

**RESURGENT REPUBLIC
NATIONAL SURVEY OF REGISTERED VOTERS
REGARDING INTERROGATION OF DETAINEES**

MAY 11-14, 2009

Hello, this is ___ with Ayres, McHenry & Associates, a national public opinion research company. We're talking with people in your area today about some issues facing the country. We are not trying to sell anything, your answers are completely confidential, and we would really appreciate your cooperation (DO NOT PAUSE).

A. Are you registered to vote in the county in which you live?

YESGO TO QUESTION 1
NOGO TO QUESTION B

B. Is there anyone else in your household who is registered to vote in your county?

YES May I speak with that person please? GO TO INTRO
NO THANK AND CLOSE

General Attitudes Toward Interrogation of Detainees

1. You may have read or heard about a controversy over harsh interrogations of high-value al-Qaeda detainees, people who may have knowledge of imminent terrorist threats against the United States. Defenders call harsh interrogations “enhanced interrogation techniques,” and critics call them “torture.” How closely have you followed these stories: very closely, somewhat closely, or not too closely?

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
VERY CLOSELY	31%	35%	32%	25%
SOMEWHAT CLOSELY	41%	38%	44%	40%
NOT TOO CLOSELY	28%	26%	22%	34%
DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION.....	1%	0%	2%	1%

2. Based on what you have read or heard, would you say harsh interrogation of detainees was justified or not justified?

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
JUSTIFIED	53%	82%	53%	27%
NOT JUSTIFIED.....	34%	10%	31%	57%
DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION.....	13%	8%	16%	16%

Results are based on 1,000 weighted cases, Margin of Error = ±3.10 percent. MoE for Republicans = ±5.6%, MoE for Independents = ±5.70%, and MoE for Democrats = ±5.20%. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

Messages About Interrogation of Detainees

Now I would like to read you several pairs of statements that might be made by policymakers about harsh interrogation of detainees, and have you tell me, for each pair, which one you agree with more. *IF ANSWERED, ASK:* Do you strongly agree with that statement or somewhat agree with that statement? (ROTATE STATEMENTS A AND B)

<i>STRONG AGREE STMT A</i>	<i>SMWHT AGREE STMT A</i>	<i>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW (VOL)</i>	<i>SMWHT AGREE STMT B</i>	<i>STRONG AGREE STMT B</i>
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Overall Arguments

(ROTATE 3-4)

3. Congressman A says America should never use harsh interrogation techniques on detainees, because they are torture. Those techniques undermine our values, hurt our standing in the world, endanger American troops who might be taken prisoner, and yield little or no useful information that could not be obtained by other means.	<i>ALL</i>	23%		11%		5%	17%	44%
	<i>REP</i>	14%		4%		3%	15%	65%
	<i>IND</i>	23%		12%		5%	17%	43%
	<i>DEM</i>	31%		18%		6%	19%	27%
	<i>Totals</i>							
	<i>ALL</i>		34%					61%
	<i>REP</i>		18%					80%
	<i>IND</i>		35%					60%
	<i>DEM</i>		49%					46%

Congressman B says that, while harsh interrogation techniques of detainees should be used only rarely, they may be necessary in exceptional situations to protect the country. Those techniques are justified when they are the only way to stop the murder of another 3000 innocent Americans in another 9/11.

4. Congressman A says harsh interrogation techniques have not made America safer.	<i>ALL</i>	24%		15%		9%	19%	33%
	<i>REP</i>	15%		8%		6%	20%	51%
	<i>IND</i>	22%		17%		10%	18%	33%
	<i>DEM</i>	35%		20%		9%	18%	18%
	<i>Totals</i>							
	<i>ALL</i>		39%					52%
	<i>REP</i>		23%					71%
	<i>IND</i>		39%					51%
	<i>DEM</i>		55%					36%

Results are based on 1,000 weighted cases, Margin of Error = ±3.10 percent. MoE for Republicans = ±5.6%, MoE for Independents = ±5.70%, and MoE for Democrats = ±5.20%. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

