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Results of a Multinational Poll in France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy  
**BUSH UNPOPULAR IN EUROPE, SEEN AS UNILATERALIST**

*A Multinational Survey Conducted With:*  
**INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE**

*In Association with:*  
**COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

*Also Including:*  
*A Commentary by Morton H. Halperin, Senior Fellow  
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Results of a Multinational Poll in France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy  
**BUSH UNPOPULAR IN EUROPE, SEEN AS UNILATERALIST**

George W. Bush is highly unpopular with the publics of the major nations of Western Europe. By wide margins, people in Germany, France, Great Britain and Italy all disapprove of his handling of international policy, and the American president does not inspire much more confidence in these countries than does Russian President Vladimir Putin.

More than seven-in-ten of those in each country say Bush makes decisions based entirely on U.S. interests, and most think he understands less about Europe than other American presidents. In that regard, Bush's foreign policy approval rating runs 40-60 percentage points below former President Bill Clinton's, when judged in retrospect.

These are the principal findings of a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center, in a unique partnership with the International Herald Tribune and in association with the Council on Foreign Relations. Nearly 4,000 adults in four major European nations were polled. Respondents in the four nations – France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain – were fairly consistent in their appraisals of Bush, and there were few notable differences among major demographic groups.

In addition to the European survey, a subset of questions was asked in a nationwide U.S. poll of 1,277 adults. This survey found a 45%-32% plurality approving of the way Bush is handling foreign policy, only slightly below his overall job approval rating (50%-32%).

<b>The View From Europe: Rating Presidents...</b>					
	<u>Fra</u>	<u>Ger</u>	<u>Ita</u>	<u>GB</u>	<u>US</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
<i>G.W. Bush's int'l policy</i>					
Approve	16	23	29	17	45
Disapprove	59	65	46	49	32
Don't know	<u>25</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>23</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Bill Clinton's int'l policy</i>					
Approve	68	86	71	66	n/a
Disapprove	15	9	16	15	n/a
Don't know	<u>17</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>19</u>	n/a
	100	100	100	100	
<b>... And Assessing Bush's European Approach</b>					
	<u>Fra</u>	<u>Ger</u>	<u>Ita</u>	<u>GB</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
<i>Bush makes decisions:</i>					
Based only on U.S. interests	85	73	74	79	
Takes Europe into account	8	18	15	14	
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
<i>Understands Europe:</i>					
Better than other presidents	12	13	18	13	
Less than other presidents	74	75	53	75	
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>12</u>	
	100	100	100	100	

At the same time, Americans on balance disapprove of Bush's decision to abandon the Kyoto Protocol to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (44%-29%). However, Americans were not nearly as opposed to this decision as Europeans, who disagree with Bush's stance by approximately an eight-to-one margin.

Some of Bush's positions win broad acceptance in Europe. Majorities in all four nations agree with his support of free trade, and Bush's decision to maintain U.S. forces in Kosovo is actually more popular with Europeans than it is with Americans. But on the issues that have stirred the most controversy on his recent visits to Europe – Bush's rejection of the Kyoto pact and his vow to go ahead with a missile defense plan even if that means withdrawing from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty – Europeans come down firmly against the president.

By better than eight-to-one (83%-10%), Germans disapprove of Bush's plan to develop a missile defense program if it means abandoning the ABM pact. The opposition to Bush's stance is nearly as large in France, Italy and Great Britain. Americans, who have consistently backed development of a missile defense system in principle, are evenly divided (42% opposed, 39% in favor) when the possibility of withdrawing from the ABM treaty is mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

Significantly, the sharp rejection of Bush and his key policies in Europe has not opened a more fundamental divide among the allies. If there is a bright light in the poll results for US-European relations, it is that most reject the idea that the U.S. and Europe are drifting apart. Only about one-in-five in all four countries see a broader rift developing, and sizable minorities in Germany (40%) and Italy (34%) see a growing coalescence of U.S. and European interests.

