

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Americans on WMD Proliferation

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Mar 16– 22, 2004
Sample Size: 1311

Margin of Error: +/- 2.8% [full sample]
+/-3.5% [3/5 sample]
+/-4.5% [2/5 sample]

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q1. Which is the more important principle for US foreign policy?

The US should use its power to make the world be the way that best serves US interests and values 16%

The US should coordinate its power together with Other countries according to shared ideas of what is best for the world as a whole83

(No answer).....2

[ARO FOR DIFFERENT RESPONDENTS – Q2a-d AND Q3a-d SHOULD GET SAME ORDER FOR EACH RESPONDENT]

[2/5 SAMPLE A,B]

Q2a-d. Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

The treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

	3/04	CCFR
Should	87%	6/02 81
Should not	12	14
(No answer).....	2	5

The treaty that bans all use of land mines:

	3/04	CCFR
		6/02

Should	83%	75
Should not	14	19
(No answer).....	3	6

The treaty that bans all chemical weapons:

Should	91%
Should not	7
(No answer).....	2

The treaty that bans all biological weapons:

Should	91%
Should not	7
(No answer).....	2

Q3a-d. Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. does or does not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

The treaty that prohibits nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

Does	56%
Does not	36
(No answer).....	7

The treaty that bans all use of land mines

Does	45%
Does not	47
(No answer).....	9

The treaty that bans all chemical weapons

Does	65%
Does not	27
(No answer).....	8

The treaty that bans all biological weapons

Does	68%
Does not	25
(No answer).....	7

Q4-Q7. *Held for future release.*

[2/5 SAMPLE D,E]

Q8. Do you think there is or is not an international treaty banning biological weapons?

Is.....	57%
Is not.....	40
(No answer).....	4

Q9-Q10. *Held for future release.*

[2/5 SAMPLE A,B]

Q37. 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?

Is necessary	34%
Is not necessary	65
(No answer).....	1

[2/5 SAMPLE A,D]

Q12. As you may know, it was recently discovered that scientists in Pakistan were illicitly selling nuclear weapons technology to Iran, North Korean and Libya. The Pakistan government has arrested the leading scientist and he has apologized. However, Pakistan has refused to allow international inspectors to monitor its nuclear weapons program to make sure that this does not happen again. Which of the following positions is closest to yours?

To get Pakistan to allow in inspectors, the US should apply pressure, such as economic sanctions, because it is essential to make sure that there is no further spreading of nuclear weapons technology 64%

The US should not put pressure on Pakistan, because if it does this might lead to such a backlash by radical Islamists that the Pakistan government might not continue to cooperate in the hunt for al Qaeda32

(No answer).....4

[2/5 SAMPLE B,E]

Q13. Overall, what do you think is the more important lesson to be learned from the recent discovery that scientists in Pakistan have transferred nuclear technology to Iran, North Korea, and Libya:

The US should seek to strengthen the international effort to stop the spread of nuclear weapons by giving international agencies more power to conduct intrusive inspections..... 73%

The US should realize that international efforts to stop the spread of nuclear weapons are ineffective and put more emphasis on the US threat to use military force against countries that try to develop nuclear weapons.....23

(No answer).....4

[2/5 SAMPLE A,B]

Q14. Here are some positions about the possible use of nuclear weapons by the United States. Which one comes closest to yours?

	3/04	CCFR 6/02
The U.S. should never use nuclear weapons under any circumstances	21%	22
The U.S. should only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack	60	55
In certain circumstances, the U.S. should use nuclear weapons even if it has not suffered a nuclear attack	18	21
(No answer).....	2	2

[2/5 SAMPLE C,D]

Q15. With regard to missile defense, do you think the U.S. should:

	3/04	CCFR 6/02
Build a missile defense system right away	21%	31
Do more research until such a system is proven to be effective.....	68	52

Not build a missile defense system at all.....8	14
(No answer).....2	3

Q16: There is much discussion as to the amount of money the government in Washington should spend for national defense and military purposes. How do you feel about this? Do you think we are spending:

	PIPA 3/04	Gallup 2/04	Gallup 5/03	Gallup 2/02	Gallup 2/01
Too much	41%	31	25	17	19
About the right amount	41	45	48	48	38
Too little.....	16	22	21	33	41
(No answer).....	2	2	6	2	2

[2/5 SAMPLE A,B]

Q17. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement. Since the US is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not.