	<i>STRONG AGREE STMT A</i>	<i>SMWHT AGREE STMT A</i>	<i>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW (VOL)</i>	<i>SMWHT AGREE STMT B</i>	<i>STRONG AGREE STMT B</i>
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Effectiveness of Harsh Interrogation Techniques

(ROTATE 5-8)

5. Congressman A says harsh interrogation of detainees is not effective. It yields little useful information that could not have been obtained by traditional interrogation methods. Harsh interrogation makes detainees lie to stop the harsh treatment. While traditional methods might take more time, they are more effective in the long run.	<i>ALL</i>	23%	16%	6%	18%	37%
	<i>REP</i>	13%	9%	3%	18%	58%
	<i>IND</i>	20%	15%	9%	19%	37%
	<i>DEM</i>	35%	22%	7%	17%	19%
	Totals					
	<i>ALL</i>		39%			55%
	<i>REP</i>		22%			76%
	<i>IND</i>		35%			56%
	<i>DEM</i>		57%			36%

Congressman B says harsh interrogation of detainees is effective. Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the master mind of 9/11, refused to talk to interrogators under traditional interrogation methods, and disclosed information about planned attacks only after being waterboarded many times. American lives were saved by using these enhanced techniques.

6. Congressman A says the claim that harsh interrogation techniques stopped other terrorist attacks is unclear and an exaggeration. Torture is never justified, and when it becomes public it helps al-Qaeda recruit more terrorists.	<i>ALL</i>	21%	16%	9%	19%	35%
	<i>REP</i>	11%	9%	7%	17%	55%
	<i>IND</i>	19%	14%	9%	22%	36%
	<i>DEM</i>	33%	25%	8%	17%	17%
	Totals					
	<i>ALL</i>		37%			54%
	<i>REP</i>		20%			72%
	<i>IND</i>		33%			58%
	<i>DEM</i>		58%			34%

Congressman B says former CIA directors for both Republican and Democratic administrations have said harsh interrogation techniques stopped over 20 plots, including a plan to fly a hijacked airplane into the Library Tower in Los Angeles and an effort to blow up apartment buildings in Chicago.

Results are based on 1,000 weighted cases, Margin of Error = ±3.10 percent. MoE for Republicans = ±5.6%, MoE for Independents = ±5.70%, and MoE for Democrats = ±5.20%. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

		STRONG AGREE STMT A	SMWHT AGREE STMT A	NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW (VOL)	SMWHT AGREE STMT B	STRONG AGREE STMT B
7. Congressman A says that even if harsh interrogation techniques were effective in yielding useful information, that is beside the point. Civilized societies do not torture, and any information gained is not worth the cost to America in undermining our values and our standing in the eyes of the world.	ALL	24%	15%	4%	20%	37%
	REP	12%	7%	3%	21%	58%
	IND	22%	14%	4%	21%	39%
	DEM	37%	21%	5%	19%	18%
	Totals					
	ALL	39%				57%
	REP	19%				79%
	IND	36%				60%
	DEM	58%				37%

Congressman B says that these techniques yielded information that was worth the cost, since the official judgment of the intelligence community is that “were it not for this program. . . al-Qaeda and its allies would have succeeded in launching another attack against the American homeland.”

8. Congressman A says America can get whatever information we need from detainees in the future by following the Army Field Manual that does not use harsh techniques. That manual follows the Geneva Conventions, and is the international standard for how prisoners should be treated.	ALL	24%	18%	7%	19%	32%
	REP	12%	10%	5%	20%	52%
	IND	25%	15%	9%	20%	32%
	DEM	34%	27%	6%	18%	15%
	Totals					
	ALL	42%				51%
	REP	22%				72%
	IND	40%				52%
	DEM	61%				33%

Congressman B says the Obama Administration has tied the hands of the CIA in getting information from detainees, because the Army Field Manual is designed for young soldiers capturing the enemy in the field, not for experienced interrogators with high-value detainees in a war on terror.