### ***Little Confidence***

Not only do most Europeans oppose key elements of Bush's foreign policy, they express little confidence in the president. Indeed, only 20% of the French respondents and somewhat higher proportions of British (30%) and Italians (33%) say they have even a fair amount of confidence in Bush's handling of world affairs. Germans, who tend to express more confidence in all the leaders tested, give Bush better marks, with about half (51%) voicing at least some confidence in his abilities.

Surprisingly, Europeans express only slightly more confidence in Bush than they do in Putin. Just 14% of the French and about a quarter of the Italians and British (23% and 26%, respectively) voice much confidence in the Russian leader, as do 41% of the Germans. Understandably, Europeans have much more confidence in their own national leaders than in either the Russian or American leader. The confidence ratings range from a high of 78% in Germany for Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder to 53% in Italy for Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi.

### ***Policy Divide***

Clearly, the deep policy differences between the Bush administration and Europe are a major factor in the lack of confidence Europeans express in the president. And Bush's decision to abandon the Kyoto protocol draws the most intense opposition among Europeans. Just one-in-ten British, French and Germans, and 12% of Italians, back Bush's decision.

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<sup>1</sup>

See "Modest Support for Missile Defense, No Panic on China," June 11, 2001.

There is more division over this issue in the United States. Although a 44% plurality opposes Bush's policy, many more Americans than Europeans (29%) back the president on this issue. Underscoring the higher level of interest in the Kyoto matter in Europe than the United States, relatively few respondents in Europe declined to answer this question; better than one-quarter of Americans had no opinion or declined to respond.

Europeans are somewhat less opposed to Bush's stance on missile defense and the ABM treaty. Only 10% of Germans and 14% of the French back Bush, while slightly more people support the president's position in Great Britain (20%) and Italy (24%). Americans are evenly divided, with 39% in favor of the president's position and 42% opposed.

Bush's policies on the Balkans and free trade win broad favor among the Europeans. Publics in all four European nations strongly back Bush's decision to maintain U.S. troops in the multinational peacekeeping forces in Bosnia and Kosovo, with the policy drawing weakest support in Italy (54% approve 33% disapprove). Americans also support this policy, but by a relatively narrow margin (47%-38%).

Bush's backing for free trade is also popular, with about two-thirds of the British and German respondents supporting the president on this matter. The Italians and French are less supportive, with fewer than six-in-ten approving of Bush's approach on trade.

While the president's support for the death penalty in the United States was roundly criticized during his recent visits to Europe, he finds modest support for his position in Great Britain. There is broad opposition to the death penalty in France, Germany and Italy, but the British are split over Bush's backing of capital punishment.

<b>Bush's Policies: Mixed Grades</b>					
	<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>Rejection of Kyoto agreement</i>					
Approve	10	10	12	10	29
Disapprove	85	87	80	83	44
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>27</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Develop missile defense/Withdraw from ABM</i>					
Approve	14	10	24	20	39
Disapprove	75	83	65	66	42
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Keep US troops in Bosnia &amp; Kosovo</i>					
Approve	57	62	54	64	47
Disapprove	32	32	33	22	38
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Support for free trade</i>					
Approve	53	67	58	66	n/a
Disapprove	35	19	23	15	n/a
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>19</u>	n/a
	100	100	100	100	
<i>Support for death penalty in US</i>					
Approve	29	28	22	47	n/a
Disapprove	67	68	73	44	n/a
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	n/a
	100	100	100	100	

***Still Much in Common***

A solid majority of Europeans believe that, whatever their view of Bush, the United States and Europe have not grown apart in recent years. Germans and Italians were most likely to see more common ground among the allies, but even among the British and French fewer than a quarter (24% and 20% respectively) believe differences between the United States and Europe have widened.

Those who see trans-Atlantic differences as increasing do not attribute the rift to any single factor. Rather, solid majorities in this group point to the growing power of the European Union, the resentment stirred by U.S. multinationals, the lack of a common security threat, and differences over culture as reasons for a growing gap between the United States and Europe.

