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*1150 18th Street, N.W., Suite 975
Washington, D.C. 20036
Tel (202) 293-3126
Fax (202) 293-2569*

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Bush Ratings Improve But He's Still Seen as Unilateralist
AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS DIFFER WIDELY ON
FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

A Multinational Survey Conducted In Association With:
INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE
And
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Also Including:
Commentary by Kenneth M. Pollack, Director – National Security Studies
Council on Foreign Relations

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Carroll Doherty, Editor
Pew Research Center for The People & The Press
202/293-3126
www.people-press.org

Bush Ratings Improve But He's Still Seen as Unilateralist
AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS DIFFER WIDELY ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

Europeans have a better opinion of President George W. Bush than they did before the Sept. 11 attacks, but they remain highly critical of the president, most of his policies, and what they see as his unilateral approach to international affairs. There also is a wide gap between the United States and Europe over the conflict in the Middle East, although recent U.S. efforts to forge a settlement there win broad European support.

Americans, who are generally sympathetic to the Israelis, approve of the overall U.S. approach toward the Middle East. In contrast, people in three of four major western European nations – France, Germany and Italy – have been mostly critical of U.S. policies in the region, with the British public split on this question. Many more Europeans than Americans express sympathy for the Palestinians, and this is especially the case among well-educated Europeans.

There are gaps of opinion over other U.S. policies as well. The president's decision to impose tariffs on imports of foreign steel is condemned in Europe, but generally favored in the United States, at least by Americans who have an opinion on this issue. On the other hand, Europeans express overwhelming support for the president's decision to increase American aid to poor countries, while a much more modest majority of Americans (52%) approve of this action. But in light of the U.S. public's traditional opposition to foreign aid, it is noteworthy that a majority would support any aid increase.

The U.S.-led war in Afghanistan enjoys strong approval among the publics of the four countries, and most believe that the United States is not overreacting to the threat of terrorism. Even so, large majorities in each country think the U.S. is not taking allied interests into account in conducting the war, and Bush's "axis of evil" rhetoric elicited a strongly negative reaction in France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain.

The survey of 4,042 people in the four countries (along with 1,362 Americans), conducted April 2-10 by the Pew Research Center in association with the International Herald Tribune and the Council on Foreign Relations, finds major transatlantic differences over possible military action to end Saddam Hussein's rule in Iraq. In the United States, 69% favor military action, compared with

| | Fra % | Ger % | Ita % | GB % | US % |
|--|----------|----------|----------|---------|---------|
| <i>Approve of Bush's international policy</i> | | | | | |
| Today | 32 | 35 | 44 | 40 | 69 |
| August, 2001 | 16 | 23 | 29 | 17 | 45 |
| <i>Bush makes decisions mainly on US interests</i> | | | | | |
| Today | 85 | 69 | 71 | 80 | – |
| August, 2001 | 85 | 73 | 74 | 79 | – |
| <i>Approve of ...</i> | | | | | |
| Foreign aid increase | 90 | 86 | 95 | 90 | 53 |
| War in Afghanistan | 64 | 61 | 59 | 73 | 83 |
| Mideast peace effort | 67 | 76 | 88 | 75 | 77 |
| <i>Disapprove of ...</i> | | | | | |
| 'Axis of evil' rhetoric | 62 | 74 | 60 | 55 | 34 |
| Steel import tariff | 81 | 74 | 58 | 65 | 27 |
| Mideast policies | 63 | 63 | 51 | 39 | 26 |

46% in Great Britain and France and even fewer (34%) in Germany and Italy. However, the survey does show European publics potentially responsive to the idea of using force against Iraq if it is established that Baghdad is developing nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction. Evidence of Iraqi involvement in the Sept. 11 attacks also would be very important to a majority in Great Britain, but fewer in France, Germany, or Italy.

The survey revealed considerable European support for taking a more independent course in security and diplomatic affairs. Majorities in France, Germany and Italy think western Europe’s partnership with the United States should not be as close as it has been in the past. People in Great Britain are divided on the question. European support for a more independent approach is not especially linked to negative reactions to recent U.S. policies, such as the steel tariffs. Rather, it is more associated with general criticism of President Bush, the feeling that the United States has ignored allied interests in conducting the war on terrorism, and general disapproval of U.S. policies in the Middle East.

War on Terrorism Widely Supported

Not surprisingly, virtually all Americans (83%) approve of the U.S.-led military campaign against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan. Support is nearly as high in Great Britain, where 73% approve and 18% disapprove. Larger minorities in France, Germany and especially Italy dissent from this view, but majorities in all three nations agree with their American and British counterparts.