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<i>STRONG AGREE STMT A</i>	<i>SMWHT AGREE STMT A</i>	<i>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW (VOL)</i>	<i>SMWHT AGREE STMT B</i>	<i>STRONG AGREE STMT B</i>
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Release of Justice Department Memos

(ROTATE 9-10)

9. Congressman A says the Obama Administration made the right decision in releasing memos from the Bush Justice Department on harsh interrogation techniques. America and the world have a right to know the thinking behind this controversial episode in our history so that it will never happen again.	<i>ALL</i>	25%	16%	5%	16%	38%
	<i>REP</i>	13%	8%	1%	14%	64%
	<i>IND</i>	24%	12%	7%	19%	38%
	<i>DEM</i>	37%	25%	6%	16%	15%
	Totals					
	<i>ALL</i>		41%			54%
	<i>REP</i>		21%			78%
	<i>IND</i>		36%			57%
	<i>DEM</i>		62%			31%

Congressman B says five former CIA directors who served under both Democratic and Republican presidents believe the Obama Administration made a serious mistake in releasing memos from the Bush Justice Department on harsh interrogation techniques. The release has undermined the CIA's ability to disrupt plots by groups that want to harm our country.

10. Congressman A says the release of memos from the Bush Justice Department on harsh interrogation techniques is important to show the world that the U.S. will not engage in torture, and the Obama Administration is committed to ensuring suspects are treated humanely.	<i>ALL</i>	25%	18%	8%	18%	32%
	<i>REP</i>	14%	9%	6%	18%	52%
	<i>IND</i>	23%	16%	11%	16%	34%
	<i>DEM</i>	37%	28%	5%	19%	11%
	Totals					
	<i>ALL</i>		43%			50%
	<i>REP</i>		23%			70%
	<i>IND</i>		39%			50%
	<i>DEM</i>		65%			30%

Congressman B says the release of memos from the Bush Justice Department on harsh interrogation techniques discloses tactics used to protect national security for the sake of scoring cheap political points. The decision made America less safe.

Results are based on 1,000 weighted cases, Margin of Error = ±3.10 percent. MoE for Republicans = ±5.6%, MoE for Independents = ±5.70%, and MoE for Democrats = ±5.20%. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

	<i>STRONG AGREE STMT A</i>	<i>SMWHT AGREE STMT A</i>	<i>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW (VOL)</i>	<i>SMWHT AGREE STMT B</i>	<i>STRONG AGREE STMT B</i>
<u>Criminal Investigations</u>					
11. Congressman A says there should be a criminal investigation into the Justice Department lawyers who wrote legal memos authorizing harsh interrogation techniques. We need to hold people accountable for their advice justifying what was really torture.	<i>ALL</i> 20%	12%	6%	19%	43%
	<i>REP</i> 13%	5%	3%	16%	63%
	<i>IND</i> 19%	10%	6%	19%	47%
	<i>DEM</i> 28%	19%	8%	24%	21%
	Totals				
	<i>ALL</i>	32%			62%
	<i>REP</i>	18%			79%
	<i>IND</i>	29%			66%
	<i>DEM</i>	47%			45%

Congressman B says there should not be a criminal investigation into harsh interrogation techniques. That investigation would divide the country, turn policy disagreements into criminal charges, and have a chilling effect on future efforts to keep America safe. We should thank the people who kept us safe, not prosecute them.

Use of Harsh Techniques

(ROTATE 12-13)

12. Congressman A says that waterboarding, stress positions, and sleep deprivation are torture and should never be used.	<i>ALL</i> 23%	11%	4%	20%	42%
	<i>REP</i> 11%	7%	2%	18%	62%
	<i>IND</i> 23%	8%	6%	18%	45%
	<i>DEM</i> 34%	19%	5%	21%	21%

Congressman B says that waterboarding, stress positions, and sleep deprivation are techniques used to train American special forces soldiers who may be captured, and should be used only against suspected terrorists when necessary.