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**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 967 adults, 18 years of age or older, in France, 944 adults in Germany, 1000 adults in Italy, 1000 in Britain and 1277 adults in the U.S. The fieldwork was conducted by Taylor Nelson Sofres in France between August 2 and 7, Emnid in Germany between August 6 and 7, Pragma in Italy between August 6 and 9, NOP in Britain between August 1 and 6, and Princeton Data Source in the U.S. between August 2 and 8. 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.

## **WHAT THE POLL MEANS**

The poll released today by the Pew Research Center, the International Herald Tribune, and the Council on Foreign Relations removes any doubt that large majorities in the major nations of Western Europe have concerns about President George W. Bush's policies.

Respondents in Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany do not express knee-jerk opposition to all the policies of the Bush administration. They applaud Bush's support for free trade and his willingness to keep American troops in Bosnia and Kosovo, reversing a campaign promise to begin taking those troops out. However, echoing the views of their governments, they express concern about his overall approach as well as his positions on National Missile Defense (NMD), the Kyoto Protocol and the death penalty.

The poll results on National Missile Defense may pose the greatest challenge for the Bush administration. European publics may or may not favor the principle of missile defense, but overwhelming majorities disapprove of a deployment that requires withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. More than seven-in-ten German and French respondents and about two-thirds of the Italian and British respondents share this view. This means that European governments are unlikely to yield to administration pressure to go ahead with a missile defense system if it leads to terminating the ABM Treaty. And it suggests that, if any of these governments do go along, the long dormant European anti-nuclear movement might come to life with a vengeance.

Missile defense deployment is the quintessential post-Cold war issue because, as powerful and as rich as the United States is, it simply cannot proceed on its own. An effective layered national missile defense – of the kind favored by the administration – will require the cooperation of many other countries in providing bases for radar and intelligence-gathering systems, as well as for the deployment of anti-missile launchers or the support for ship-based systems. Moreover, the cooperation of other countries, including Russia and China, is necessary if states such as North Korea, Iraq, and Iran are to be prevented from developing relatively simple decoys which would neutralize any small missile defense system.

This may help explain why Bush administration officials who favor giving early notice to Russia that the United States is withdrawing from the ABM Treaty have not yet prevailed. Those who give priority to negotiating an agreement with Russian President Vladimir Putin should have their hands strengthened by these poll results, which suggest serious difficulties for U.S.-European relations, and for an effective anti-missile deployment, if the administration is seen as cavalierly rejecting the treaty.

These problems can only be overcome by reaching agreement with Russia both on substantially lower levels of nuclear warheads and on amendments to the ABM treaty which permit the deployment of a modest NMD against potential small missile threats.

Global warming also poses a serious challenge for the Bush administration. The majorities concerned about the American policy in this area are even larger than on missile defense, and nothing can be accomplished without the cooperation of other states. To reduce tensions over the Kyoto Protocol, the Bush administration will have to fulfill its commitment to present a proposal on global warming at the next international meeting. Proponents of this position within the administration should also be strengthened by this poll, which leaves no doubt that a continuing rift over this issue will have a profound impact on the overall relationship between the United States and Europe.

Criticism of Bush's support for the death penalty are the least problematic for the administration. Disapproval ratings are somewhat lower than for Bush's stance on missile defense and Kyoto. Moreover, this is purely a domestic issue that has only symbolic importance for U.S.-European relations.

If one steps back from the most dramatic results of this poll, there are numbers which point the way to effective U.S.-European cooperation in solving major global problems. The European publics polled are unhappy with George W. Bush because they believe, in overwhelming numbers, that he makes decisions based only on U.S. interests and that he does not understand Europe or take its views into account.

That is the bad news. But the good news is that Europeans do not believe their interests and those of the United States are drifting apart. Moreover, American and European publics agree in their support of some Bush administration positions (free trade and Balkan policy) and a plurality of U.S. respondents also reject Bush's policy on the Kyoto pact.

