

**PIPA-Knowledge Networks-CCFR Poll:  
Americans on Democratization and US Foreign Policy**

**Questionnaire**

Dates of Survey: September 15-21, 2005  
Sample Size: 808

Margin of Error: +/- 3.5 % [full sample]  
+/- 4.0 % [3/4 sample]

[DIVIDE INTO 4 SAMPLE A,B,C,D]

[¾ SAMPLE A,B,C]

Q1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Democracy is the best form of government.

Agree.....	78%
Republicans.....	83
Democrats .....	88
Independents .....	53
 Disagree .....	 15
Republicans.....	13
Democrats .....	10
Independents .....	28
 (No answer).....	 7
Republicans.....	4
Democrats .....	2
Independents .....	20

*Q2-6. To be released*

[¾ SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q7. Which position is closest to yours?

Democracy is the best form of government for all countries.....	50%
Republicans.....	59
Democrats .....	52
Independents .....	30
 For some countries democracy is not the best form of government .....	 43
Republicans.....	39
Democrats .....	46
Independents .....	47

(No answer).....	6
Republicans.....	2
Democrats.....	2
Independents.....	23

[¾ SAMPLE B, C, D]

Q8. How much influence do you think the views of the majority of Americans have on the decisions of elected officials in Washington? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all influential and 10 meaning extremely influential.

	<b>9/05</b>	<b>1/99</b>
0.....	10%	6
1.....	4	3
2.....	7	5
3.....	11	13
4.....	12	15
5.....	23	25
6.....	10	11
7.....	12	9
8.....	7	5
9.....	2	1
10.....	1	4
(No answer).....	2	3
Less influential (0-4).....	44%	42
Neutral (5).....	23	25
More influential (6-10).....	32	30
(No answer).....	2	3
Mean.....	4.46	4.6
Median.....	5.00	5.00

Q9. Now using the same scale, how much influence do you think the views of the majority of Americans should have on the decisions of elected officials in Washington?

	<b>6/05</b>	<b>1/99</b>
0.....	2%	1
1.....	1	*
2.....	1	*
3.....	2	1
4.....	1	1
5.....	8	6

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\* Less than one percent.

6.....	4	4
7.....	6	11
8.....	24	22
9.....	18	15
10.....	31	36
(No answer).....	3	3
Less influential (0-4).....	7%	3
Neutral (5).....	8	6
More influential (6-10) .....	83	88
(No answer).....	3	3
Mean .....	7.99	8.4
Median .....	8.00	9.00

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q10. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Eventually, nearly all countries will become democracies

Agree.....	28%
Republicans.....	33
Democrats .....	29
Independents .....	19
Disagree .....	64
Republicans.....	65
Democrats .....	67
Independents .....	56
(No answer).....	8
Republicans.....	3
Democrats .....	5
Independents .....	25

[¾ SAMPLE D,A,B]

STATEMENT: The next group of questions offers different statements about democracy in general. For each, please select which position is closer to your own views.

Q11. Please select which position is closer to your own views.

When there are more democracies the world is a safer place. ....	26%
Republicans.....	34
Democrats .....	25

Independents .....	17
Democracy may make life better within a country, but it does not make the world a safer place. ....	68
Republicans.....	63
Democrats .....	74
Independents .....	65
(No answer).....	6
Republicans.....	3
Democrats .....	1
Independents .....	18

Q12. Do you think democracies are:

Less likely to go to war with each other than are other types of governments .....	46%
Republicans.....	55
Democrats .....	46
Independents .....	32
Just as likely to go to war with each other as are other types of governments .....	49
Republicans.....	43
Democrats .....	53
Independents .....	50
(No answer).....	5
Republicans.....	2
Democrats .....	1
Independents .....	18

Q13. Please select which position is closer to your own views.

Because democracies are responsive to the will of the people they are more stable and less likely to have civil wars than non-democracies. ....	52%
Republicans.....	57
Democrats .....	60
Independents .....	31
Because it is hard to avoid conflicts between people, democracies are just as likely to be unstable and have civil wars as non-democracies.....	41
Republicans.....	41

Democrats .....	38
Independents .....	46
(No answer).....	7
Republicans.....	2
Democrats .....	2
Independents .....	23

Q14. Please select which position is closer to your own views.

Democracies better serve the needs of their people and thus people in democracies are less frustrated and less likely to support terrorist groups. ....	45%
Republicans.....	53
Democrats .....	45
Independents .....	35

People support terrorist groups because of their ideological convictions, and having a democratic government is not going to change that. ....	46
Republicans.....	44
Democrats .....	51
Independents .....	40

(No answer).....	9
Republicans.....	3
Democrats .....	4
Independents .....	25

Q15. Please select which position is closer to your own views.

