44	50	39	41	52
Most favor continued inspections	48	49	43	54	53	43
No Answer.	6	7	7	7	6	5

Q51. Do you think the US could or could not successfully fight a war against Iraq and North Korea at the same time?

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Could	53	56	59	54	53	59
Could not	42	38	36	41	42	35
No Answer	6	6	5	5	5	6

Statement: The next three questions ask you about information you may or may not have. Many people will not have this information. Please just answer based on the information you currently have.

Q52. Does the US have or not have the power to veto any decision of the UN Security Council?

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	IL	NY	TX
Does have veto power	55	54	55	53	59	57
Does not have veto power	32	31	29	30	30	29
No Answer	13	14	17	17	11	15

Q53. Select from this list of countries the five which are the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Choose five only. [Permanent members United States, Russia, France, Great Britain, and China, as well as Germany, Japan, Brazil, India, and Canada listed randomized]

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Five correct	16	16	15	17	26	15
Four correct	45	43	49	48	47	50
Three correct	24	25	24	20	15	20
Two or fewer correct	3	5	3	3	2	2
No answer	12	12	9	13	9	12

Q54. What is the name of the lead UN weapons inspector in Iraq?

	All(%)	CA	$\mathbf{FL}$	$\mathbf{IL}$	NY	TX
Kofi Annan	7	8	5	6	5	6
Hans Blix	59	56	66	65	70	61
Gerhard Schroeder	10	9	9	7	7	10
Javier Solana	4	3	2	2	2	3
No answer	21	24	19	19	16	20

Demographics (from respondent profile – all respondents)

Q. Gender

Male	49%
Female	51

Q. Ag	ge (calculated from birth date)
	18-29       21%         30-44       29         45-59       26         60+       24
Q. Pa	rty Affiliation
	Republican       23%         Lean Republican       9         Independent       23         Lean Democrat       8         Democrat       28         Other       6
Q. Ed	lucation level (collapsed categories)
	Less than High School
Q. Re	egion
	Northeast         20%           Midwest         23           South         34           West         23
Q. Ra	ace/Ethnicity
	White, non-Hispanic       73%         Black       11         Hispanic       11         Other       5