Similarly, publics in every European nation, by more than two-to-one, reject the notion that the U.S. is overreacting to the threat of international terrorism. At least six-in-ten in each country say the United States is justified in being so concerned about terrorism.

| Support for War, Mixed Reaction on Specifics | | | | | |
|---|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| | <u>Fra</u> | <u>Ger</u> | <u>Ita</u> | <u>GB</u> | <u>US</u> |
| | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>%</u> |
| <i>U.S.- led campaign in Afghanistan</i> | | | | | |
| Approve | 64 | 61 | 59 | 73 | 83 |
| Disapprove | 30 | 31 | 37 | 18 | 10 |
| Don't know | <u>6</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>7</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Military tribunals for Al Qaeda prisoners</i> | | | | | |
| Approve | 40 | 50 | 46 | 48 | 61 |
| Disapprove | 51 | 40 | 45 | 38 | 24 |
| Don't know | <u>9</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>15</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Bush's "axis of evil" statement</i> | | | | | |
| Approve | 27 | 17 | 29 | 32 | 56 |
| Disapprove | 62 | 74 | 60 | 55 | 34 |
| Don't know | <u>11</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>10</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

While they approve of the war on terrorism in general, citizens of these European nations are more critical when it comes to specific decisions the Bush administration has made. Opinion in all four nations is divided regarding the U.S. decision to try Al Qaeda prisoners before military tribunals, rather than in U.S. civilian courts (a policy Americans support by more than two-to-one). Roughly half in Britain, Germany and Italy approve of this move, while somewhat fewer (40%) in France agree. In both the U.S. and Britain, men are more supportive of the use of military tribunals than are women. In France, younger respondents are more troubled than their elders by military tribunals, while in Germany younger respondents are most likely to approve of this policy.

The majority of western European respondents had a decidedly negative reaction to Bush's labeling of Iraq, Iran and North Korea as an axis of evil. Just 17% in Germany approve of this concept, compared with 27% in France, 29% in Italy, and 32% in Britain. Nor is the American public unified over whether this phrasing is appropriate. Overall, 56% of Americans approve of Bush's statement, while 34% disapprove. Partisanship plays a big role, as Republicans overwhelmingly endorse Bush's remark while independents and Democrats are split.

Most citizens in France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain are satisfied with their own government's involvement in the war on terrorism. But significant minorities in Great Britain (35%) and Italy (27%) believe their government has been too supportive of U.S. terrorism policies.

| <i>Our government has been ...</i> | Fra % | Ger % | Ita % | GB % |
|------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Too supportive | 11 | 20 | 27 | 35 |
| About right | 69 | 69 | 56 | 59 |
| Not supportive enough | 16 | 8 | 13 | 3 |
| Don't know | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

U.S. Seen as Unilateral Actor

Despite their support for the military campaign in Afghanistan, Europeans strongly believe that their nations are not being given a seat at the table. Fully 85% of Germans, 80% of French, 73% of British and 68% of Italian respondents say the U.S. is acting mainly on its own interests in the fight against terrorism, while very few feel the U.S. is taking into account the interests of its allies. In each nation, this view is equally strong across education levels and generations.

Americans, on the other hand, are divided over the nature of U.S. leadership. While nearly half (48%) say the U.S. is incorporating the interests of its allies, 41% agree with the majority of Europeans that the U.S. is acting unilaterally. This latter view is particularly prevalent among Democrats and independents.

The perception that the U.S. acts unilaterally is not a new one, however. In August 2001, most respondents in France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain also believed that George W. Bush's overall foreign policy decisions were based entirely on U.S. interests, and did not take into account European views. Asked the same question today, public views are virtually unchanged. Only in Germany and Italy has there been an increase in the proportion saying the president is responsive to the allies, and even in these two nations, just a quarter view Bush as a multilateralist, with seven-in-ten saying he looks after U.S. interests only.

| <i>In war on terrorism ...</i> | Fra % | Ger % | Ita % | GB % | US % |
|---|-------|-------|-------|------|------|
| U.S. acts mainly on its own interest | 80 | 85 | 68 | 73 | 41 |
| U.S. takes into account views of allies | 17 | 12 | 28 | 22 | 48 |
| Don't know | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 11 |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Differences Over Tariffs and Foreign Aid

While Americans, by nearly two-to-one (49% to 27%) approve of the president's decision to place tariffs on steel imports, people in France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain strongly disapprove. The French, in particular, oppose this policy by roughly eight-to-one (81% disapprove, 11% approve). But not all Bush initiatives are viewed negatively in Europe. His recent proposal to increase foreign aid to impoverished countries wins almost unanimous support in Europe, although not in the United States.

While modest, Americans' support for an increase in foreign aid stands in stark contrast to most recent surveys of public opinion on this issue. As recently as January, Americans rated attempting to reduce poverty with foreign aid as the least important of eight possible approaches to combating terrorism. (See the Pew Research Center's "Americans Favor Force in Iraq, Somalia, Sudan and...", Jan. 22, 2002) Younger Americans express particularly strong backing for increasing foreign aid. Nearly two-thirds of Americans under 30 (65%) approve of this policy decision, compared with less than half of those age 50 and older.

A More Independent Europe?

