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A Year After Iraq War

MISTRUST OF AMERICA IN EUROPE EVER HIGHER, MUSLIM ANGER PERSISTS

A Nine-Country Survey

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A year after the war in Iraq, discontent with America and its policies has intensified rather than diminished. Opinion of the United States in France and Germany is at least as negative now as at the war's conclusion, and British views are decidedly more critical. Perceptions of American unilateralism remain widespread in European and Muslim nations, and the war in Iraq has undermined America's credibility abroad. Doubts about the motives behind the U.S.-led war on terrorism abound, and a growing percentage of Europeans want foreign policy and security arrangements independent from the United States. Across Europe, there is considerable support for the European Union to become as powerful as the United States.

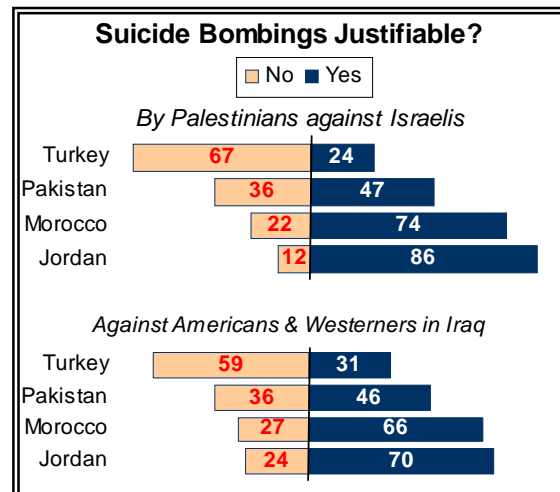
In the predominantly Muslim countries surveyed, anger toward the United States remains pervasive, although the level of hatred has eased somewhat and support for the war on terrorism has inched up. Osama bin

Laden, however, is viewed favorably by large percentages in Pakistan (65%), Jordan (55%) and Morocco (45%). Even in Turkey, where bin Laden is highly unpopular, as many as 31% say that suicide attacks against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable. Majorities in all four Muslim nations surveyed doubt the sincerity of the war on terrorism. Instead, most say it is an effort to control Mideast oil and to dominate the world.

There has been little change in opinion about the war in Iraq – except in Great Britain, where support for the decision to go to war has plummeted from 61% last May to 43% in the current survey. In contrast, 60% of Americans continue to back the war. Among the coalition of the “unwilling,” large majorities in Germany, France and Russia still believe their countries made the right decision in not taking part in the war. Moreover, there is broad agreement in nearly all of the countries surveyed – the U.S. being a notable

Transatlantic Tensions Unabated				
Support for an Independent European Foreign Policy				
	Apr 2002	Mar 2003	May 2003	Mar 2004
	%	%	%	%
Britain	47	48	45	56
France	60	67	76	75
Germany	51	52	57	63

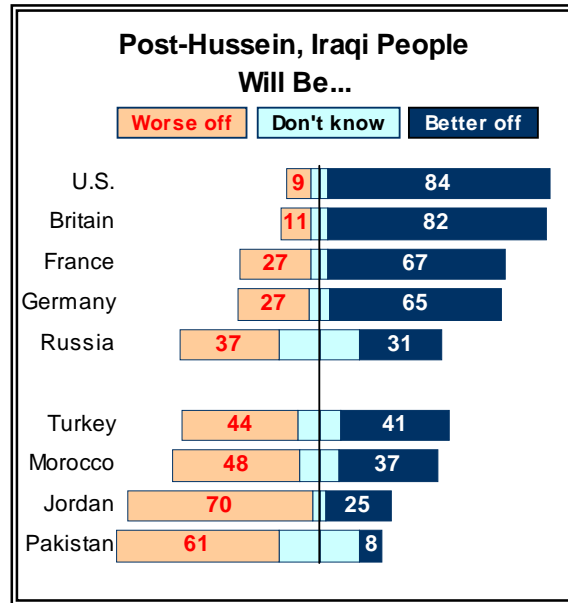
U.S. Favorability Ratings				
	Summer 2002	Mar 2003	May 2003	Mar 2004
	%	%	%	%
Britain	75	48	70	58
France	63	31	43	37
Germany	61	25	45	38



exception – that the war in Iraq hurt, rather than helped, the war on terrorism.

