

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Opportunities for Bipartisan Consensus: What Both Republicans and Democrats Want in US Foreign Policy

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Dec 21–26, 2004
Sample Size: 801

Margin of Error: +/- 3.5 % [full sample]

Q1a. On balance, how do you think globalization and the growth of international trade have affected the security of the job or jobs of people in your household? Please answer on a scale with +5 meaning that it has had a very positive effect, -5 meaning it has had a very negative effect, and 0 meaning that, on balance, it has had no effect.

| | 12/05 | 1/04 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| 5..... | 2% | 2 |
| 4..... | 1 | 1 |
| 3..... | 4 | 3 |
| 2..... | 4 | 4 |
| 1..... | 3 | 3 |
| 0..... | 48 | 49 |
| -1..... | 7 | 6 |
| -2..... | 8 | 6 |
| -3..... | 9 | 8 |
| -4..... | 4 | 3 |
| -5..... | 7 | 9 |
| (No answer)..... | 3 | 6 |
| Positive effect (1 to 5)..... | 14 | 13 |
| No effect either way (0)..... | 48 | 49 |
| Negative effect (-5 to -1)..... | 35 | 32 |
| Mean | -0.66 | -0.71 |
| Median | 0 | 0 |

Q1b. *To be released.*

Q1: In its relations with other countries, in general, do you think the Bush administration should or should not be more cooperative than it has been?

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| | 12/04 | 8/03 |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Should | 52% | 66 |
| Should not..... | 45 | 27 |
| (No answer)..... | 3 | 8 |

Q2: Do you think the Bush administration should or should not be more willing to make decisions within the UN?

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| Should | 63% |
| Should not..... | 34 |
| (No answer)..... | 3 |

Q3: In the effort to fight terrorism, do you think that in the future, compared with what it has been doing, the Bush administration:

| | 12/04 | 8/03 |
|---|--------------|-------------|
| Should put more emphasis on military methods..... | 40% | 35 |
| Should put more emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods | 58 | 58 |
| Has the balance about right..... | 1 | 4 |
| (No answer)..... | 0 | 3 |

Q4: Over the next six months, do you think the number of US troops in Iraq should be:

| | 12/04 | 9/04 | 8/04 | 11/03 | 9/03 |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Increased a lot | 14% | 9 | 6 | 11 | 9 |
| Increased some..... | 17 | 19 | 12 | 16 | 22 |
| Maintained at the current level | 18 | 29 | 26 | 33 | 33 |
| Decreased some | 13 | 11 | 17 | 15 | 13 |
| Decreased a lot..... | 8 | 8 | 12 | 9 | 7 |
| Withdrawn completely..... | 27 | 19 | 24 | 15 | 12 |
| (No answer)..... | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 4 |

Q5: Who do you think should have the stronger role in helping the Iraqis to write a new constitution and build a new democratic government in Iraq

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| | CCFR |
| 12/04 | 7/04 |

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| | | |
|------------------|-----|----|
| The US | 30% | 25 |
| The UN..... | 69 | 71 |
| (No answer)..... | 1 | 4 |

Q6: As you may know Iraq is scheduled to have elections shortly. If, after the election, the new government requests that the US withdraw its forces, do you think the US:

| | |
|---|-----|
| Should withdraw | 73% |
| Should not withdraw until the US thinks the time is right | 25 |
| (No answer)..... | 2 |

Q7: Do you think the US should or should not put greater pressure on countries in the Middle East, like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, to become more democratic?

| | 12/04 | CCFR 7/04 |
|------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Should | 41% | 35 |
| Should not | 54 | 57 |
| (No answer)..... | 5 | 8 |

Q8: In the Middle East conflict, do you think the United States should:

| | 12/04 | CCFR 7/04 |
|----------------------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Take Israel's side | 19% | 17 |
| Take the Palestinians' side..... | 1% | 3 |
| Not take either side | 77% | 74 |
| (No answer)..... | 3 | 6 |

Q9. Do you think that the US should or should not invest more political effort and resources than it did in the past four years, toward resolving the Israel-Palestinian conflict?