The unpopularity of many U.S. foreign policies, along with the perception that the U.S. does not take into account the interests of its allies when making foreign policy decisions, contribute to the widely held view that western Europe should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past. In France, 60% take this view, while just one-in-three think the partnership between the U.S. and western Europe should remain as close as it has been. Italians express a similar view, while the publics in Germany and Great Britain are divided more evenly on whether Europe should retain close ties with the U.S. or take a more independent approach.

| Europeans Want More Distance From U.S. | | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>Western Europe should ...</i> | <u>Fra</u> % | <u>Ger</u> % | <u>Ita</u> % | <u>GB</u> % |
| Be more independent | 60 | 51 | 59 | 47 |
| Remain as close | 33 | 44 | 36 | 48 |
| Don't know | <u>7</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

The divide on this issue in Great Britain is largely generational in nature. While those old enough to remember World War II favor maintaining strong ties with the U.S. by nearly two-to-one (61% to 32% among those age 70 and older), younger people in Great Britain lean toward a more independent course. A similar pattern, though less distinct, is present in France and Germany.

In all four nations, highly educated people are the most likely to take the view that western Europe should be more independent in its approach to security and diplomatic affairs. For example, 68% of highly educated Germans would like to see Europe act more independently, compared with just 47% of those with low levels of education.

Support among western Europeans for more distance from the U.S. is linked both to opposition to American foreign policy as well as to the perception that U.S. policymakers ignore European interests. By nearly three-to-one (71%-25%), European respondents who disapprove of Bush's international policies *and* think America behaves unilaterally (a plurality in every nation surveyed share these views) would like to see western European nations act more independently in foreign affairs.

At the other end of the spectrum, the minority who both approve of the president's international policies and think the U.S. takes European interests into account believes that the partnership between the U.S. and western Europe should remain as close as it has been. This pattern is consistent within each of the European nations polled.

Shared Concerns

People in France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain are nearly as worried as Americans are about the possibility of Islamic terrorist attacks in their countries. While two-thirds of Americans are either very or somewhat worried about terrorism, majorities in each western European country surveyed share those concerns. In each country, women are significantly more concerned about the threat of terrorist attacks than are men, and older people are more worried than younger people.

Despite these concerns, most think their own government is doing a good job in developing intelligence, law enforcement, and taking legal and financial steps to combat international terrorism. In France, seven-in-ten say the government is doing a good job, 61% of German respondents agree about their nation, and 57% of British also feel this way. Only in Italy is the public more divided, with 44% giving the Italian government good marks for combating international terrorism, and 40% giving bad marks.

In all four European nations studied, majorities believe that the U.S.-led war against terrorism is neither increasing nor decreasing the chances of a terrorist attack in their country. But

| Unfavorable Views of U.S. Linked to Support for European Autonomy | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Europe should...</i> | <i>View of U.S. Foreign Policy*</i> | | |
| | <u>Unfav- orable</u> % | <u>Mixed</u> % | <u>Fav- orable</u> % |
| Act more independently | 71 | 47 | 26 |
| Remain close with US | 25 | 49 | 70 |
| Don't know | <u>4</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>4</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of cases | (1,876) | (1,093) | (526) |

* Those with a generally unfavorable view of the U.S. both disapprove of Bush's international policy and see the U.S. as ignoring European interests in the war on terrorism. Those with a generally favorable view hold the opposite position on both of these issues.

Analysis based on all European respondents. Data is not weighted to approximate relative sizes of nations. Results are consistent within each nation separately (not shown).

| Threat of Islamic Terrorism Hits Home | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>How worried about a terrorist attack ...</i> | <u>Fra</u> % | <u>Ger</u> % | <u>Ita</u> % | <u>GB</u> % | <u>US</u> % |
| Very | 18 | 17 | 21 | 16 | 22 |
| Somewhat | 42 | 46 | 38 | 40 | 45 |
| Not too | 29 | 25 | 30 | 31 | 22 |
| Not at all | 10 | 11 | 11 | 13 | 11 |
| Don't know | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>*</u> | <u>*</u> | <u>*</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

to a significant minority in Great Britain and Germany, the U.S. actions are making things more dangerous. One-third of British respondents say they think the chances of a terrorist attack in Great Britain are greater because of U.S. military action overseas. This view is more prevalent among younger and well-educated people in Great Britain. Just one-in-ten British say the war on terrorism is making their country safer. Similarly, more Germans think the likelihood of a terrorist attack in their country is increased, not decreased, by the war on terrorism by more than three-to-one (26% to 7%).

Worries about terrorism are strongly related to views about the U.S.-led war on terrorism. People in France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain who are very worried about terrorist attacks are the least likely to think the U.S. is overreacting in its response to the Sept. 11 attacks, and are the most likely to support military action in Iraq as part of the war on terrorism. Yet those who worry most also think the war on terrorism is making things more dangerous for them. For example, 45% of Germans who are very worried about terrorist attacks in their country think the war on terrorism overseas has increased the chances that such an attack will happen. Just 16% of Germans who are not worried about a terrorist attack share this view.