In the four predominantly Muslim countries surveyed, opposition to the war remains nearly universal. Moreover, while large majorities in Western European countries opposed to the war say Saddam Hussein’s ouster will improve the lot of the Iraqi people, those in Muslim countries are less confident. In Jordan, no less than 70% of survey respondents think the Iraqis will *worse off* with Hussein gone.

This is the latest in a series of international surveys by the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*. It was conducted from late February to early March in the United States and eight other countries, with fieldwork under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International.¹ The survey finds a significant point of agreement in opinion on Iraq’s future. Overwhelming majorities in all countries surveyed say it will take longer than a year to establish a stable government in Iraq. But there are deep differences about whether the U.S. or the United Nations would do the best job of helping Iraqis to form such a government. The U.N. is the clear choice of people in Western



Europe and Turkey; Americans are divided over this issue. However, roughly half of Jordanians and a third of Moroccans volunteered that neither the U.S. nor the U.N could do best in this regard.

Americans have a far different view of the war’s impact – on the war on terrorism and the global standing of the U.S. – than do people in the other surveyed countries. Generally, Americans think the war helped in the fight against terrorism, illustrated the power of the U.S. military, and revealed America to be trustworthy and supportive of democracy around the world. These notions are not shared elsewhere. Majorities in Germany, Turkey and France – and half of the British and Russians – believe the conflict in Iraq undermined the war on terrorism. At least half the respondents in the eight other countries view the U.S. as less trustworthy as a consequence of the war. For the

	April 2002 (%)	March 2004 (%)
France	30	57
Germany	33	49
Britain	20	33
Jordan	--	76
Morocco	--	72
Pakistan	--	66
Turkey	--	55
Russia	--	34
U.S.	--	13

¹ All surveys are nationwide representative samples except in Pakistan, which was predominantly urban, and Morocco, where the survey was conducted only in urban areas. See page 40 for details.

most part, even U.S. military prowess is not seen in a better light as a result of the war in Iraq.

A growing number in Western Europe also think that the United States is overreacting to the threat of terrorism. Only in Great Britain and Russia do large majorities believe that the U.S. is right to be so concerned about terrorism. Many people in France (57%) and Germany (49%) have come to agree with the widespread view in the Muslim countries surveyed that the America is exaggerating the terrorist threat.

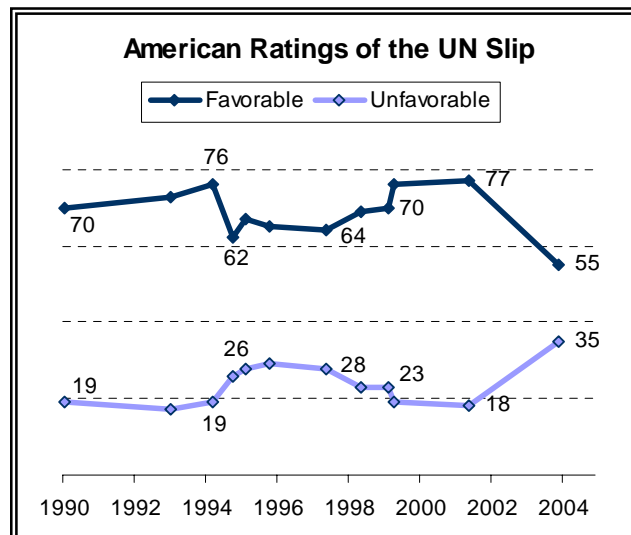
Nevertheless, support for the U.S.-led war on terrorism has increased dramatically among Russians, despite their generally critical opinion of U.S. policies. More than seven-in-ten Russians (73%) currently back the war on terrorism, up from 51% last May. Since the end of the Iraq war, there also have been gains in support for the U.S. anti-terrorism campaign in Turkey (from 22% to 37%) and Morocco (9% to 28%). On the other hand, backing for the war against terrorism has again slipped in France and Germany; only about half of the public in each country favors the U.S.-led effort.