It is necessary to have democracy before it is possible to have economic development.....	9%
Republicans.....	13
Democrats .....	8
Independents .....	6

It is necessary to have economic development before it is possible to have democracy. ....	10
Republicans.....	9
Democrats .....	10
Independents .....	11

Economic development and democracy each help the other, and there is no fixed rule about what

must come first.....	74
Republicans.....	73
Democrats .....	80
Independents .....	63
(No answer).....	7
Republicans.....	5
Democrats .....	2
Independents .....	20

[¾ SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q16: Please select whether you think helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations is a:

	<b>PIPA</b> <b>9/05</b>	<b>CCFR</b> <b>7/04</b>	<b>CCFR</b> <b>7/02</b>
Very important foreign policy goal.....	27%	14	34
Republicans.....	38		
Democrats .....	24		
Independents .....	12		
Somewhat important foreign policy goal.....	49	58	49
Republicans.....	47		
Democrats .....	54		
Independents .....	46		
Not an important goal at all .....	19	27	15
Republicans.....	11		
Democrats .....	20		
Independents .....	32		
(No answer).....	5	2	2
Republicans.....	5		
Democrats .....	2		
Independents .....	9		

Q17. Which position is closest to yours?

As a rule US foreign policy should encourage countries to be democratic. ....	38%
Republicans.....	44
Democrats .....	38
Independents .....	28

As a rule US foreign policy should pursue US interests, which sometimes means promoting democracy and sometimes means supporting non-democratic governments.....	54
Republicans.....	51
Democrats .....	58
Independents .....	50
(No answer).....	8
Republicans.....	5
Democrats .....	4
Independents .....	22

Q18. Which position is closer to yours?

It is possible for Islamic countries to be democratic.....	55%
Republicans.....	60
Democrats .....	57
Independents .....	42
Democracy and Islam are incompatible.....	34
Republicans.....	32
Democrats .....	38
Independents .....	29
(No answer).....	11
Republicans.....	8
Democrats .....	5
Independents .....	29

Q19. When countries become more democratic how do you think it affects the likelihood that they will agree with US policies?

Increases the likelihood.....	42%
Republicans.....	53
Democrats .....	38
Independents .....	31
Decreases the likelihood .....	6
Republicans.....	6
Democrats .....	6
Independents .....	8
Has no effect either way .....	45

Republicans.....	37
Democrats .....	54
Independents .....	46
(No answer).....	6
Republicans.....	5
Democrats .....	3
Independents .....	16

Q20. If Saudi Arabia were to hold free elections do you think the elected government would be:

More friendly to the US .....	26%
Republicans.....	28
Democrats .....	31
Independents .....	13
Less friendly to the US .....	18
Republicans.....	20
Democrats .....	19
Independents .....	13
It would have no effect either way.....	48
Republicans.....	46
Democrats .....	46
Independents .....	52
(No answer).....	8
Republicans.....	6
Democrats .....	4
Independents .....	22

Q21. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I would want to see a country become more democratic even if this resulted in the country being more likely to oppose US policies.

Agree.....	48%
Republicans.....	52
Democrats .....	48
Independents .....	44
Disagree .....	39
Republicans.....	41
Democrats .....	43
Independents .....	30

(No answer).....	12
Republicans.....	8
Democrats.....	9
Independents.....	27

[¾ SAMPLE C,D,A]

Q22. Do you think the US should or should not spend money to try to influence elections in other countries in order to help elect candidates friendly to the US?

Should.....	20%
Republicans.....	30
Democrats.....	14
Independents.....	15
Should not.....	75
Republicans.....	69
Democrats.....	83
Independents.....	67
(No answer).....	5
Republicans.....	1
Democrats.....	2
Independents.....	18

Q23. Do you think other countries should or should not be allowed to spend money to try to influence US elections?

Should.....	11%
Republicans.....	12
Democrats.....	13
Independents.....	4
Should not.....	85
Republicans.....	88
Democrats.....	86
Independents.....	79
(No answer).....	4
Republicans.....	1
Democrats.....	1
Independents.....	17

Q24. Do you think the US should or should not support a country becoming a democracy if there is a high likelihood that the people will elect an Islamic fundamentalist leader?

Should .....	32%
Republicans.....	35
Democrats .....	32
Independents .....	25
Should not .....	54
Republicans.....	58
Democrats .....	55
Independents .....	43
(No answer).....	15
Republicans.....	6
Democrats .....	13
Independents .....	32

Q25. As you may know the US has a large airbase in Uzbekistan to support US operations in Afghanistan. After Uzbekistan’s government shot and killed several hundred of its citizens who were part of a protest, the US government called for an international investigation. The Uzbek government responded by ordering the US to close its airbase and leave. Given these consequences, do you think the US should or should not have called for an international investigation?