Conflicting Sympathies in Mideast

Americans traditionally have had more sympathy for Israel than the Palestinians in the Middle East conflict. These attitudes have remained fairly stable for more than two decades. Pro-Israel sentiments have grown even stronger at times since Sept. 11, and since then support for Israel has never fallen below pre-9/11 levels. Europeans, by contrast, voice much more sympathy for the Palestinians.

| <i>Whom do you sympathize with?</i> | <u>Fra</u> % | <u>Ger</u> % | <u>Ita</u> % | <u>GB</u> % | <u>US</u> % |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Israel | 19 | 24 | 14 | 17 | 41 |
| Palestinians | 36 | 26 | 30 | 28 | 13 |
| Both (Vol) | 8 | 4 | 15 | 11 | 6 |
| Neither (Vol) | 25 | 33 | 32 | 23 | 21 |
| Don't know | <u>12</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>21</u> | <u>19</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Roughly four-in-ten Americans (41%) say they sympathize with Israel, compared with 21% who voice sympathy for neither side and just 13% who side with the Palestinians. Among European publics, no more than a quarter (in Germany) sympathize with Israel; in each country, the plurality is neutral or has more sympathy for the Palestinians. France has the most sympathy for the Palestinians – 36% side with the Palestinians, 25% are neutral and 19% express sympathy for Israel.

Education Shapes Mideast Sympathies

In France, Germany and Great Britain, highly-educated people are much more likely to express sympathy for the Palestinians than those with less education. This is especially the case in France, where 51% of highly-educated people side with the Palestinians, compared with 30% those with the least education.

| <i>Sympathize with Palestinians ...</i> | <u>Total</u> % | <i>Education level</i> | |
|---|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| | | <u>High</u> % | <u>Low</u> % |
| France | 36 | 51 | 30 |
| Germany | 26 | 40 | 21 |
| Italy | 30 | 34 | 27 |
| Great Britain | 28 | 36 | 25 |

In Germany, four-in-ten highly-educated people side with the Palestinians, compared with 21% of those with relatively little education. Education is less of a factor in Italy and Great Britain. And education has very little effect in the United States, where fewer than one-in-five of those in the high and low education groups say they sympathize with the Palestinians.

In Europe, men are somewhat more likely than women to voice sympathy for the Palestinians. One-third of men in Great Britain say they sympathize with the Palestinians, compared with 23% of women; in France, four-in-ten men side with the Palestinians, as do 32% of women. In the United States, by contrast, men are more likely than women to sympathize with Israel. Nearly half of men in the United States (48%) sympathize with Israel, compared with 34% of women.

U.S. Mideast Policy Opposed

Outside of Great Britain, European publics are generally critical of the Bush administration’s policy in the Middle East. People in Great Britain are divided on this point – 39% disapprove of U.S. policy, while 36% favor it. In the other three countries, people oppose U.S. policy in the region by at least two-to-one.

In addition, there is a widespread sense that the United States is not doing enough to try to bring about a peace agreement in the Middle East. Solid majorities in all four European countries say the United States has done too little in this regard. Even in Great Britain, where support is highest for U.S. Mideast policies, most people (57%) say the United States has not done enough to try to achieve a settlement.

| <i>Is the US doing enough to bring about peace?</i> | <u>Fra</u> % | <u>Ger</u> % | <u>Ita</u> % | <u>GB</u> % | <u>US</u> % |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Yes | 24 | 30 | 27 | 31 | 53 |
| No | 71 | 64 | 67 | 57 | 34 |
| Don’t know | <u>5</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>13</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Given those attitudes, it is not surprising that the administration's recent foray into Middle East diplomacy has won wide support across Europe. Nearly nine-in-ten (88%) Italian respondents backed the recent administration efforts to broker a peace agreement, as did 76% of the Germans, 75% of the British and 67% of the French.

In the United States, a 55% majority supports the administration's overall Middle East policy. But there are partisan differences. Seven-in-ten Republicans (72%) support U.S. policy, while just half of Democrats and 47% of independents agree. Republicans also are much more likely than Democrats to say that the United States is doing all it can to forge a peace agreement (67% vs. 46%). But the administration's recent diplomatic efforts win broad backing – 86% of Republicans, and roughly three-quarters of Democrats and independents, support the new diplomatic push.

Divisions Over Iraq

European opinion on a possible U.S.-led military operation against Iraq ranges from ambivalence (in Great Britain and France) to solid opposition (in Germany and Italy). By comparison, seven-in-ten Americans (69%) support taking military action against Saddam Hussein's regime, which represents little change since January (73%).

In all four European countries, younger people are much more supportive than their elders – especially senior citizens– of taking military action against Iraq. In Germany and Italy, more than four-in-ten of those under age 30 favor anti-Iraq military action; support drops markedly among those over 50. Only one-in-five Germans age 70 and over support military force, as do 30% of Italians in that age group. Age differences are not as pronounced in the United States, where there is broad support for the use of force.