	PIPA 3/04	Newsweek 3/03	Pew 12/02	CBS/NYTP/ 10/91	GallupP/ 5/72	Gallup* 10/64
Agree.....	20%	33	25	29	22	19
Disagree	79	62	72	66	72	72
(No answer).....	1	5	4	5	8	9

Q18-Q25. *Held for future release.*

[2/5 SAMPLE A,B]

Q26. Just your best guess: how many countries in the world do you think have secret programs for developing weapons of mass destruction? [Give number]

Median10

Q27. Just your best guess: how many nuclear weapons do you think the US has in the US, or on submarines, that are ready to be used on short notice? [Give number]

Median200

* Potomac Associates/Gallup

Q28. How many nuclear weapons do you think the US needs to have to make sure other countries are deterred from attacking it? [Give number]

Median100

Q29. Among the possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have, how important is the goal of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons?

	3/04	CCFR 6/02	CCFR 10/98	CCFR 10/94
Very important.....	84%	90.	82	82
Somewhat.....	13	8	14	14
Not very	1	†		
Not at all.....	1	1	1	2
(No answer).....	1	1	3	2

Q30. Do you think that when the US and Russia decrease their nuclear arms they should:

- Make it part of a legally binding and verifiable agreement between them..... 85%
- Do it through a general understanding that each country decides on its own how to implement.....12
- (No answer).....3

Q31. When the US and Russia reduce the number of their nuclear weapons as part of an arms control agreement, do you think that it is best for each side to:

- Destroy the weapons completely 72%
- Partially dismantle them so they could be reassembled later25
- (No answer).....3

† The CCFR question is slightly different, asking “(I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please say whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all.) How about...preventing the spread of nuclear weapons?”

Q32. Some people have proposed that the US and the other nuclear powers could lower the risk of accidental nuclear war by having a verifiable agreement to lower the number of nuclear weapons each country has on high alert—that is, ready to fire on very short notice. Others oppose this idea, saying it is too difficult to make sure that the other countries would not cheat. Do you think the US should or should not work with other nuclear powers to reduce the number of nuclear weapons on high alert?

Should	82%
Should not	16
(No answer).....	2

Q33. Some people say that the US should develop small nuclear weapons that might be easier to use than conventional weapons against some limited targets and might produce less fallout than existing nuclear weapons. Others say this is a bad idea, because even small nuclear weapons produce large amounts of fallout and that the US should be leading the world by working toward reducing nuclear weapons, not trying to develop new ways to use them.

Do you think the US should or should not develop small nuclear weapons?

Should	38%
Should not	59
(No answer).....	3

Q34. As you may know, there is an international treaty banning biological weapons that nearly all countries have signed. Currently there is some controversy about whether international inspectors should be able to examine biological research laboratories in all countries, including the US, to make sure they are not developing biological weapons. Do you think international inspectors should or should not have the right to examine biological research laboratories?

Should	92%
Should not	7
(No answer).....	2

Q35. Is it your impression that the US favors or opposes giving international inspectors the right to examine biological research laboratories in all countries, including the US, to make sure they are not developing biological weapons?

US favors	74%
US opposes.....	23
(No answer).....	3

[2/5 SAMPLE C,E]

Q36. As you may know there is an international treaty banning biological weapons that nearly all countries have signed. Currently there is some controversy about whether there should be international inspections of certain biological research laboratories in all countries, including the US, to make sure that countries are abiding by the treaty. Here are two positions in this debate.

- a. If international inspectors can look into US biological research laboratories they may get information that they can use for their country’s advantage in commercial biotechnology and biodefense.
- b. Since countries like Iran, North Korea, Russia, and China, have signed the treaty, it would certainly be important for US security to be able to inspect their laboratories to seek to make sure they are not developing biological weapons.

Now having read these arguments, do you favor or oppose having such inspections?

Favor	76%
Oppose	20
(No answer).....	3

Q11. *Held for future release.*

[2/5 SAMPLE C,D]

Statement: As you may know, since the end of the Cold War, the US has stated that it had no need and no plans to develop new types of nuclear weapons. Currently there is a debate about whether the US should develop new types of nuclear weapons. Here are some arguments on this issue. Please tell me if you find them convincing or unconvincing.

[PROS]

Q38a. It is unrealistic to think that it will ever be possible to eliminate nuclear weapons and as long as they are an important part of the defense of our country we should continue to improve their capability.