Anyone who believes in the importance of U.S.-European relations can only hope that the Bush administration will take these poll results to heart and return to the principle – articulated by the president during last fall's campaign – that the United States can accomplish its goals in the world only if it takes into account the interests of others. If it does, the administration can attract broad public support for policies on global warming, missile defense and other issues which advance the interests of people living on both sides of the Atlantic. If it does not, the poll results being released today suggest that we might well be facing a serious deterioration in trans-Atlantic relations which cannot be ameliorated by traditional diplomacy.

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## OPINIONS OF GEORGE W. BUSH

	<i>International Policies</i>			<i>Decision to Develop Missile Defense System</i>			<i>Makes Decisions Based on U.S. Also European</i>			<i>(N)</i>
	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Entirely</u> %	<u>Interests</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	
<b>BRITAIN</b>	17	49	34=100	20	66	14=100	79	14	7=100	(1000)
<i>Sex</i>										
Male	18	55	27	25	65	10	84	12	4	(485)
Female	16	43	41	15	68	17	74	15	11	(515)
<i>Age</i>										
Under 30	17	43	40	20	74	6	82	15	3	(210)
30-59	16	49	35	19	67	14	78	13	9	(579)
60+	19	54	27	23	59	18	77	16	7	(209)
<b>GERMANY</b>	23	65	12=100	10	83	7=100	73	18	9=100	(944)
<i>Sex</i>										
Male	23	71	6	14	84	2	83	13	4	(428)
Female	23	60	17	7	82	11	65	21	14	(516)
<i>Age</i>										
Under 30	26	68	6	14	84	2	82	15	3	(139)
30-59	24	65	11	9	85	6	73	17	10	(539)
60+	21	63	16	12	78	10	69	21	10	(266)
<b>FRANCE</b>	16	59	25=100	14	75	11=100	85	8	7=100	(967)
<i>Sex</i>										
Male	15	65	20	14	78	8	90	6	4	(459)
Female	17	53	30	13	72	15	81	9	10	(508)
<i>Age</i>										
Under 30	19	62	19	10	85	5	85	12	3	(203)
30-59	15	60	25	14	76	10	86	6	8	(506)
60+	15	54	31	17	64	19	85	6	9	(258)

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling international policy?

As I read some specific policies of President George W. Bush tell me if you approve or disapprove of them... Bush's decision that the U.S. should try to develop a missile defense system even if it means withdrawing from the ABM Treaty.

As I read a pair of phrases, tell me which one better describes George W. Bush... He makes decisions based entirely on U.S. interests, or he takes into account European interests when making decisions.

Continued ...



	<i>International Policies</i>			<i>Decision to Develop Missile Defense System</i>			<i>Makes Decisions Based on U.S. Also European</i>			<i>(N)</i>
	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Entirely</u> %	<u>Interests</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	
<b>ITALY</b>	29	46	25=100	24	65	11=100	74	15	11=100	(1000)
<i>Sex</i>										
Male	30	49	21	26	65	9	75	15	10	(485)
Female	28	44	8	22	65	13	72	16	12	(515)
<i>Age</i>										
Under 30	34	46	20	33	61	6	79	17	4	(195)
30-59	27	47	26	22	68	10	78	11	11	(539)
60+	29	45	26	22	63	15	64	21	15	(266)
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	45	32	23=100	39	42	19=100	n/a	n/a	n/a	(1277)
<i>Sex</i>										
Male	48	32	20	48	41	11	n/a	n/a	n/a	(586)
Female	43	31	26	30	44	26	n/a	n/a	n/a	(691)
<i>Age</i>										
Under 30	40	33	27	39	48	13	n/a	n/a	n/a	(254)
30-59	48	32	20	40	44	16	n/a	n/a	n/a	(693)
60+	44	29	27	37	33	30	n/a	n/a	n/a	(316)

## CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS

	---- George Bush ----			---- Vladimir Putin ----			-- PM/Chancellor/President --		
	Confident %	Not Confident %	DK %	Confident %	Not Confident %	DK %	Confident %	Not Confident %	DK %
<b>BRITAIN</b>	30	64	6=100	26	57	17=100	60	39	1=100
<i>Sex</i>									
Male	31	66	3	35	53	12	61	38	1
Female	29	63	8	18	61	21	58	41	1
<i>Age</i>									
Under 30	31	66	3	24	57	19	65	34	1
30-59	29	65	6	25	58	17	59	40	1
60+	35	60	5	32	53	15	59	40	1
<b>GERMANY</b>	51	46	3=100	41	55	4=100	78	21	1=100
<i>Sex</i>									
Male	53	46	1	50	48	2	80	20	*
Female	49	47	4	33	61	6	76	23	1
<i>Age</i>									
Under 30	49	51	*	33	65	2	83	17	0
30-59	48	49	3	41	56	3	76	23	1
60+	57	40	3	45	48	7	78	21	1
<b>FRANCE</b>	20	75	5=100	14	77	9=100	66	32	2=100
<i>Sex</i>									
Male	20	79	2	14	81	5	63	35	2
Female	21	73	7	13	74	12	67	30	3
<i>Age</i>									
Under 30	19	80	1	13	83	4	66	33	2
30-59	18	78	4	12	79	8	64	34	2
60+	25	68	7	18	69	13	68	29	4
<b>ITALY</b>	33	59	8=100	23	49	28=100	53	42	5=100
<i>Sex</i>									
Male	35	57	8	31	48	21	53	42	5
Female	30	61	8	16	50	34	53	41	6
<i>Age</i>									
Under 30	39	59	3	23	52	25	53	43	4
30-59	32	61	7	20	52	28	51	43	5
60+	31	57	12	29	42	29	55	38	7

Question: I'm going to read a list of political leaders. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs... a great deal, fair amount, not too much, or none at all? (Vladimir Putin)/(George W. Bush)/(Prime Minister/Chancellor/President of respondent's country).

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS  
BUSH INTERNATIONAL POLL  
— FINAL TOPLINE —**

**United States -- August 2-8, 2001 (N=1277)**

**Britain -- August 1-6, 2001 (N=1000)**

**Italy -- August 6-9, 2001 (N=1000)**

**Germany -- August 6-7, 2001 (N=944)**

**France -- August 2-7, 2001 (N=967)**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President?<sup>1</sup>

US

50	Approve
32	Disapprove
<u>18</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way [American President] George W. Bush is handling International policy?<sup>2</sup>

<u>US</u> <sup>3</sup>	<u>BRIT</u>	<u>ITA</u>	<u>GER</u>	<u>FRA</u>	
45	17	29	23	16	Approve
32	49	46	65	59	Disapprove
<u>23</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>25</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	100	

Q.3 Thinking back to past [American] President Bill Clinton, did you approve or disapprove of his international policies?

<u>BRIT</u>	<u>ITA</u>	<u>GER</u>	<u>FRA</u>	
66	71	86	68	Approve
15	16	9	15	Disapprove
<u>19</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>17</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	

<sup>1</sup> U.S. respondents were asked a subset of the questions asked in Europe and one additional question, Q1. The order in which the questions were asked in the U.S. and Europe corresponds with the order of the topline.

<sup>2</sup> In Q.2, Q.3 and Q.4 bracketed words were included for European respondents.

<sup>3</sup> Roughly half the sample was asked about Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

Q.4 As I read some specific policies of [American] President George W. Bush tell me if you approve or disapprove of them.