Nukes May Justify Force In Iraq

Despite the lack of broad backing in Europe for using force against Iraq, majorities in three countries say that evidence that Iraq is developing nuclear weapons, or weapons of mass destruction, would be a "very important" reason to take action against Baghdad. Only in Italy is there substantial dissent from this view; 49% there say learning that Iraq is developing such weapons would be a very important reason to use force, while 23% finds that not too important.

| | <u>Fra</u> % | <u>Ger</u> % | <u>Ita</u> % | <u>GB</u> % | <u>US</u> % |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>If Iraq is developing nuclear weapons ...</i> | | | | | |
| Very important | 54 | 57 | 49 | 67 | 81 |
| Fairly important | 37 | 24 | 24 | 21 | 11 |
| Not too important | 6 | 15 | 23 | 8 | 5 |
| Don't know | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>If Iraq helped with Sept 11th attacks ...</i> | | | | | |
| Very important | 47 | 44 | 45 | 55 | 83 |
| Fairly important | 38 | 37 | 25 | 30 | 10 |
| Not too important | 11 | 14 | 24 | 11 | 4 |
| Don't know | <u>4</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

At the same time, Europeans are less persuaded that Iraq's involvement in the 9/11 attacks on the United States would be a very important reason for using force against Saddam Hussein's regime. While 55% in Great Britain see this as a very important reason for taking action, fewer than half of those in France, Germany and Italy agree. By contrast, an overwhelming majority of Americans find either reason – Iraq's possession of nuclear weapons, or its involvement in 9/11 – as very important justifications for military action.

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide, representative sample of 1,012 adults, 18 years of age or older, in France, 1,021 adults in Germany, 1,000 adults in Italy, 1,009 in Britain and 1,362 adults in the U.S. The fieldwork was conducted by Taylor Nelson Sofres in France between April 3-4, 2002, Emnid in Germany between April 3-6, 2002, Pragma in Italy between April 5-10, 2002, NOP in Britain between April 2-9, 2002, and Princeton Data Source in the U.S. between April 3-8, 2002. For results based on the total sample in each of the five countries, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points for each of the European countries, plus or minus 3 percentage points for the United States.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

The Atlantic Grows Wider

The gap between the United States and European public opinion on dealing with terrorism continues to grow, according to the latest Pew Research Center public opinion survey of the United States and four leading European countries (Germany, Italy, France, and Britain). The poll was conducted in association with the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Herald Tribune.

- Americans believe that they are waging a fight against evil, Europeans believe the U.S. is simply protecting its own interests. Large majorities in the four European countries surveyed (ranging from 69 to 85 percent depending on the country) believe that the U.S. is acting mainly on its own interests in waging its war on terrorism and is not taking into account the interests of its allies.
- Both Americans and Europeans approve of the U.S. military campaign in Afghanistan, but on the east side of the Atlantic the cheering is noticeably quieter. In the United States, approval for the Afghan campaign is running at 83 percent, whereas the four European countries registered approval ratings of only 59-73 percent.
- Americans remain heavily in favor (69 percent favor, 21 percent oppose) of military action against Iraq, Europeans remain highly skeptical (34-46 percent favor, 43-59 percent oppose).
- Finally, Europeans and Americans increasingly differ over how to handle the situation in the Middle East. 41 percent of Americans sympathize with Israelis and only 13 percent sympathize with Palestinians, whereas only 14-24 percent of Europeans sympathize with the Israelis and anywhere from 26 to 36 percent sympathize with the Palestinians.

An American War

Since the September 11 terrorist attacks, the Bush Administration has stressed the importance of Allied contributions to the war on terrorism. In particular, the Administration has made clear the need for help from scores of countries around the world to hunt down terrorists, cut their communications, eradicate their financial networks, eliminate their bases of operations, and dry up their recruiting pools. The Pew/CFR/IHT findings suggest that while the Administration's public diplomacy campaign may be playing well in Peoria, it isn't doing as well in Paris.

Perhaps the greatest problem for the Administration is that it does not appear to have convinced European publics that the war on terrorism is their war. On the other side of the Atlantic, the view appears to be that September 11 changed the United States, but not the world, and Washington is waging the war on terrorism for its own good and not necessarily for the good of the Atlantic alliance, let alone humanity in general. The view from the Old World seems to be that this is an American war on American enemies, not a universal struggle against evil, as the White House likes to define it. Large majorities in all four European countries—73 percent in Britain, 68 percent in Italy, 85 percent in Germany, and 80 percent in France—believe that the U.S. is acting mainly on its own interests in pursuing the war on terrorism rather than taking into account the interests of its allies. Likewise, the Pew/CFR/IHT numbers indicate that Europeans strongly believe that President Bush is a “unilateralist” who makes decisions based entirely on U.S. interests and without taking into account European interests.

Further evidence of this trend can be seen in the weak levels of European support for the Bush Administration's international policies, although they are noticeably stronger than before September 11, 2001. The Administration's international policies garnered approval ratings of between 44 and 32 percent, while disapproval ratings ranged from 61 to 37 percent and, with the exception of Britain, disapproval ratings exceeded approval ratings in every case. There are also considerable gaps between American and European views of the approval of specific U.S. actions as part of the

war on terrorism. Although Europeans generally support the U.S. military campaign against Afghanistan, the gap between approval ratings in the United States and in France, Italy and Germany range from 19 to 24 points, and even in Britain there is a 10-point gap with U.S. ratings. Beyond this, all of the European countries are unhappy with the President's "Axis of Evil" remarks with even a majority in Britain disapproving.

These findings are particularly troublesome because the polls do not suggest that European dissatisfaction with the U.S. war on terrorism is derived from a heightened sense of threat created by U.S. actions against Afghanistan or elsewhere. The poll indicates that most Europeans believe that the threat of terrorist attack is about the same now as it was before the start of the U.S. war on terrorism. Nor is it the case that the Europeans feel no sense of threat from terrorism—the poll indicates that Europeans generally feel only slightly less threatened by terrorist attacks than do Americans.