Trend: Favor US-led War on Terrorism

	Summer 2002 %	May 2003 %	March 2004 %
U.S.	89	--	81
Britain	69	63	63
France	75	60	50
Germany	70	60	55
Russia	73	51	73
Turkey	30	22	37
Pakistan	20	16	16
Jordan	13	2	12
Morocco	--	9	28

Publics in the surveyed countries other than the United States express considerable skepticism of America's motives in its global struggle against terrorism. Solid majorities in France and Germany believe the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism in order to control Mideast oil and dominate the world. People in Muslim nations who doubt the sincerity of American anti-terror efforts see a wider range of ulterior motives, including helping Israel and targeting unfriendly Muslim governments and groups.

Large majorities in almost every country surveyed think that American and British leaders lied when they claimed, prior to the Iraq war, that Saddam Hussein's regime had weapons of mass destruction. On balance, people in the United States and Great Britain disagree. Still, about three-in-ten in the U.S. (31%) and four-in-ten in Great Britain (41%) say leaders of the two countries lied to provide a rationale for the war.



In that regard, opinions of both President Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair

are negative. Large majorities in every country, except for the U.S., hold an unfavorable opinion of Bush. Blair is rated favorably only by a narrow majority in Great Britain but fully three-quarters of Americans. In contrast, U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan is viewed positively in nearly all nine countries surveyed, with Jordan and Morocco as prominent exceptions.

The United Nations itself engenders varied reactions around the world. Just 55% of Americans have a favorable opinion of the world body. This is the lowest rating the U.N. has achieved in 14 years of Pew Research Center surveys. People in Russia and the Western European countries have a considerably more favorable view of the U.N. But large majorities in Jordan and Morocco hold negative views of both the U.N. and the man who leads it.

Majorities in the Western European countries surveyed believe their own government should obtain U.N. approval before dealing with an international threat. That idea is much more problematic for Americans, and on this issue Russians and people in Muslim countries are much closer to Americans than they are to Western Europeans.

Despite that small piece of common ground, however, there is still considerable hostility toward the U.S. in the Muslim countries surveyed. Substantial numbers in each of these countries has a negative view of the U.S. Overwhelming majorities in Jordan and Morocco believe suicide attacks against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable.

As a point of comparison, slightly more people in those two countries say the same about Palestinian suicide attacks against Israelis.

About half of Pakistanis also say suicide attacks on Americans in Iraq – and against Israelis in the Palestinian conflict – are justifiable. Fewer respondents in Turkey agree, but slightly more Turks view suicide attacks on Americans in Iraq as justifiable as say the same about Palestinian attacks on Israelis (31% vs. 24%).

Other Findings

- Despite concerns about rising anti-Semitism in Europe, there are no indications that anti-Jewish sentiment has increased over the past decade.

The Gap Over Using Force

Country Needs U.N. Approval First

	<u>Yes</u> %	No, too <u>difficult</u> %	DK/ <u>Ref</u> %
U.S.	41	48	10
Britain	64	30	6
France	63	35	2
Germany	80	15	6
Russia	37	41	21
Turkey	45	44	11
Pakistan	38	34	28
Jordan	47	38	15
Morocco	42	42	16

Favorability Ratings: Jews

	<u>Very Fav</u> %	<u>Somewhat Fav</u> %	<u>Un-Fav</u> %
U.S.	36	41	8
Britain	23	53	9
France	28	53	11
1991	14	58	14
Germany	10	53	20
1991	5	47	24
Russia	18	47	25
1991	9	49	26
Turkey	6	21	49
Pakistan	1	2	80
Morocco	1	5	92

Question not permitted in Jordan.