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| Should | 31% |
| Should not | 64 |
| (No answer)..... | 5 |

Q10: In the effort to resolve the Israel-Palestinian conflict do you think the US should:

| | |
|--|----|
| Put pressure on Israel | 3% |
| Put pressure on the Palestinians | 7 |

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| | |
|------------------------------|----|
| Put pressure on both..... | 45 |
| Put pressure on neither..... | 41 |
| (No answer)..... | 4 |

Q11: Do you think the US should deal with the government of Iran primarily by:

| | | |
|--|--------------|-------------|
| | 12/04 | 7/03 |
| Trying to build better relations | 75% | 78 |
| Pressuring it with implied threats that the US may use military force against it..... | 21 | 21 |
| (No answer)..... | 4 | 6 |

Q12: As you may know, the European Union has been negotiating with Iran to make sure it does not develop nuclear weapons. Do you think:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| | 12/04 |
| The US should continue to let the European Union take the lead | 77% |
| The US should step in and take the lead..... | 20 |
| (No answer)..... | 4 |

Q13-Q13a: *To be released.*

Q14a: As you may know, the US has been trying to get North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons program. North Korea has said that it will only do so under certain conditions. Here are two of the key conditions—though there are others. Please say whether you think the US should or should not be willing to agree to each condition:

The US and North Korea signing a formal declaration that they will not attack each other

| | |
|--|-----|
| Should be willing to agree to this | 72% |
| Should not be willing to agree to this | 23 |
| (No answer)..... | 5 |

Q14b: The US increasing food aid to North Korea

| | |
|--|-----|
| Should be willing to agree to this | 56% |
|--|-----|

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Should not be willing to agree to this38
 (No answer).....5

Q15. Please select whether you think defense spending should be

| | 12/04 | CCFR 7/04 |
|--------------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Expanded..... | 34% | 30% |
| Cut back | 21 | 25 |
| Kept about the same..... | 42 | 44 |
| (No answer)..... | 3 | 1 |

Q16: Do you think it is or is not necessary for the US to develop new types of nuclear weapons, beyond those that it already has?

| | 12/04 | 3/04 |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Is necessary | 30% | 34 |
| Is not necessary | 66 | 65 |
| (No answer)..... | 4 | 1 |

Q17: Here are some positions about the possible use of nuclear weapons by the United States. Which one comes closest to your position?

| | 12/04 | CCFR 7/04 |
|---|--------------|----------------------|
| The U.S. should never use nuclear weapons under any circumstances. | 18% | 22% |
| The U.S. should only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack | 57 | 57 |
| In certain circumstances, the U.S. should use nuclear weapons even if it has not suffered a nuclear attack..... | 21 | 19 |
| (No answer)..... | 3 | 3 |

Q18: Do you favor or oppose legislation limiting US emissions of greenhouse gases that contribute to global warming or climate change?

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| Favor | 64% |
| Oppose | 29 |
| (No answer)..... | 7 |

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Q19. Assuming that it would cost more to buy or lease a car, would you approve or disapprove of the government requiring car manufacturers to meet higher fuel efficiency standards than they do now?

Approve..... 77%
Disapprove20
(No answer).....3

Q20: Do you think the members of the UN should or should not step in with military force and stop the genocide in Darfur, Sudan?

Should step in..... 74%
Should not step in.....17
(No answer).....10

Q21: If other members of the UN are willing to contribute troops to a military operation to stop the genocide in Darfur, do you think the US should or should not be willing to contribute some troops as well?

Should be willing 60%
Should not be willing33
(No answer).....7

Q22: Do you think the international community, including the US, will or will not step in with military force and stop the genocide in Darfur?

Will step in..... 42%
Will not step in.....47
(No answer).....11

Q23: Here are some positions about the possible use of nuclear weapons by the United States. Based on what you know which one do you think comes closest to that of the Bush administration?

12/04

The U.S. should never use nuclear weapons
under any circumstances 9%

The U.S. should only use nuclear weapons in
response to a nuclear attack50

In certain circumstances, the U.S. should use
nuclear weapons even if it has not suffered a

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nuclear attack.37

(No answer).....3

Q24: In its second term, in general, do you think the Bush administration probably will or will not be more cooperative in its relations with other countries?

Will 51%

Will not44

(No answer).....5

Q25: Do you think that in its second term, the Bush administration will probably be:

More willing to make decisions within the UN 22%

About as willing to make decisions within the
UN as it was in its first term74

Republicans.....73

(No answer).....3

Q26: In its second term, in the effort to fight terrorism, do you think the Bush administration will probably:

Put more emphasis on military methods 33%

Put more emphasis on diplomatic and
economic methods18

Keep the emphasis about the same as it was
in the first term.....47

(No answer).....2

Q27: What do you think the Bush administration will probably do regarding US troop levels in Iraq? Do you think, over the next six months, the number of US troops will be:

Increased a lot 17%

Increased some.....45

Maintained at the current level23

Decreased some10

Decreased a lot.....1

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Withdrawn completely.....2
(No answer).....2

Q28: In its second term, who do you think the Bush administration will probably want to take the stronger role in helping the Iraqis write a new constitution and build a new democratic government?

