



**The Hall of Mirrors:
Perceptions and Misperceptions
in the
Congressional Foreign Policy Process**

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Sep 8–12, 2004
Sample Size: 959

Margin of Error: +/- 3.2 % [full sample]
+/- 4.0 % [2/3 sample]

Q13. With regard to missile defense, do you think the US should:

	9/04	11/02	CCFR 7/02
Build a missile defense system right away	20%	30	31
Do more research until such a system is proven to be effective.....	62	56	52
Not build a missile defense system at all ...	13	9	14
(No answer).....	6	5	3

[STATEMENT]

Next are a series of questions, some of which ask for your impression of some things that you may or may not know. Please just indicate your impression, whether or not you are very confident that it is correct.

[2/3 SAMPLE A,B]

Q14a-c: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should the U.S. participate or not participate in the Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming?

	Participate	Not participate
The majority of Congress.....	55%	32

Q15a-b-Q16a-b: *Previously released.*

[2/3 SAMPLE B,C]

Q17a-c: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should defense spending be expanded, cut back, or kept about the same?

	Expanded	Cut back	Kept same
The majority of Congress	29%	23	42

Q18a-b-Q19a-b: *Previously released.*

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q20a-d: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should the US participate or not participate in the International Criminal Court that tries individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them?

	Participate	Not Participate
Your member of Congress	57%	31
The majority of Congress	54	33

Q21a-d: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

In general, when the United States is asked to be part of a United Nations international peacekeeping force in a troubled part of the world, should the US take part, or should we leave this job to other countries?

	Take Part	Leave Job to Others
Your member of Congress	62%	27
The majority of Congress.....	63	27

Q22a-d: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should the U.S. pay its UN dues in full?

Favor	Oppose
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Your member of Congress	43%	40
The majority of Congress	40	45

Q23a-b: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

Should the UN be given the power to fund its activities by imposing a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil?

	Favor	Oppose
Your member of Congress	33%	51
The majority of Congress	33	52

Q24a-b: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

If another country files a complaint with the World Trade Organization and it rules against the US, as a general rule, should the US comply with that decision or not?

	Should	Should not
Your member of Congress	56%	30
The majority of Congress	50	38

Q25a-d: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

In the Middle East conflict, should the United States take Israel's side, take the Palestinians' side, or not take either side?

	Take Israel's side	Take the Palestinians' side	Not take either side
Your member of Congress	31%	2	53
The majority of Congress	37	2	49

Q26a-d: *What is your impression of the positions of the following people or groups on this question:*

With regard to missile defense, should the US:
 --Build a missile defense system right away
 --Do more research until such a system is proven to be effective

--Not build a missile defense system at all

	Build a missile defense system right away	Do more research until proven effective	Not build at all
Your member of Congress	19%	51	15
The majority of Congress	22	52	11

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: *I'd like you to think about those Americans who are in various kinds of leadership positions in the US—in government, business, universities, and so on. Just based on your impressions, please select what you think would be the positions of these leaders on the following questions.*

[2/3 SAMPLE B,C]

Q27. As a general rule, should the U.S. use troops to stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people?

Most leaders would favor	53%
Most leaders would oppose	9
Views would be evenly balanced	33
(No answer).....	5

[2/3 SAMPLE C,A]

Q28: When dealing with international problems, the US should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that the United States will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.

Most leaders would agree	34%
Most leaders would disagree.....	25
Views would be evenly balanced	37
(No answer).....	5

Q29. Who should have the stronger role in helping the Iraqis to write a new constitution and build a new democratic government, the United States or the United Nations?

Most leaders would say United States	26%
Most leaders would say United Nations	41
Views are evenly balanced.....	33

Q34-Q37: *To be released.*

[FULL SAMPLE]

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

George W. Bush.....	45%
John F. Kerry	44
(No answer).....	11

[IF ANSWER “BUSH OR “KERRY”]

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

Very sure Bush.....	37%
Somewhat sure Bush.....	6
Not very sure Bush.....	3
Very sure Kerry.....	35%
Somewhat sure Kerry.....	7
Not very sure Kerry	3
(No answer).....	11

Demographic Data:

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

Republican	28%
Independent.....	28
Democrat.....	34
Other	7

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

Yes	55%
No.....	42

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

Christian.....	69%
Jewish.....	1
Muslim	1
Buddhist	1

Hindu.....	1
Other religion.....	7
No religious preference.....	14
Agnostic.....	3
Atheist.....	2
(No answer).....	3

[If “Christian”]

D3a. Would you describe yourself as

Protestant.....	40%*
Catholic.....	20
Mormon.....	1
Orthodox.....	2
(No answer).....	7

[If “Christian”]

D3b. Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or evangelical?

Yes.....	21%*
No.....	32
No opinion.....	15
(No answer).....	*

[If Answer “Christian,” “Jewish,” “Muslim,” “Buddhist,” “Hindu,” Or “Other Religion” In D3]

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.....	25%*
Almost every week.....	10
About once a month.....	7
Seldom.....	28
Never.....	8
(No answer).....	1

D5. Age

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

*Percent of total sample

D6. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	16%
High School Graduate.....	32
Some College	27
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	37
West	23

Questions FROM PIPA/KN POLL OF NOVEMBER 2002

Here are some questions on how you would WANT your member of Congress in the US House of Representatives to vote on some issues.

Based on what you know, would you want your Congressional representative to vote for or against the US participating in the following treaties and agreements?