13. Congressman A says it makes no difference how carefully these techniques were used on detainees. Torture is torture, and America should never engage in torture.	<i>ALL</i> 25%	11%	5%	19%	40%
	<i>REP</i> 11%	6%	3%	18%	62%
	<i>IND</i> 24%	6%	7%	21%	42%
	<i>DEM</i> 38%	19%	4%	19%	20%
	Totals				
	<i>ALL</i>	36%			59%
	<i>REP</i>	17%			80%
	<i>IND</i>	30%			63%
	<i>DEM</i>	57%			39%

Congressman B says these techniques were used on a very limited number of detainees, only three in the case of waterboarding, and medical personnel were present at all times to protect the health of the detainees.

Results are based on 1,000 weighted cases, Margin of Error = ±3.10 percent. MoE for Republicans = ±5.6%, MoE for Independents = ±5.70%, and MoE for Democrats = ±5.20%. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

	<i>STRONG AGREE STMT A</i>	<i>SMWHT AGREE STMT A</i>	<i>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW (VOL)</i>	<i>SMWHT AGREE STMT B</i>	<i>STRONG AGREE STMT B</i>
Congressional Briefings					
14. Congressman A says Congressional leaders like Speaker Nancy Pelosi were only told that harsh interrogation techniques were being considered, not that they were actually going to be used. These leaders are right to object to them after finding out they were actually used on detainees.	<i>ALL</i> 13%	16%	13%	19%	38%
	<i>REP</i> 10%	5%	8%	16%	62%
	<i>IND</i> 13%	11%	15%	22%	39%
	<i>DEM</i> 16%	30%	15%	21%	18%
	<i>Totals</i>				
	<i>ALL</i>	39%			57%
	<i>REP</i>	15%			78%
	<i>IND</i>	24%			61%
	<i>DEM</i>	46%			39%

Congressman B says Congressional leaders like Speaker Nancy Pelosi were thoroughly briefed on harsh interrogation techniques before they were used, and they are only objecting to the techniques now because of politics.

Interrogation Techniques

Now I would like to read you a list of interrogation techniques that were considered by the Bush Administration and CIA when questioning detainees. For each of the following, would you please tell me if you consider each technique to be justified or not justified for the United States to use when trying to get information that could prevent future terrorist attacks. (RANDOMIZE 15-24)

		<i>JUSTIFIED</i>	<i>NOT JUSTIFIED</i>	<i>DON'T KNOW</i>
15. Making detainees remain naked during interrogation by interviewers of the same gender, as long as there is no threat of sexual abuse.	<i>ALL</i>	42%	53%	5%
	<i>REP</i>	57%	35%	7%
	<i>IND</i>	45%	51%	3%
	<i>DEM</i>	26%	71%	3%
16. Waterboarding, where a detainee is strapped to a flat board, his face covered with a hood and cloth, and pouring water on the cloth in a way that simulates the feeling of being drowned.	<i>ALL</i>	46%	50%	4%
	<i>REP</i>	75%	20%	6%
	<i>IND</i>	49%	46%	5%
	<i>DEM</i>	18%	80%	2%
17. Diet alteration, where detainees are given only high-protein fluids, with a minimum of 1000 calories per day.	<i>ALL</i>	59%	33%	8%
	<i>REP</i>	78%	15%	7%
	<i>IND</i>	63%	28%	9%
	<i>DEM</i>	41%	53%	6%
18. Sleep deprivation, where detainees are not allowed to fall asleep for a maximum of 180 hours, or seven and a half days.	<i>ALL</i>	48%	47%	5%
	<i>REP</i>	71%	24%	6%
	<i>IND</i>	51%	44%	5%
	<i>DEM</i>	26%	71%	3%
19. Walling, where a detainee is pushed into a flexible, false wall so his shoulder blades hit the wall causing it to make a loud noise.	<i>ALL</i>	51%	41%	8%
	<i>REP</i>	73%	19%	9%
	<i>IND</i>	56%	38%	6%
	<i>DEM</i>	28%	64%	8%