Favorable ratings of Jews are actually higher now in France, Germany and Russia than they were in 1991. Nonetheless, Jews are better liked in the U.S. than in Germany and Russia. As is the case with Americans, Europeans hold much more negative views of Muslims than of Jews.

- The survey finds, however, that Christians get much lower ratings in predominantly Muslim countries than do Muslims in mostly Christian countries. Majorities in Morocco (73%), Pakistan (62%) and Turkey (52%) express negative views of Christians.
- The adage that people in other nations may dislike America, but nonetheless want to move there is borne out in Russia, Turkey and Morocco. Roughly half of the respondents in those three countries say people who have moved to the U.S. have a better life.
- But one of the largest gaps between Americans and Europeans concerns the question of whether people who move to the U.S. have a better life. Americans overwhelmingly believe this to be the case – 88% say people who move to the U.S. from other countries have a better life. By contrast, just 14% of Germans, 24% of French and 41% of British think that people who have moved to the U.S. from their countries have a better life.

Favorability Ratings:			
Muslims			
	Very Fav	Somewhat Fav	Un-Fav
	%	%	%
U.S.	13	35	32
Britain	18	49	18
France	16	48	29
Germany	5	36	46
Russia	15	38	38
Turkey	66	22	9
Pakistan	87	10	2
Morocco	70	20	9
Christians			
	Very Fav	Somewhat Fav	Un-Fav
	%	%	%
U.S.	55	29	6
Britain	36	48	6
France	34	50	9
Germany	15	60	16
Russia	44	49	3
Turkey	6	25	52
Pakistan	4	20	62
Morocco	2	21	73
Questions not permitted in Jordan.			

ABOUT THE SURVEY:

Surveys for the Pew Global Attitudes Project were conducted February 19-March 3, 2004 in nine nations under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Telephone interviews were conducted among a nationwide, representative sample of 1,000 adults, 18 years of age or older, in the United States, 500 in Great Britain, 504 in France, and 500 in Germany. Face-to-face interviews were conducted among a nation-wide representative sample of 1,000 adults in Jordan, 1,002 in Russia, and 1,017 in Turkey. The sample in Morocco (N=1,000, ages 18-59) was exclusively urban, and the Pakistani sample (N=1,242) was predominantly urban. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in both nations.

For surveys where the sample size is 1000 or more (U.S., Russia, Jordan, Turkey, Morocco, Pakistan) one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3.5%.

For surveys where the sample size is approximately 500 (Great Britain, France, Germany) one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 5%.

More details about the survey methodology are available on page 40.

U.S. Image Still Poor

America's image abroad remains negative in most nations, though it has improved somewhat in Russia, Turkey, and Pakistan. Vast majorities in predominantly Muslim countries continue to hold unfavorable opinions of the U.S., though the intensity of anti-American views has moderated.

Opinion of the U.S. in Russia is now about evenly divided, with 47% favorable and 44% unfavorable. Positive views of the U.S. in Russia have risen 11 points in the past year. But U.S. favorability ratings in France and Germany are somewhat lower than last year and there has been a larger decline in Great Britain (58% now, 70% last year). Young people in Great Britain, France, and Germany have more negative views of America than do people in other age groups.

Majorities in the Muslim nations surveyed hold negative views of the United States, though opinion has softened. In all four of these nations, fewer respondents hold *very* unfavorable opinions of the U.S. now than did so last year. For example, 45% in Turkey now hold a very unfavorable opinion of the U.S., down from 68% last May. There have been comparable declines in intense dislike of the U.S. in Pakistan and Jordan. Strong dislike of the U.S. moderated in Morocco as well, though not as much as in the other Muslim nations surveyed.

