

# THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

## The American Public on International Issues

### PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Americans on America's Role in the World After the Iraq War

#### Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: April 18-22, 2003  
Sample Size: 865 respondents

Margin of Error: +/- 3.5%

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

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
<i>First Response</i>				
The situation in Iraq.....	32	30	27	37
Osama bin Laden's terrorist group al Q'aeda.....	22	24	24	18
The situation with North Korea .....	21	23	19	23
The Israeli-Palestinian conflict .....	12	17	9	13
Tension with our European allies .....	12	7	21	8
(No Answer) .....	-	-	-	-
 <i>Mean ranking</i>				
	<b>All(%)</b>			
The situation in Iraq.....	2.53			
The Israeli-Palestinian conflict .....	2.62			
The situation with North Korea .....	2.76			
Osama bin Laden's terrorist group al Q'aeda.....	3.47			
Tension with our European allies .....	3.60			

Q2. If, as a result of the Iraq war, the US were to become a more dominant force in the world do you think this would be something positive or something negative?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Something positive.....	66	82	54	65
Something negative.....	31	17	42	33
(No answer).....	3	1	4	2

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Q3. Which statement comes closest to your position: *[order randomized]*

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
As the sole remaining superpower, the US should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems .....	12	15	9	13
The US should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries.....	76	77	79	72
The US should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems.....	11	8	13	14
(No answer).....	1	-	-	1

Q4. If, as a result of the Iraq war, some governments around the world are more afraid of the US, would this be this be:

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Primarily a positive result .....	61%	76	49	62
Primarily a negative result .....	35..	21	46	37
(No answer).....	4	2	5	2

Q5. How well do you think the US government 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....This situation with Iraq *[order randomized]*

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Negative (0-4) .....	14%	1	24	16
Neutral (5).....	8	4	8	10
Positive (6-10).....	75	95	65	71
(No answer).....	3	-	3	4
Mean .....	7.44			

Q6. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: The US plays the role of world policeman more than it should.

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Agree.....	62%	52	68	67
Disagree .....	36	47	32	32
(No answer).....	2	1	-	1

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Q7. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: The US has the right and even the responsibility to overthrow dictatorships.

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Agree.....	38%	42	33	42
Disagree .....	57	54	64	54
(No answer).....	5	3	3	5

Q8. 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?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Yes, does .....	86%	96	82	85
No, does not .....	12	4	17	15
(No answer).....	2	-	1	-

Q9. How long do you think it will take to establish a stable government in Iraq after the end of hostilities? [Please enter only one number, either of months or of years.]

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
1 year or less .....	37%	47	35	31
13 months to 2 years .....	25	27	25	25
25 months to 5 years .....	24	17	29	25
More than 5 years.....	6	3	8	8
(No answer).....	8	7	4	11
Median (months).....	24			

Q10. Do you think that in the future the US:

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Should feel more free to use force without UN authorization.....	35%	48	24	38
Should not feel more free to use force without UN authorization.....	61	49	74	58
(No answer).....	4	3	2	3

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Q11. When it comes to trying to stop North Korea from making nuclear weapons, which would be better?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
For the US to take the lead.....	31%	33	29	33
For the UN to take the lead .....	67	65	70	65
(No answer).....	2	2	1	2

Q12. Do you think, in the near future, the US should or should not go to war to overthrow the government of Syria?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
Should .....	21%	27	20	19
Should not .....	71	65	74	76
(No answer).....	8	8	6	5

If 'should' in above question:

Q12a: What if this action was opposed by most of the members of the UN Security Council: do you then think the US should or should not go to war to overthrow the government of Syria?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
Should .....	77%	86	74	74
Should not .....	18	12	19	25
(No answer).....	5	2	7	2

Q13. Currently there is some debate about whether the US should put pressure on countries in the Middle East, like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, to become more democratic. Some say that this would be consistent with America's interests as well as its values. Others say that putting pressure on those governments will make them less cooperative in the war on terrorism. Do you think the US should or should not put greater pressure on countries in the Middle East to become more democratic?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
Should put greater pressure.....	29	32	26	33
Should not put greater pressure.....	67	66	70	65
(No answer).....	4	2	5	2

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*Statement:* There is a debate about who should be responsible for different aspects of post war Iraq.