Related findings in the poll suggest that the European sentiment that Washington is determined to pursue an American agenda without regard for European interests could have real consequences for U.S. foreign policy. For example, with the exception of the Italians, the European publics believe that their governments are doing fine in fighting terrorism—57 percent of Britons, 61 percent of Germans, and 70 percent of the French believe that their governments are doing either a good or very good job combating international terrorism. Some American officials continue to complain in private about the support the U.S. is receiving from Europe in the war on terrorism and these findings suggest that the European governments are not feeling much heat from their publics to do more to help what they consider an American war on terrorism.

Worlds Apart on Iraq

The other issue of obvious concern is a possible military operation against Iraq, where the latest poll suggests that the Administration will have to do more if it wants to sell such a campaign to European publics. Despite official insinuations that we could "go it alone" on Iraq, consistent findings in previous polls demonstrate that the U.S. public remains loathe to embark on a campaign against Iraq without the support of European allies, making this a matter of more than academic concern. In France and Britain, support for a war to overthrow Saddam is lukewarm, with about as many supporting as opposing. In Germany and Italy on the other hand, sentiment is decidedly opposed with only 34 percent favoring and 57-59 percent opposing. In the U.S., Iraqi development of weapons of mass destruction is considered a very important reason for a military operation by 81 percent (up from 77 percent) compared with 83 percent for linking Iraq to the 9/11 attacks. In contrast, all four of the European publics surveyed felt that Iraqi development of weapons of mass destruction was the more important reason for war with Iraq: 67 to 55 percent in Britain, 49 to 45 percent in Italy, 57 to 44 percent in Germany, and 54 to 47 percent in France.

Differing Perspectives on the Middle East

Finally, Europeans and Americans take an increasingly different view of the violence in the Middle East. At the most obvious level, Americans are generally more supportive of Israel than Europeans. 41 percent of Americans sympathize with Israel, and only 13 percent sympathize with the Palestinians. Among Europeans, that sentiment is nearly reversed with sentiments running in favor the Israelis ranging from 24 percent in Germany to only 14 percent in Italy, while support for the Palestinians ranges from 36 percent in France to 26 percent in Germany. Likewise, the Europeans appear to blame the U.S., at least in part, for the escalating violence. By a margin of two to one in all of the European countries except Britain (and nearly two-to-one there), Europeans believe that the U.S. is not doing as much as it can to bring about a peace settlement between the Israelis and Palestinians. This stands in stark contrast with the 53 percent of Americans who believe otherwise. Taken together, these two sets of numbers suggest that Europeans tend to blame the Israelis more than the Palestinians for the violence, and in turn, blame Washington for not placing more pressure on Israel to back down in its confrontation with the Palestinians.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS, THE INTERNATIONAL
HERALD TRIBUNE AND THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
BUSH INTERNATIONAL POLL II
- FINAL TOPLINE -**

United States – April 3 - 8, 2002 (N=1362)

Britain – April 2 - 9, 2002 (N=1009)

Italy – April 5 - 10, 2002 (N=1000)

Germany – April 3 - 6, 2002 (N=1021)

France – April 3 - 4, 2002 (N=1012)

Q.A Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President? **[Interviewer instruction: If don't know, enter as don't know. If depends, probe once with: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President? If still depends, enter as don't know.]**

| ASKED IN US ONLY: | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>Don't know</u> |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| April, 2002 | 74 | 16 | 10=100 |
| February, 2002 | 78 | 13 | 9=100 |
| January, 2002 | 80 | 11 | 9=100 |
| Mid-November, 2001 | 84 | 9 | 7=100 |
| Early October, 2001 | 84 | 8 | 8=100 |
| Late September, 2001 | 86 | 7 | 7=100 |
| Mid-September, 2001 | 80 | 9 | 11=100 |
| Early September, 2001 | 51 | 34 | 15=100 |
| August, 2001 | 50 | 32 | 18=100 |
| July, 2001 | 51 | 32 | 17=100 |
| June, 2001 | 50 | 33 | 17=100 |
| May, 2001 | 53 | 32 | 15=100 |
| April, 2001 | 56 | 27 | 17=100 |
| March, 2001 | 55 | 25 | 20=100 |
| February, 2001 | 53 | 21 | 26=100 |

Q.1 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the international policies of President George W. Bush?

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>Don't know</u> |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| US ¹ | 69 | 20 | 11=100 |
| March, 2002 ² | 78 | 17 | 5=100 |
| October, 2001 | 81 | 14 | 5=100 |
| Early September, 2001 | 46 | 34 | 20=100 |
| August, 2001 | 45 | 32 | 23=100 |
| Britain | 40 | 37 | 23=100 |
| August, 2001 | 17 | 49 | 34=100 |
| Italy | 44 | 47 | 9=100 |
| August, 2001 | 29 | 46 | 25=100 |
| Germany | 35 | 59 | 6=100 |
| August, 2001 | 23 | 65 | 12=100 |
| France | 32 | 61 | 7=100 |
| August, 2001 | 16 | 59 | 25=100 |

¹ The US sample was asked "the way George W. Bush is handling the nation's foreign policy." In August 2001 roughly half of the US sample was asked about Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

² Gallup trend from October 2001 and March 2002 was worded "the way George W. Bush is handling foreign affairs."