The US 69%
The UN27
(No answer).....4

Q29: In its second term, do you think the Bush administration probably will or will not put greater pressure on countries in the Middle East, like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, to become more democratic?

Will 63%
Will not31
(No answer).....6

Q30: What do you think the Bush administration will probably do in its second term regarding the Middle East conflict?

Take Israel's side 44%
Take the Palestinians' side.....2
Not take either side43
(No answer).....10

Q31: Do you think that the Bush administration probably will or will not invest more political effort and resources than it did in the past four years, toward resolving the Israel-Palestinian conflict?

Will invest more..... 51%
Will not invest more.....41
(No answer).....8

Q32: Do you think the Bush administration, in its second term, will probably deal with the government of Iran primarily by:

Trying to build better relations 47%

Pressuring it with implied threats that the US may

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use military force against it.....48

(No answer).....5

Q33: As you may know, the European Union has been negotiating with Iran to make sure it does not develop nuclear weapons. In its second term, do you think the Bush administration will probably:

Continue to let the European Union take the lead 57%

Step in and take the lead37

(No answer).....6

Q34a: In its second term, do you think the Bush administration will or will not be willing to agree to the following conditions as part of negotiations with North Korea?

The US and North Korea signing a formal declaration that they will not attack each other

Will be willing to agree to this..... 50%

Will not be willing to agree to this44

(No answer).....6

Q34b: The US increasing food aid to North Korea

Will be willing to agree to this..... 59%

Will not be willing to agree to this35

(No answer).....6

Q35: Do you think the Bush administration will propose that defense spending should be:

Expanded..... 72%

Cut back6

Kept about the same.....21

(No answer).....2

Q36: Do you think that in its second term, the Bush administration probably will or will not propose developing new types of nuclear weapons?

Will 56%

Will not38

(No answer).....6

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Q37: What do you think the Bush Administration will probably do in its second term regarding international trade?

- Promote agreements to lower trade barriers and expand programs to help workers who lose their jobs..... 42%
- Promote agreements to lower trade barriers, but not expand programs to help workers who lose their jobs.....32
- Not promote agreements to lower trade barriers.....18
- (No answer).....8

Q38: Do you think that the Bush administration probably will or will not propose legislation or regulations limiting US emissions of greenhouse gases that contribute to global warming or climate change?

- Will 38%
- Will not54
- (No answer).....8

Q39. What do you think the Bush administration will probably do in its second term about fuel efficiency standards?

- Require car manufacturers to meet higher standards than they do now 41%
- Keep the standards where they are now56
- (No answer).....3

Q39a-Q39b. *To be released.*

Q40. In the recent election for president, for whom did you vote:

- George W. Bush..... 42%
- John F. Kerry39
- Other presidential candidate1
- Went to the polls, but was not able to vote1
- Was unable to vote for other reasons6
- Chose not to vote10

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(No answer).....2

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

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

Republican 18%
 Leaning toward Republican19
 Independent.....23
 Leaning toward Democrat.....16
 Strongly Democrat16
 Other7
 (No answer).....2

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

Yes 58%
 No.....40

D3: What is your religious preference? Do you consider yourself:

Christian..... 71%
 Jewish.....1
 Muslim0.5
 Buddhist0.5
 Hindu.....0.5
 Other religion6
 No religious preference.....15
 Agnostic1.5
 Atheist.....2

[IF “CHRISTIAN”]

D3a: Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or evangelical?

Yes23%*
 No.....33
 No opinion14

[IF ANSWER “CHRISTIAN, JEWISH, MUSLIM, BUDDHIST, HINDU, OR OTHER RELIGION” IN QUESTION D3]

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D4: How often do you attend church or attend religious services--at least once a week, almost every week, about once a month, seldom, or never?

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| Once a week..... | 29%* |
| Almost every week..... | 10 |
| About once a month..... | 8 |
| Seldom..... | 26 |
| Never..... | 7 |

D5: Age

| | |
|------------|-----|
| 18-29..... | 22% |
| 30-44..... | 30 |
| 45-59..... | 26 |
| 60+..... | 22 |

D6: Education level (categorical)

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

D7: Race/Ethnicity

| | |
|--------------------------|-----|
| White, Non-Hispanic..... | 73% |
| Black, Non-Hispanic..... | 12 |
| Other, Non-Hispanic..... | 5 |
| Hispanic..... | 11 |

D8: Gender

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| Male..... | 48% |
| Female..... | 52 |

D9: Region

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| Northeast..... | 19% |
| Midwest..... | 23 |
| South..... | 36 |
| West..... | 22 |