Q14a: Who do you think should temporarily govern Iraq and work with Iraqis to write a new constitution and build a new democratic government?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
The US .....	47	67	37	45
The UN.....	50	32	61	53
(No answer).....	3	1	2	2

Q14b: As you may know, there are plans to establish an interim authority to administer Iraq until elections can be held. Who do you think should decide which Iraqis should be members of this interim authority?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
The US .....	46	69	36	42
The UN.....	48	27	60	55
(No answer).....	6	5	4	3

Q14c: Who do you think should be in charge of maintaining civil order in Iraq until a new government is established?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
US military forces .....	43	57	34	43
A UN police force of police officers from various countries .....	54	41	64	56
(No answer).....	3	2	2	1

Q14d: Who should direct humanitarian relief and economic reconstruction in Iraq?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
The US .....	40	51	33	41
The UN.....	57	48	64	57
(No answer).....	3	1	3	2

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Q15. For some years now the UN has managed a program that sells Iraqi oil and uses the proceeds to buy food for Iraqi people. Do you think the UN should continue to manage this program until a new Iraqi government is established, or do you think the US should now manage it?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
UN continue to manage program.....	70	63	77	72
US now manage program.....	27	36	22	26
(No answer).....	3	1	2	2

Q16. If it was practical, do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea to have a referendum for the Iraqi people to vote whether the US or the UN should temporarily govern Iraq until a new government is established?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Good idea.....	62	57	66	67
Bad idea .....	35	41	32	31
(No answer).....	3	2	2	2

Q17. *[Half sample A]*

Do you think it is necessary or not necessary to get the participation of a substantial number of other countries in the process of reconstructing Iraq?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Necessary .....	73	72	78	68
Not necessary .....	25	27	21	30
(No answer).....	2	1	1	2

Q18. *[Half sample B]*

Do you think it is necessary or not necessary to get the participation of Arab countries in the process of reconstructing Iraq?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Necessary .....	66 %	70	68	67
Not necessary .....	30	30	29	31
(No answer).....	4	1	3	2

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Q19. Once Iraq is stabilized, do you think that US military forces should or should not be withdrawn from Saudi Arabia?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Should be withdrawn .....	67	57	71	71
Should not be withdrawn .....	30	39	27	26
(No answer).....	4	4	2	3

Q20. 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?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
For the US to take the lead.....	39	50	34	37
For the UN to take the lead .....	57	47	65	60
(No answer).....	4	3	2	4

Q21. Since the US toppled the Iraqi government some people think that Iran is more likely to make weapons of mass destruction to deter the US from attacking Iran. Others think that Iran will be less likely to make weapons of mass destruction because it will be more afraid that the US will attack Iran if it does make them. Do you think that since the US toppled the Iraqi government Iran will be:

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
More likely to make weapons of mass destruction .....	24	20	24	30
Less likely to make weapons of mass destruction .....	68	74	70	63
(No answer).....	8	7	6	7

Q22. Looking back, do you think that it was the right thing to do or a mistake for the US to have tried to get UN authorization to take military action against Iraq?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Was the right thing to do.....	88	90	88	90
Was a mistake .....	9	10	10	7
(No answer).....	3	-	2	3

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Q23. Thinking about how things will be now that the US has toppled the government of Iraq, do you think the chances that other countries will try to develop nuclear weapons is higher, lower or unchanged?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
Higher .....	15	7	19	19
Lower .....	36	49	30	32
Unchanged .....	47	42	50	47
(No answer).....	2	2	1	1

Q24. 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.

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
The US military should remain in Iraq, provide security and be in charge of all relief and reconstruction efforts .....	29	44	24	24
The US military should remain in Iraq and provide security, but the UN and international aid organizations should be in charge of relief and reconstruction. ....	54	50	56	56
The US military should withdraw completely from Iraq shortly after the war is over. ....	14	5	18	18
(No answer).....	3	1	2	3

Q25. Do you think Congress should give the President full control over the way money is spent on Iraq assistance and reconstruction, or should Congress retain oversight over how the money is spent?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
Congress should give the President full control.....	19	35	11	16
Congress should retain oversight .....	77	64	84	82
(No answer).....	5	1	5	3



Q26. Since the US toppled the Iraqi government some people think that North Korea is more likely to make weapons of mass destruction to deter the US from attacking North Korea. Others think that North Korea will be less likely to make weapons of mass destruction because it will be more afraid that the US will attack North Korea if it does make them. Do you think that since the US toppled the Iraqi government North Korea will be:

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
More likely to make weapons of mass destruction .....	44	34	48	53
Less likely to make weapons of mass destruction .....	47	60	47	42
(No answer).....	8	7	5	6

Q27. When do you think US should remove its troops from Iraq? When:

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
Hostilities have ceased and Saddam Hussein is overthrown.....	12	6	16	11
A government is established that is friendly to the US, but is not democratic .....	6	7	4	7
A government has been elected, but there are not yet laws that protect human rights. ....	6	6	5	7
A government has been elected and there are laws that protect human rights. ....	72	79	71	72
(No different) .....	5	2	4	3

Q28. Since the US toppled the Iraqi government some people think that Syria is more likely to make weapons of mass destruction to deter the US from attacking Syria. Others think that Syria will be less likely to make weapons of mass destruction because it will be more afraid that the US will attack Syria if it does make them. Do you think that since the US toppled the Iraqi government Syria will be

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
More likely to make weapons of mass destruction .....	28	16	32	37
Less likely to make weapons of mass destruction .....	62	77	59	57

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(No answer).....10      7      9      6

Q29. 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.

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
Negative (0-4) .....	34	30	37	35
Neutral (5).....	19	22	19	17
Positive (6-10).....	43	44	42	44
(No answer).....	4	3	3	4
Mean .....	5.24			

Q30. Thinking now about our European allies, 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.

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
Negative (0-4) .....	37	29	45	38
Neutral (5).....	19	21	15	19
Positive (6-10).....	38	46	32	38
(No answer).....	7	4	8	5
Mean .....	4.96			

Q31. Do you think the US should deal with the government of Syria primarily by:

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
Diplomacy and dialogue .....	71	67	82	65
Pressuring it with implied threats that the US may use military force against it .....	24	31	17	30
(No answer).....	5	2	1	5

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[Half sample A]

Q32a. Six months from now, do you think it is more likely that Iraq will:

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Have a stable government .....	53	66	49	45
Be unstable and chaotic.....	42	30	49	53
(No answer).....	4	4	3	3

[Half sample B]

Q32b. Five years from now, do you think it is more likely that Iraq will:

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Have a stable government.....	74	88	72	72
Be unstable and chaotic.....	23	12	25	28
(No answer).....	3	-	3	1

Q33. Which of the following is closer to your point of view:

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
We shouldn't spend money on rebuilding Iraq when we have so many problems here at home. ....	24	14	28	28
It would be unwise and immoral for the US to overthrow the government of Iraq and then just leave.....	73	85	71	70
(No answer).....	3	-	1	2

Those who say "We shouldn't" in Q33.

Q33a. What if other countries and the UN made contributions to rebuilding Iraq? Would you then think we should or should not spend money on rebuilding Iraq?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Should .....	53	54	63	49
Should not .....	45	46	36	51
(No answer).....	2	-	1	-

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Q34. When it comes to trying to stop Syria from supporting groups that use terrorism against Israel, which would be better?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
For the US to take the lead.....	36	50	28	33
For the UN to take the lead .....	61	48	70	64
(No answer).....	4	2	2	4

Q35. How closely do you follow foreign affairs?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Very closely .....	18	19	15	18
Somewhat closely .....	44	52	48	37
Not very closely .....	29	26	29	32
Not at all.....	9	2	8	13

Q36. Did you vote for a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate in the election in November 2002?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Yes .....	57	75	63	38
No.....	41	25	37	62
(No answer) .....	2	-	-	1

Q37. When you decide how to vote in a Presidential or Congressional election, how important is a candidate's position on foreign policy issues?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
One of the most important .....	23	21	28	18
Somewhat important .....	59	67	58	58
Not very important.....	12	11	10	16
Not at all important .....	4	1	5	6
(No answer) .....	2	-	-	2

Q38. Have you ever contributed money or done volunteer work in support of a Presidential or Congressional candidate?

	All(%)	Rep	Dem	Ind/Other
Yes .....	20	27	21	14
No.....	80	73	79	86

Q39. Have you ever contributed money or done volunteer work to an organization concerned with an international issue?

	<b>All(%)</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind/Other</b>
Yes .....	14	14	13	14
No.....	85	90	87	86