Should .....	72%
Republicans.....	80
Democrats .....	73
Independents .....	57
Should not .....	18
Republicans.....	15
Democrats .....	21
Independents .....	18
(No answer).....	10
Republicans.....	5
Democrats .....	7
Independents .....	25

Q25a. As you may know, Pakistan is now led by General Musharraf, who came to power through a military coup, but made a commitment to hold elections. General Musharraf recently changed his mind and cancelled scheduled elections. Here are two views of what the US position should be about this. Which one is closer to yours?

The US should pressure the Musharraf government to hold elections. To simply ignore this would be contrary to US values and would undermine US leadership in the world..... 40%

Republicans.....	53
Democrats .....	37
Independents .....	24

The US should not pressure the Musharraf government to hold elections. The Musharraf government has been helpful in the war on terrorism, and if there are elections, it is possible that Islamic fundamentalists may win.....43

Republicans.....	39
Democrats .....	52
Independents .....	33

(No answer).....17

Republicans.....	8
Democrats .....	11
Independents .....	43

[¾ SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q26. Do you think the US should or should not support free elections in Saudi Arabia even if there is a high likelihood that the people will elect a government that is unfriendly to the US?

Should ..... 54%

Republicans.....	63
Democrats .....	52
Independents .....	40

Should not .....36

Republicans.....	32
Democrats .....	42
Independents .....	32

(No answer).....11

Republicans.....	6
Democrats .....	7
Independents .....	28

[¾ SAMPLE A,B,C]

[ALTERNATE RANDOM ORDER WITH ALL ON SAME SCREEN]

Q27. Here are some methods for promoting democracy that have been proposed. Please tell me if you favor or oppose them and if you feel that way strongly or somewhat.

	<b>Favor Strongly</b>	<b>Favor Somewhat</b>	<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	<b>(No Answer)</b>
a. Helping a government that is having free elections for the first time by giving it aid and technical assistance .....	23%	51%	12%	6%	9%
b. Sending monitors to certify that elections are conducted fairly and honestly .....	24	42	19	6	9
c. Giving more developmental aid to a government that is becoming more democratic .....	15	51	18	7	9
d. Withholding developmental aid from a government that is not democratic or is not moving toward becoming more democratic.....	12	32	37	9	10
e. Supporting dissidents in non-democratic country .....	4	27	39	17	12
f. Using military force to overthrow a dictator ...	8	27	33	22	10

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q28. How democratic do you think the government of the US is, on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning that it is not at all democratic and 10 meaning that it is completely democratic?

0.....	3%
1.....	1
2.....	4
3.....	4
4.....	4
5.....	19
6.....	11
7.....	15
8.....	18
9.....	9
10.....	5
(No answer).....	6
Negative (0-4) .....	16
Equally positive and negative (5) .....	19

Positive (6-10).....	58
(No answer).....	6
Mean .....	6.24
Median .....	7.00

Q29. What is your best guess: About what percentage of the time does Congress make decisions that are the same as the decisions that the majority of Americans would make?

	<b>9/05</b>	<b>1/99</b>
Mean .....	39%	37
Median .....	50	40

[¾ SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q30. How democratic do you think each of the following governments is, on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning that it is not at all democratic and 10 meaning that it is completely democratic?

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>
a. Afghanistan .....	2.63	2.00
b. Britain .....	6.83	8.00
c. Canada.....	7.06	8.00
d. China.....	1.89	1.00
e. Egypt.....	3.48	4.00
f. India.....	3.99	4.00
g. Iran.....	1.68	1.00
h. Iraq.....	2.34	2.00
i. Mexico.....	4.63	5.00
j. Pakistan.....	2.29	2.00
k. Russia.....	3.63	4.00
l. Saudi Arabia .....	1.94	2.00
m. Sweden.....	6.21	7.00
n. Turkey.....	3.62	4.00

[¾ SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q31. Do you think the US should or should not put greater pressure on countries in the Middle East like Saudi Arabia and Egypt to become more democratic?

	<b>9/05</b>	<b>CCFR</b>	<b>7/04</b>	<b>11/03</b>
Should .....	39%		35	41
Republicans.....	51			
Democrats .....	32			
Independents .....	29			

Should not .....	51	57	53
Republicans .....	43		
Democrats .....	62		
Independents .....	45		
(No answer).....	11	8	6
Republicans.....	6		
Democrats .....	6		
Independents .....	26		

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: Do you favor or oppose US using the following methods to encourage greater democracy in the following countries?