Q1a: The Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming

Vote for US participation.....	64%
Vote against US participation	21
(No answer).....	15

Q1b: The treaty that bans all use of land mines

Vote for US participation..... 73%
 Vote against US participation19
 (No answer).....8

Q1c The treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

Vote for US participation..... 81%
 Vote against US participation14
 (No answer).....5

Q1d: The agreement to establish an International Criminal Court that would try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them

Vote for US participation..... 74%
 Vote against US participation19
 (No answer).....7

Q2: In general, when the United States is asked to be part of a United Nations international peacekeeping force in a troubled part of the world, would you want your Congressional representative to vote in favor of the US taking part or to vote to leave this job to other countries?

Vote for US taking part..... 73%
 Vote to leave this job to other countries23
 (No answer).....4

Q3 Thinking about defense spending, would you want your Congressional representative to vote to

Increase it 41%
 Decrease it.....13
 Keep it about the same as this year43
 (No answer).....3

Q4. Would you want your Congressional representative to vote for or against the U.S. paying its UN dues in full?

For paying UN dues in full 45%
 Against paying UN dues in full46

(No answer).....10

Q5. Would you want your Congressional representative to vote for or against a resolution that says that the U.S. should only invade Iraq with UN approval and the support of its allies?

For resolution 65%
 Against resolution31
 (No answer).....4

Now please answer some questions on how you imagine your member of Congress in the US House of Representatives WOULD vote on a number of issues.

Just based on your impressions, do you think your Congressional representative would vote for or against the US participating in the following treaties and agreements:

Q6a: The Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming

Vote for US participation..... 56%
 Vote against US participation29
 (No answer).....14

Q6b: The treaty that bans all use of land mines

Vote for US participation..... 64%
 Vote against US participation25
 (No answer).....11

Q6c The treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

Vote for US participation..... 67%
 Vote against US participation23
 (No answer).....11

Q6d: The agreement to establish an International Criminal Court that would try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them

Vote for US participation..... 66%
 Vote against US participation22
 (No answer).....12

Q7: In general, when the United States is asked to be part of a United Nations international peacekeeping force in a troubled part of the world, do you think your Congressional representative would vote in favor of the US taking part, or do you think your representative would vote to leave this job to other countries?

Vote for US taking part.....	75%
Vote to leave this job to other countries	16
(No answer).....	8

Q8 Thinking about defense spending, do you think your Congressional representative would vote to:

Increase it	50%
Decrease it.....	10
Keep it the same as this year.....	32
(No answer).....	7

Q9. Do you think your Congressional representative would vote for or against the U.S. paying its UN dues in full?

For paying UN dues in full	41%
Against paying UN dues in full	44
(No answer).....	14

Q10 Do you think your Congressional representative would vote for or against a resolution that says that the U.S. should only invade Iraq with UN approval and the support of its allies?

For resolution	57%
Against resolution	33
(No answer).....	10

Half sample A

Now thinking about CONGRESS AS A WHOLE, please answer some questions about how you imagine the majority would vote on some issues.

Just based on your impressions, do you think a majority in Congress would vote for or against the U.S. participating in the following treaties and agreements?

Q11a: The Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming

Vote for US participation.....	52%
Vote against US participation	36
(No answer).....	12

Q11b: The treaty that bans all use of land mines

Vote for US participation.....	61%
Vote against US participation	29
(No answer).....	11

Q11c The treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

Vote for US participation.....	64%
Vote against US participation	27
(No answer).....	9

Q11d: The agreement to establish an International Criminal Court that would try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them

Vote for US participation	64%
Vote against US participation	25
(No answer).....	10

Q12: In general, when the United States is asked to be part of a United Nations international peacekeeping force in a troubled part of the world, do you think a majority in Congress would vote in favor of the US taking part, or vote to leave this job to other countries?

Vote for US taking part.....	77%
Vote to leave this job to other countries	17
(No answer).....	6

Q13 Thinking about defense spending, do you think a majority in Congress would vote to

Increase it.....	59%
Decrease it.....	10
Keep it about the same as this year	27
(No answer).....	5

Q14. Do you think a majority in Congress would vote for or against the U.S. paying its UN dues in full?

Vote for paying UN dues in full	43%
Vote against paying UN dues	46
(No answer).....	11

Q15. Do you think a majority in Congress would vote for or against a resolution that says that the U.S. should only invade Iraq with UN approval and the support of its allies?

Vote for resolution	56%
Vote against resolution	38
(No answer).....	7

Q16-20. *Released previously.*

Demographic questions

[Resume full sample]

D1. In politics today do you think of yourself as...*[all but 'other' alternately reverse ordered]*

Republican	22%
Leaning towards Republican.....	12
Independent.....	20
Leaning towards Democrat.....	8
Democrat.....	28
Other	8
(No answer)	3

D2. 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? *[all but 'no answer' alternately reverse ordered]*

Extremely liberal.....	2
Liberal	9
Slightly liberal.....	8
Moderate or middle of the road	18
Slightly conservative.....	10
Conservative	17
Extremely conservative.....	3
Haven't thought much about this.....	31
(No answer).....	2

Demographics from respondent profile

D2. Gender

Male	48%
Female.....	52

D3. Age (calculated from birth date)

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

D4. Education level (collapsed categories)

Less than High School	15%
High School Graduate.....	33
Some College	27
College Graduate	25

D5. Region

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

D6. Race/Ethnicity

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