Q.2 As I read some specific US policies tell me if you approve or disapprove of them. **[READ AND ROTATE]**

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|--|----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| a. The U.S. led military campaign against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan | | | |
| US | 83 | 10 | 7=100 |
| Britain | 73 | 18 | 9=100 |
| Italy | 59 | 37 | 4=100 |
| Germany | 61 | 31 | 8=100 |
| France | 64 | 30 | 6=100 |
| b. President Bush calling Iraq, Iran and North Korea an Axis of Evil | | | |
| US | 56 | 34 | 10=100 |
| Britain | 32 | 55 | 13=100 |
| Italy | 29 | 60 | 11=100 |
| Germany | 17 | 74 | 9=100 |
| France | 27 | 62 | 11=100 |
| c. The US decision to place tariffs on steel imports to the US | | | |
| US | 49 | 27 | 24=100 |
| Britain | 17 | 65 | 18=100 |
| Italy | 17 | 58 | 25=100 |
| Germany | 14 | 74 | 12=100 |
| France | 11 | 81 | 8=100 |
| d. The US decision to try Al Qaeda prisoners before military tribunals rather than in the US civilian courts | | | |
| US | 61 | 24 | 15=100 |
| Britain | 48 | 38 | 14=100 |
| Italy | 46 | 45 | 9=100 |
| Germany | 50 | 40 | 10=100 |
| France | 40 | 51 | 9=100 |
| e. President Bush's decision to increase US foreign aid to poor countries | | | |
| US | 53 | 36 | 11=100 |
| Britain | 90 | 8 | 2=100 |
| Italy | 95 | 4 | 1=100 |
| Germany | 86 | 12 | 2=100 |
| France | 90 | 8 | 2=100 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

| | | | |
|---|----|----|---------------|
| f.1 Recent US efforts to bring about peace in the Middle East | | | |
| US | 77 | 17 | 6=100 (N=667) |
| Britain | 75 | 18 | 7=100 (N=506) |
| Italy | 88 | 11 | 1=100 (N=537) |
| Germany | 76 | 21 | 3=100 (N=503) |
| France | 67 | 28 | 5=100 (N=517) |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|----|----------------|
| f.2 US policies in the Middle East | | | |
| US | 55 | 26 | 19=100 (N=695) |
| Britain | 36 | 39 | 25=100 (N=503) |
| Italy | 39 | 51 | 10=100 (N=463) |
| Germany | 25 | 63 | 12=100 (N=518) |
| France | 26 | 63 | 11=100 (N=495) |

Q.3 Which one better describes George W. Bush? **[READ AND ROTATE]** He makes decisions based entirely on U.S. interests OR He takes into account European interests when making decisions.

| | | Decisions based entirely on U.S. interests | Takes into account European interests | DK/Ref |
|---------|--------------|---|--|--------|
| US | | -- | -- | -- |
| Britain | | 80 | 13 | 7=100 |
| | August, 2001 | 79 | 14 | 7=100 |
| Italy | | 71 | 25 | 4=100 |
| | August, 2001 | 74 | 15 | 11=100 |
| Germany | | 69 | 25 | 6=100 |
| | August, 2001 | 73 | 18 | 9=100 |
| France | | 85 | 11 | 4=100 |
| | August, 2001 | 85 | 8 | 7=100 |

Q.4 How much do you worry about the possibility of Islamic terrorism in (name of country) these days? Are you ...

| US | Britain | Italy | Germany | France | |
|-----|---------|-------|---------|--------|--------------------|
| 22 | 16 | 21 | 17 | 18 | Very worried |
| 45 | 40 | 38 | 46 | 42 | Somewhat worried |
| 22 | 31 | 30 | 25 | 29 | Not too worried |
| 11 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 10 | Not worried at all |
| * | * | * | 1 | 1 | Don't know/Refused |
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

Q.5 How good a job is our government doing in developing intelligence, law enforcement, and taking legal and financial steps to combat international terrorism? Would you say it is doing a very good, good, bad or very bad job?

| US | Britain | Italy | Germany | France | |
|----|---------|-------|---------|--------|--------------------|
| -- | 6 | 6 | 2 | 7 | Very good job |
| -- | 51 | 38 | 59 | 63 | Good |
| -- | 21 | 32 | 23 | 19 | Bad |
| -- | 9 | 8 | 4 | 5 | Very bad |
| -- | 13 | 16 | 12 | 6 | Don't know/Refused |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

Q.6 As a result of the US led war against terrorism, do you think that the chances of a terrorist attack on our country are now less than they were, greater, or about the same as they were?

| US | Britain | Italy | Germany | France | |
|----|---------|-------|---------|--------|--------------------|
| -- | 10 | 12 | 7 | 14 | Less |
| -- | 34 | 23 | 26 | 15 | Greater |
| -- | 55 | 63 | 65 | 69 | About the same |
| -- | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | Don't know/Refused |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