Results are based on 1,000 weighted cases, Margin of Error = ±3.10 percent. MoE for Republicans = ±5.6%, MoE for Independents = ±5.70%, and MoE for Democrats = ±5.20%. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

		<i>JUSTIFIED</i>	<i>NOT JUSTIFIED</i>	<i>DON'T KNOW</i>
20. Striking a detainee in the face with an open palm.	<i>ALL</i>	47%	48%	5%
	<i>REP</i>	63%	31%	6%
	<i>IND</i>	49%	45%	6%
	<i>DEM</i>	32%	64%	4%
21. Striking a detainee on the stomach with the back of an open hand, provided the interrogator is within 18 inches and moves only from the elbow to the hand to strike the suspect.	<i>ALL</i>	49%	44%	7%
	<i>REP</i>	66%	27%	8%
	<i>IND</i>	51%	43%	7%
	<i>DEM</i>	32%	62%	6%
22. Requiring detainees to stand four to five feet from a wall and support themselves with their fingers touching the wall and not moving their feet or hands.	<i>ALL</i>	60%	33%	7%
	<i>REP</i>	80%	13%	7%
	<i>IND</i>	63%	28%	9%
	<i>DEM</i>	39%	53%	7%
23. Keeping detainees in cramped confinement, in a space only large enough to stand and sit for up to 18 hours, or a space only large enough to sit in for up to two hours.	<i>ALL</i>	60%	35%	5%
	<i>REP</i>	80%	15%	5%
	<i>IND</i>	65%	31%	4%
	<i>DEM</i>	39%	56%	5%
24. Water dousing, where cold water above 40 degrees Fahrenheit is poured on detainees from a container or hose without a nozzle, but stopping short of hypothermia.	<i>ALL</i>	49%	46%	6%
	<i>REP</i>	73%	19%	7%
	<i>IND</i>	52%	42%	6%
	<i>DEM</i>	24%	73%	3%

25. Now that we have talked about these issues for a while, and heard arguments for and against these techniques, let me ask you one question again. Based on what you have read or heard, would you say harsh interrogation of detainees was justified or not justified?

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
JUSTIFIED	56%	85%	59%	30%
NOT JUSTIFIED	36%	11%	31%	63%
DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION	8%	5%	10%	8%

Demographics

Now I have a few questions just for statistical purposes.

26. In politics today, do you normally think of yourself as (ROTATE: a Republican, an independent, or a Democrat)?

IF "REPUBLICAN" OR "DEMOCRAT", ASK: Would you consider yourself a strong or a not-so-strong Republican/Democrat?	STRONG REPUBLICAN	22%
	NOT-SO-STRONG REPUBLICAN	8%
	IND LEAN REPUBLICAN	9%
	INDEPENDENT/NO PREF	13%
IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK: Do you think of yourself as closer to the (ROTATE: Republican or Democratic Party)?	IND LEAN DEMOCRAT	8%
	NOT-SO-STRONG DEMOCRAT	11%
	STRONG DEMOCRAT	25%
	REFUSED	4%

Results are based on 1,000 weighted cases, Margin of Error = ±3.10 percent. MoE for Republicans = ±5.6%, MoE for Independents = ±5.70%, and MoE for Democrats = ±5.20%. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

27. When thinking about politics today, do you normally consider yourself to be (ROTATE: very conservative, somewhat conservative, moderate, somewhat liberal, or very liberal)?