[ALTERNATE RANDOM ORDER]

Q32. Bring students, journalists and political leaders to the US to educate them on how democracy works.

	Favor Strongly	Favor Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly	(No answer)
a. Burma (also called Myanmar).....	14	42	22	11	11
b. China .....	16	42	21	11	10
c. Egypt .....	14	44	21	10	11
d. Iran .....	14	36	23	16	10
e. Pakistan .....	14	40	23	13	10
f. Russia.....	16	44	20	11	10
g. Saudi Arabia.....	14	40	23	12	10

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q33. Put diplomatic pressure on the government to respect human rights, speak out against its human rights abuses, and encourage other countries to do the same.

	Favor Strongly	Favor Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly	(No answer)
a. Burma (also called Myanmar).....	30	41	16	6	8
b. China .....	30	39	17	6	8
c. Egypt .....	29	39	17	7	8
d. Iran .....	29	37	18	7	8
e. Pakistan .....	29	39	20	4	8
f. Russia.....	29	41	16	7	8

g. Saudi Arabia.....	30	39	18	6	8
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[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q34. Put diplomatic pressure on the government to become more democratic, speak out against its lack of democracy, and encourage other countries to do the same.

	Favor Strongly	Favor Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly	(No answer)
a. Burma (also called Myanmar).....	11	35	27	12	15
b. China .....	15	33	27	12	13
c. Egypt .....	11	35	28	13	13
d. Iran .....	15	33	25	14	13
e. Pakistan .....	13	33	27	14	13
f. Russia.....	11	37	25	14	13
g. Saudi Arabia.....	12	36	26	13	13

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q35. Pressure the government with some economic sanctions such as reduced trade with the US.

	Favor Strongly	Favor Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly	(No answer)
a. Burma (also called Myanmar).....	14	34	28	12	13
b. China .....	18	32	25	12	12
c. Egypt .....	14	34	29	11	12
d. Iran .....	19	31	25	12	12
e. Pakistan .....	16	32	30	10	12
f. Russia.....	13	34	30	12	12
g. Saudi Arabia.....	15	33	28	11	12

Q36. Warn the government that the US might intervene militarily if it does not carry out some democratic reforms.

	Favor Strongly	Favor Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly	(No answer)
a. Burma (also called Myanmar).....	2	13	32	43	11
b. China .....	2	13	30	45	10
c. Egypt .....	3	12	31	43	10
d. Iran .....	4	13	32	41	10
e. Pakistan .....	3	13	31	43	10
f. Russia.....	2	12	31	45	10
g. Saudi Arabia.....	3	12	31	44	10

[¾ SAMPLE B,D,A]

Q37. In general, is it better for the US to promote democracy by:

Acting on its own because the US can act more decisively and effectively .....	25%
Republicans.....	45
Democrats .....	11
Independents .....	17
 Working through the UN because such efforts will be seen as more legitimate .....	68
Republicans.....	49
Democrats .....	88
Independents .....	63
 (No answer).....	7
Republicans.....	6
Democrats .....	1
Independents .....	19

Q38. Do you think:

It should be the goal of the UN to promote democracy in the world.....	50%
Republicans.....	56
Democrats .....	54
Independents .....	35
 The UN should not be involved in trying to influence what kind of government a country has .....	42
Republicans.....	39
Democrats .....	42
Independents .....	47
 (No answer).....	7
Republicans.....	5
Democrats .....	3
Independents .....	19

Q39. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The World Bank should only give loans to poor countries that are democracies or are moving toward becoming more democratic so as to encourage countries to become more democratic.

Agree.....	39%
Republicans.....	49
Democrats .....	35
Independents .....	29
Disagree .....	48
Republicans.....	42
Democrats .....	56
Independents .....	45
(No answer).....	13
Republicans.....	9
Democrats .....	10
Independents .....	26

Q40. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The World Bank should help people in poor countries and not discriminate against some because they happen to live in a country with a non-democratic government.

Agree.....	65%
Republicans.....	66
Democrats .....	70
Independents .....	58
Disagree .....	22
Republicans.....	22
Democrats .....	22
Independents .....	22
(No answer).....	13
Republicans.....	12
Democrats .....	8
Independents .....	21

Q41. Which of the following do you agree with more?

The World Bank should only give loans to poor countries that are democracies or are moving toward becoming more democratic so as to encourage countries to become more democratic. .... 36% \*

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\* Asked of those who agreed with both Q39 and Q40

The World Bank should help people in poor countries and not discriminate against some because they happen to live in a country with a non-democratic government. ....	56
(No answer).....	8

[¾ SAMPLE C,D,A]

Q42. Do you think that the goal of overthrowing Iraq’s authoritarian government and establishing a democracy was by itself a good enough reason to go to war with Iraq?

