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:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9/04</th>
<th>11/02</th>
<th>CCFR 7/02</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Build a missile defense system right away</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do more research until such a system is proven to be effective</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not build a missile defense system at all</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No answer)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[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?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participate</th>
<th>Not participate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55%</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Expanded</th>
<th>Cut back</th>
<th>Kept same</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The majority of Congress</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Participate</th>
<th>Not Participate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your member of Congress</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The majority of Congress</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Take Part</th>
<th>Leave Job to Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your member of Congress</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The majority of Congress</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Hall of Mirrors

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your member of Congress</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The majority of Congress</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Should</th>
<th>Should not</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your member of Congress</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The majority of Congress</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Take Israel’s side</th>
<th>Take the Palestinians’ side</th>
<th>Not take either side</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your member of Congress</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The majority of Congress</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Build a missile defense system right away</th>
<th>Do more research until proven effective</th>
<th>Not build at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your member of Congress ................... 19%</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The majority of Congress ................... 22</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[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.
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

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 participation: 19
- (No answer): 8

Q1c: The treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

- Vote for US participation: 81%
- Vote against US participation: 14
- (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 participation: 19
- (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 countries: 23
- (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 year: 43
- (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 full: 46
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 resolution ....................................................... 31
(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 participation ...................................... 29
(No answer) ................................................................. 14

Q6b: The treaty that bans all use of land mines

Vote for US participation ............................................. 64%
Vote against US participation ...................................... 25
(No answer) ................................................................. 11

Q6c The treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

Vote for US participation ............................................. 67%
Vote against US participation ...................................... 23
(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 participation ...................................... 22
(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