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
VERY CONSERVATIVE.....	18%	38%	13%	5%
SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE.....	28%	40%	26%	19%
MODERATE.....	28%	13%	41%	30%
SOMEWHAT LIBERAL.....	16%	3%	13%	29%
VERY LIBERAL.....	7%	2%	4%	14%
NO OPINION.....	5%	4%	3%	4%

28. Would you please stop me when I read the correct category for your age?

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
18 TO 34.....	25%	19%	28%	30%
35 TO 49.....	32%	38%	31%	27%
50 TO 64.....	24%	28%	24%	20%
65 OR OLDER.....	19%	15%	16%	23%
REFUSED (DO NOT READ).....	1%	1%	1%	0%

29. Would you please stop me when I read the correct category for your total household income?

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
\$25,000 OR LESS.....	13%	9%	13%	16%
\$25,000 TO \$50,000.....	20%	17%	23%	21%
\$50,000 TO \$75,000.....	22%	22%	24%	22%
\$75,000 TO \$100,000.....	16%	18%	13%	16%
\$100,000 TO \$150,000.....	13%	15%	11%	13%
\$150,000 TO \$250,000.....	5%	7%	6%	3%
\$250,000 OR MORE.....	3%	4%	3%	3%
REFUSED.....	8%	8%	8%	7%

30. Is your religious background Protestant, Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF SOMETHING ELSE OR UNCLEAR RESPONSE ASK: Is that a Christian religion or not?)

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
PROTESTANT.....	34%	38%	35%	32%
CATHOLIC.....	25%	26%	25%	23%
OTHER CHRISTIAN.....	22%	21%	22%	23%
JEWISH.....	3%	1%	2%	5%
OTHER NON-CHRISTIAN.....	6%	5%	4%	9%
AGNOSTIC/ATHEIST.....	2%	1%	3%	3%
NONE.....	5%	5%	7%	4%
DON'T KNOW (DNR).....	1%	1%	0%	0%
REFUSED (DNR).....	2%	2%	2%	2%

Results are based on 1,000 weighted cases, Margin of Error = ±3.10 percent. MoE for Republicans = ±5.6%, MoE for Independents = ±5.70%, and MoE for Democrats = ±5.20%. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

31. Would you call yourself an Evangelical Christian or not?

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
YES	24%	34%	22%	16%
NO	51%	45%	52%	56%
DON'T KNOW (DNR)	5%	5%	7%	5%
REFUSED (DNR).....	1%	1%	1%	1%
NOT ASKED	19%	15%	19%	22%

Note: Question was asked only of self-identified Christian respondents; percentages are based on all respondents.

32. How often do you attend worship services? Would you say (READ – ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
NEVER	10%	6%	13%	12%
A FEW TIMES A YEAR	25%	22%	28%	25%
A FEW TIMES A MONTH.....	13%	13%	10%	16%
ALMOST EVERY WEEK	10%	11%	11%	9%
EVERY WEEK.....	21%	25%	16%	22%
MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK.....	10%	14%	9%	7%
DON'T KNOW (DNR)	0%	0%	0%	0%
REFUSED (DNR).....	0%	1%	0%	0%
NOT ASKED	11%	9%	13%	9%

Note: Question was asked only of self-identified Christian, Jewish, and other religious respondents; percentages are based on all respondents.

33. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of the armed forces or a veteran?

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
YES	39%	42%	43%	35%
NO	59%	56%	56%	64%
DON'T KNOW (DNR)	0%	0%	0%	0%
REFUSED (DNR).....	1%	2%	1%	1%

34. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

IF NO, ASK: What would you say is your main race: white, African American, Asian, or something else?

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
YES/HISPANIC	11%	8%	9%	15%
NO/WHITE.....	73%	88%	77%	56%
NO/BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN	13%	2%	9%	27%
NO/ASIAN	1%	1%	2%	1%
NO/OTHER	2%	2%	2%	2%
REFUSED.....	0%	0%	0%	0%

35. Gender (from observation):

	<i>ALL</i>	<i>REP</i>	<i>IND</i>	<i>DEM</i>
MALE	46%	48%	56%	36%
FEMALE.....	54%	52%	44%	64%

That's all the questions I have. Thank you very much for sharing your opinions with us.

Results are based on 1,000 weighted cases, Margin of Error = ±3.10 percent. MoE for Republicans = ±5.6%, MoE for Independents = ±5.70%, and MoE for Democrats = ±5.20%. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.