Yes .....	19%
Republicans.....	35
Democrats .....	12
Independents .....	6
No.....	74
Republicans.....	60
Democrats .....	86
Independents .....	73
(No answer).....	7
Republicans.....	5
Democrats .....	2
Independents .....	21

Q43. Has the experience in Iraq made you feel better or worse about the possibility of using military force to bring about democracy in the future?

Better.....	19%
Republicans.....	37
Democrats .....	9
Independents .....	9
Worse .....	72
Republicans.....	57
Democrats .....	88
Independents .....	67
(No answer).....	9
Republicans.....	7
Democrats .....	3
Independents .....	24

Q44. As you may know, in October Iraqis will vote on whether to accept or reject a new constitution that recognizes Islamic law as a main source of legislation. Some are concerned that this may undermine the rights of women. If the Iraqis vote to accept the constitution, should the US:

Threaten to withdraw US support unless the constitution is changed in ways the US specifies .....	23%
Republicans.....	27
Democrats .....	19
Independents .....	21
Accept the constitution as it is .....	64
Republicans.....	65
Democrats .....	70
Independents .....	51
(No answer).....	13
Republicans.....	8
Democrats .....	11
Independents .....	28

Q44a. As you may know, in October Iraqis will vote on whether to accept or reject a new constitution in a referendum. If the referendum passes, should America:

Maintain current troop levels while working to ensure the implementation of democracy .....	29%
Republicans.....	46
Democrats .....	20
Independents .....	17
Assume the implementation of democracy is achieved and begin a process of withdrawing troops.....	57
Republicans.....	49
Democrats .....	70
Independents .....	44
(No answer).....	14
Republicans.....	5
Democrats .....	10
Independents .....	39

[¾ SAMPLE B,C,D]

Q45. Generally, do you think:

	<b>9/05</b>	<b>ABC News 6/98</b>
The United States should support the pro-democracy movement in China .....	35%	37
Republicans .....	47	
Democrats .....	29	
Independents .....	24	
This is an internal Chinese matter and the United States should stay out of it .....	55	58
Republicans .....	45	
Democrats .....	66	
Independents .....	54	
(No answer).....	10	5
Republicans.....	8	
Democrats .....	5	
Independents .....	22	

[¾ SAMPLE A,B,C]

Q46. Please evaluate the effectiveness of following methods the US can employ to promote democracy.

	<b>Does a lot More harm than good</b>	<b>Does a little more harm than good</b>	<b>Does a little more good than harm</b>	<b>Does a lot more good than harm</b>	<b>(No Answer)</b>
a. Helping a government that is having free elections for the first time by giving it aid and technical assistance .....	4%	13%	43%	27%	13%
b. Bringing students, journalists and political leaders to the US to educate them on how democracy works. ....	5	14	49	17	14
c. Withholding development aid from countries that are not democratic or are not moving toward becoming more democratic.....	14	35	27	9	15
d. Putting diplomatic pressure on a government to become more democratic, speak out against its lack of democracy, and encourage other countries to do the same .....	11	31	34	10	14
e. Pressuring a non-democratic government with					

some economic sanctions such as reduced trade with the US. ....12	34	34	6	15
f. Supporting dissidents in a non-democratic country .....17	31	31	5	15
g. Warning a government that the US might intervene militarily if it does not carry out some democratic reforms .....37	29	17	4	13
h. Using military force to overthrow a dictator .....34	24	20	7	14

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

[FULL SAMPLE]

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:

Republican .....	38%
Democrat.....	40
Other/Independent.....	22

D2. What is your religious preference? Do you consider yourself:

Christian.....	67%
Jewish.....	1
Muslim .....	*
Hindu.....	*
Agnostic .....	1
Atheist.....	1
No religious preference.....	19
Other religion .....	7

[IF "CHRISTIAN"]

D3a. Would you describe yourself as:

Protestant.....	38%
Catholic .....	19
Mormon.....	2
Orthodox .....	1
(No answer).....	7

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\* Less than one percent

[IF "CHRISTIAN"]

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

Yes .....	20%
No.....	29
No opinion .....	17
(No answer).....	1

[IF ANSWER "CHRISTIAN, JEWISH, MUSLIM, BUDDHIST, HINDU, OR OTHER RELIGION" IN QUESTION 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.....	27%
Almost every week .....	8
About once a month .....	6
Seldom .....	26
Never.....	7
(No answer).....	2