Q.7 In your opinion has our government been too supportive of US policies on the war on terrorism, not supportive enough, or has our government taken about the right position?

| <u>US</u> | <u>Britain</u> | <u>Italy</u> | <u>Germany</u> | <u>France</u> | |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| -- | 35 | 27 | 20 | 11 | Too supportive |
| -- | 3 | 13 | 8 | 16 | Not supportive enough |
| -- | 59 | 56 | 69 | 69 | About right |
| -- | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | Don't know/Refused |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

Q.8 Which of the following comes closer to your point of view?

| <u>US</u> | <u>Britain</u> | <u>Italy</u> | <u>Germany</u> | <u>France</u> | |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|--|
| -- | 77 | 74 | 63 | 67 | The US is right to be so concerned about the threat of international terrorism |
| -- | 20 | 23 | 33 | 30 | The US is over reacting to the threat of international terrorism |
| -- | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | Don't know/Refused |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

Q.9 How do you see the US led war on terrorism – do you think the US is taking into account the interests of its allies in the fight against terrorism or do you think the US is acting mainly on its own interests?

| <u>US</u> | <u>Britain</u> | <u>Italy</u> | <u>Germany</u> | <u>France</u> | |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|---|
| 48 | 22 | 28 | 12 | 17 | Taking into account the interests of its allies |
| 41 | 73 | 68 | 85 | 80 | Acting mainly on its own interests |
| <u>11</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>3</u> | Don't Know/Refused |
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

Q.10 Do you think the partnership between the US and western Europe should remain as close as it has been or do you think that western Europe should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past?

| <u>US</u> | <u>Britain</u> | <u>Italy</u> | <u>Germany</u> | <u>France</u> | |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| -- | 48 | 36 | 44 | 33 | Remain as close |
| -- | 47 | 59 | 51 | 60 | More independent |
| -- | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>7</u> | Don't know/Refused |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

Q.11 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

| | <u>Israel</u> | <u>Palestinians</u> | (VOL) <u>Both</u> | (VOL) <u>Neither</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| US | 41 | 13 | 6 | 21 | 19=100 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 47 | 10 | 8 | 18 | 17=100 |
| Early September, 2001 | 40 | 17 | 6 | 23 | 14=100 |
| September, 1997 | 48 | 13 | 5 | 16 | 18=100 |
| September, 1993 | 45 | 21 | 3 | 18 | 12=100 |
| Chicago CFR: 1990 | 34 | 13 | 7 | 26 | 20=100 |
| Chicago CFR: 1982 | 41 | 17 | 8 | 19 | 16=100 |
| Chicago CFR: 1978 | 39 | 12 | 8 | 15 | 13=100 |
| Britain | 17 | 28 | 11 | 23 | 21=100 |
| Italy | 14 | 30 | 15 | 32 | 9=100 |
| Germany | 24 | 26 | 4 | 33 | 13=100 |
| France | 19 | 36 | 8 | 25 | 12=100 |

Q.12 Do you think the US is doing as much as it can to bring about a peace settlement between the Israelis and the Palestinians, or don't you think so?

| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|---------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| US | 53 | 34 | 13=100 |
| Britain | 31 | 57 | 12=100 |
| Italy | 27 | 67 | 6=100 |
| Germany | 30 | 64 | 6=100 |
| France | 24 | 71 | 5=100 |

Q.13 Would you favor or oppose the US and its allies taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule as part of the war on terrorism?

| | <u>Favor</u> | <u>Oppose</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| US | 69 | 21 | 10=100 |
| January, 2002 ³ | 73 | 16 | 11=100 |
| Britain | 46 | 43 | 11=100 |
| Italy | 34 | 57 | 9=100 |
| Germany | 34 | 59 | 7=100 |
| France | 46 | 47 | 7=100 |

Q.14 Here are some reasons given for using military force against Iraq. As I read a reason, tell me if it is a very important, fairly important, or not important reason to justify the use of military force against Iraq. First, **[INSERT]**, would that be a very important reason, fairly important reason, or not important reason to justify the use of military force against Iraq?

| | <u>Very Important</u> | <u>Fairly Important</u> | <u>Not too Important</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| a. If we learned that Iraq is developing nuclear weapons or weapons of mass destruction | | | | |
| US | 81 | 11 | 5 | 3=100 |
| January, 2002 | 77 | 15 | 5 | 3=100 |
| Britain | 67 | 21 | 8 | 4=100 |
| Italy | 49 | 24 | 23 | 4=100 |
| Germany | 57 | 24 | 15 | 4=100 |
| France | 54 | 37 | 6 | 3=100 |
| b. If we learned that Iraq helped the terrorists attack the United States on September 11 th | | | | |
| US | 83 | 10 | 4 | 3=100 |
| January, 2002 | 83 | 11 | 3 | 3=100 |
| Britain | 55 | 30 | 11 | 4=100 |
| Italy | 45 | 25 | 24 | 6=100 |
| Germany | 44 | 37 | 14 | 5=100 |
| France | 47 | 38 | 11 | 4=100 |

³

In January 2002 the question was worded "As part of the U.S. war on terrorism, would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?"