Convincing.....	55%
Unconvincing.....	43
(No answer).....	2

Q38b. We cannot be sure what the future holds and what use there may be for nuclear weapons in the future. Therefore, it is important to keep developing new types of nuclear weapons that might serve some unanticipated purpose.

Convincing.....	46%
Unconvincing.....	52
(No answer).....	2

[CONS]

Q38c. The immense destructiveness of nuclear weapons makes it critical that the US discourage other countries from developing them. The US would be setting a bad example if it were to abandon its restraint and start developing new types of nuclear weapons.

Convincing	63%
Unconvincing.....	35
(No answer).....	2

Q38d. Developing new types of nuclear weapons when we are already so far militarily superior to any other country is a big waste of money.

Convincing.....	46%
Unconvincing.....	53
(No answer).....	1

Q38e. So having heard these arguments, do you think the US should or should not develop new types of nuclear weapons, beyond those that it already has?

Should	39%
Should not.....	59
(No answer).....	1

[2/5 SAMPLE A,B]

Q39. Currently there is a debate about whether the US should work to invent new infectious diseases as part of its biodefense research. Here are two positions on this issue.

- a. The US should develop new infectious diseases, because it is always possible that terrorists will also develop them and we need to be ready with new vaccines and antidotes against them.
- b. The US should not develop new infectious diseases because then other countries are more likely to do so and there is a too great a danger that the new infectious diseases will be released into the environment by accident or malicious intent.

Do you think the US should or should not invent new infectious diseases as part of its biodefense research?

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

STATEMENT: There is a debate about whether the US should ratify the treaty that would prevent the testing of nuclear weapons by prohibiting nuclear test explosions worldwide.

Q41a. Which of these arguments do you find more convincing?

If countries cannot test nuclear weapons then it would
 Be harder for countries like China, India and Pakistan
 to improve their weapons, and non-nuclear countries
 that might try to develop nuclear weapons would not
 be sure they really work..... 43%

Since a crude nuclear weapon can be built without
 Doing testing, a treaty that bans testing cannot do much
 to help stop the spread of nuclear weapons53

(No answer).....4

Q41b. Which of these arguments do you find more convincing?

It is important for the US to be able to periodically test
 its nuclear weapons because that is the only way we can
 make sure they still work, and without this certainty
 America’s enemies might not be deterred from attacking
 the US..... 18%

The US has methods for making sure its nuclear
 Weapons work that do not require explosions and,
 anyway, the US has so many nuclear weapons America’s
 enemies have to assume that an overwhelming
 number will work77

(No answer).....5

Q41c. Having heard these arguments, do you think the US should or should not participate in the treaty banning nuclear test explosions worldwide?

Should 84%

Should not13

(No answer).....3

Q42. Do you think that a new treaty banning all weapons in space would be a good idea or a bad idea?

Good idea 74%
 Bad idea22
 (No answer).....4

[2/5 SAMPLE C,E]

Q43. As you may know, since the 1960s a number of treaties have banned nuclear weapons in space. Some people have proposed negotiating a new treaty against any kind of weapon in space, including weapons designed to knock out satellites. Here are two positions on this issue.

[ARO]

a. Such a treaty would stop a new arms race in space and would forbid weapons that would threaten US satellites, which are very important for managing US military capabilities.

b. Such a treaty would make it harder for the US to do research into missile defense, intended to protect the US homeland, and to build systems to protect US satellites from attack.

Do you think that a new treaty banning all weapons in space would be a good idea or a bad idea?

Good idea 65%
 Bad idea33
 (No answer).....3

Q52c. *Held for future release.*

[2/5 SAMPLE A,B] [ARO FOR DIFFERENT RESPONDENTS – Q44A AND Q44B SHOULD GET SAME ORDER FOR EACH RESPONDENT]

Q44a. Which position on nuclear weapons is closest to yours?

Nuclear weapons are morally wrong and the US should proceed to eliminate its arsenal whether or not others follow our lead 6%

Our goal should be to gradually eliminate all nuclear weapons through an international agreement, while developing effective systems for verifying all countries are eliminating theirs too55

We should do our best to reduce the number of nuclear weapons through verifiable international agreements, but it should not be our goal to eliminate them entirely26

Nuclear weapons give the US a uniquely powerful position in the world. It is not in the interest of the US

to participate in treaties that would reduce or eliminate
its nuclear arsenal.....9

(No answer).....4

Q44b. Which of these four positions do you think is the position of the Bush administration?