*List items were rotated*

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
a. Bush's decision that the U.S. should not support the Kyoto protocol to reduce greenhouse gas emissions			
US	29	44	27=100
BRIT	10	83	7=100
ITA	12	80	8=100
GER	10	87	3=100
FRA	10	85	5=100
b. Bush's decision that the U.S. should try to develop a missile defense system even if it means withdrawing from the ABM treaty			
US	39	42	19=100
BRIT	20	66	14=100
ITA	24	65	11=100
GER	10	83	7=100
FRA	14	75	11=100
c. Bush's support for the death penalty in the U.S.			
BRIT	47	44	9=100
ITA	22	73	5=100
GER	28	68	4=100
FRA	29	67	4=100
d. Bush's decision to keep U.S. troops in Bosnia and Kosovo			
US	47	38	15=100
BRIT	64	22	14=100
ITA	54	33	13=100
GER	62	32	6=100
FRA	57	32	11=100
e. Bush's support for free trade policies			
BRIT	66	15	19=100
ITA	58	23	19=100
GER	67	19	14=100
FRA	53	35	12=100

Q.5a As I read a pair of phrases, tell me which one better describes George W. Bush.

*Responses were rotated*

<u>BRIT</u>	<u>ITA</u>	<u>GER</u>	<u>FRA</u>	
13	18	13	12	He understands Europe better than other American presidents
75	53	75	74	He understands less about Europe than other American presidents
<u>12</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	

Q.5b Again, which one better describes George W. Bush.

*Responses were rotated*

<u>BRIT</u>	<u>ITA</u>	<u>GER</u>	<u>FRA</u>	
79	74	73	85	He makes decisions based entirely on U.S. interests
14	15	18	8	He takes into account European interests when making decisions
<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	

Q.6 I'm going to read a list of political leaders. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs.

*List items were rotated*

	<u>Great deal</u>	Fair <u>amount</u>	Not too <u>much</u>	<u>None at all</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
a. Russian president Vladimir Putin					
BRIT	1	25	35	22	17=100
ITA	2	21	36	13	28=100
GER	4	37	31	24	4=100
FRA	2	12	39	38	9=100
b. US president George W. Bush					
BRIT	4	26	36	28	6=100
ITA	3	30	43	16	8=100
GER	3	48	27	19	3=100
FRA	2	18	43	32	5=100

	<u>Great deal</u>	<u>Fair amount</u>	<u>Not too much</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
c. Prime Minister/Chancellor/President of country					
BRIT (BLAIR)	14	46	23	16	1=100
ITA (BERLUSCONI)	19	34	22	20	5=100
GER (SCHROEDER)	21	57	14	7	1=100
FRA (CHIRAC)	16	50	23	9	2=100

Q.7 Aside from your opinion of George W. Bush, in recent years, have the basic interests of Europe and the U.S. grown closer, further apart or have they remained about the same?

<u>BRIT</u>	<u>ITA</u>	<u>GER</u>	<u>FRA</u>	
13	34	40	19	Grown closer
24	14	17	20	Grown further apart
57	45	38	55	Stayed same
<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	100	100	100	

Q.8 As I read from a list, tell me whether or not you think this is an important factor in Europe and the U.S. growing further apart?

*List items were rotated*

**BASED ON THOSE WHO SAY BASIC INTERESTS OF EUROPE AND THE U.S. HAVE GROWN FURTHER APART:**

	<u>Important factor</u>	<u>Not important factor</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>	
a. Europeans and Americans need each other less for security reasons since the end of the Cold War				
BRIT	67	28	5=100	(n=243)
ITA	63	27	10=100	(n=141)
GER	77	22	1=100	(n=187)
FRA	75	21	4=100	(n=190)
b. The growing power of the European Union				
BRIT	76	19	5=100	(n=243)
ITA	76	17	7=100	(n=141)
GER	71	27	2=100	(n=187)
FRA	85	13	2=100	(n=190)
c. American multi national corporations are creating resentment in Europe				
BRIT	68	27	5=100	(n=243)
ITA	73	15	12=100	(n=141)
GER	68	30	2=100	(n=187)
FRA	81	15	4=100	(n=190)

	Important <u>factor</u>	Not important <u>factor</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>	
d. Europeans and Americans have increasingly different social and cultural values these days				
BRIT	62	37	1=100	(n=243)
ITA	75	19	6=100	(n=141)
GER	68	26	6=100	(n=187)
FRA	77	20	3=100	(n=190)