Nuclear weapons are morally wrong and the US should
proceed to eliminate its arsenal whether or not others
follow our lead 3%

Our goal should be to gradually eliminate all nuclear
weapons through an international agreement, while
developing effective systems for verifying all countries
are eliminating theirs too24

We should do our best to reduce the number of nuclear
weapons through verifiable international agreements,
but it should not be our goal to eliminate them entirely32

Nuclear weapons give the US a uniquely powerful
position in the world. It is not in the interest of the
US to participate in treaties that would reduce or
eliminate its nuclear arsenal.....34

(No answer).....8

Q45a. As you may know, the US and most of the world’s countries have signed a treaty called the Non-Proliferation Treaty. According to this treaty, the countries of the world that do not have nuclear weapons have agreed not to try to acquire them. In exchange, the countries that have nuclear weapons, including the US, have agreed to actively work together toward eliminating their nuclear weapons. Were you aware or not aware that the US has agreed to do this?

Aware 39%

Not aware59

(No answer).....2

Q45b. Do you think it was a good idea or a bad idea for the US to agree to work toward eliminating nuclear weapons as part of the Non-Proliferation Treaty?

Good idea 84%

Bad idea14

(No answer).....2

Q45c. Do you think the US should or should not do more to work with the other nuclear powers toward eliminating their nuclear weapons?

Should 86%

Should not11

(No answer).....3

Q46. As you may know, in the past the US has promised to not use nuclear weapons against countries that do not have nuclear weapons, as a way of encouraging them not to acquire or build nuclear weapons. Currently there is a debate about what the US should do in regard to this commitment. Which position is closest to yours?

[ARO a and b ONLY]

The US should reconfirm this commitment so as to discourage countries from trying to acquire or build nuclear weapons..... 57%

The US should explicitly retract this commitment so that countries that have biological or chemical weapons will be deterred from using them, out of fear that the US will use nuclear weapons in response17

The US should not make a statement either way, but just leave things as they are20

(No answer).....7

[2/5 SAMPLE D,E]

Q47. Which of the following positions is closest to yours?

To deter other countries from using chemical or biological weapons against the US, the US should say that in response to such an attack it would retaliate with nuclear weapons..... 13%

America has overwhelming conventional military power to destroy any target it chooses, and it is not a good idea for the US to threaten to be the first to use nuclear weapons when we are trying to discourage other countries from developing or using them84

(No answer).....3

Q48. *Held for future release.*

Q49-52b, Q43a. *Held for future release.*

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q53. If the upcoming election for president were held today for whom would you vote:

George W. Bush..... 45%
John F. Kerry49
(No answer).....6

Q53a. How sure are you that you will vote this way?

Very sure Bush..... 33%
Somewhat sure Bush.....9
Not very sure Bush.....3
Very sure Kerry.....34
Somewhat sure Kerry.....11
Not very sure Kerry4
(No answer).....6

Demographic Data:

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

Strongly Republican 14%
Leaning toward Republican13
Independent.....27
Leaning toward Democrat15
Strongly Democrat.....20
Other8
(No answer).....3

D2. How would place your views on the following scale [“Middle of the Road” AS THE MIDDLE POSITION AND “Far left” AND “Far right” AS THE TWO ENDPOINTS ON 9 POINT UNNUMBERED SCALE]

Far left (1)	2%
2.....	2
3.....	4
4.....	6
Middle of the road (5).....	58
6.....	10
7.....	9
8.....	4
Far right (9).....	2
(No answer).....	4

D3. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

Extremely liberal.....	2%
Liberal.....	9
Slightly liberal.....	11
Moderate or middle of the road	22
Slightly conservative.....	12
Conservative	14
Extremely conservative.....	3
Haven't thought about it.....	26
(No answer).....	1

D4. Did you vote for a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate in the election in November 2002?

Yes	51%
No.....	47
(No answer).....	2

D4. Age (calculated from birth date)

18-29	22%
30-44	31
45-59	26
60+	22

D5. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	16%
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High School Graduate.....	33
Some College.....	27
College Graduate	24

D6. Race/Ethnicity

White, non-Hispanic	73%
Black	12
Hispanic	11
Other	5

D7. Gender

Male	48%
Female.....	52

D8. Region

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