An important factor in world opinion about America is the perception that the U.S. acts internationally without taking account of the interests of other nations. Large majorities in every nation surveyed (except the U.S.) believe that America pays little or no attention to their country's interests in making its foreign policy decisions. This opinion is most prevalent in France (84%), Turkey (79%) and Jordan (77%), but even in Great Britain 61% say the U.S. pays little or no attention to British interests.

Anti-American Views in Muslim World...			
	<i>Rating of the United States</i>		
	Fav- orable	Somewhat Unfav.	Very Unfav.
	%	%	%
Turkey			
March 2004	30	18	45
May 2003	15	15	68
March 2003	12	17	67
Summer 2002	30	13	42
Pakistan			
March 2004	21	11	50
May 2003	13	10	71
Summer 2002	10	11	58
Jordan			
March 2004	5	26	67
May 2003	1	16	83
Summer 2002	25	18	57
Morocco			
March 2004	27	22	46
May 2003	27	13	53
...and in Europe			
Great Britain			
March 2004	58	24	10
May 2003	70	14	12
March 2003	48	24	16
Summer 2002	75	12	4
France			
March 2004	37	42	20
May 2003	43	38	19
March 2003	31	45	22
Summer 2002	63	26	8
Germany			
March 2004	38	49	10
May 2003	45	42	12
March 2003	25	41	30
Summer 2002	61	31	4
Russia			
March 2004	47	29	15
May 2003	36	32	23
March 2003	28	43	25
Summer 2002	61	27	6

In every country except Jordan, there is a strong association between the belief that the U.S. ignores their country in making foreign policy decisions and one's overall opinion of the U.S. (opinions in Jordan are uniformly negative).

By contrast, 70% of Americans think the U.S. takes other nations' interests into account a great deal (34%) or a fair amount (36%); just 27% think the U.S. is mostly unconcerned with other nations. Republicans are nearly unanimous (85%) in the view that American foreign policy takes other nations into account, while a much smaller majority of Democrats agree (56%).

Europeans' Favorable View of American People

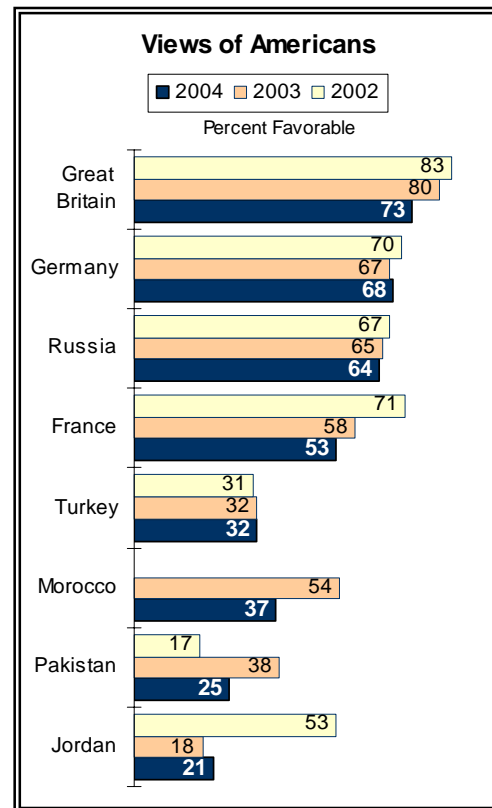
European publics draw a clear distinction between the U.S. as a nation and the American people. Opinion about Americans remains quite favorable in Great Britain, Germany and Russia. A majority of French also have a positive opinion of Americans (53%), but that represents a significant decline compared with two years ago (71%). In the Muslim countries surveyed, however, attitudes toward Americans are nearly as negative as views of the U.S.

In Morocco, favorable opinion of Americans has declined by 17 percentage points since last May; in Pakistan the decline was 13 points. Opinion was stable in Turkey (32% favorable) and Jordan (21%). But as recently as 2002, about half of Jordanians (53%) expressed a positive opinion of Americans.

U.S. Views of Europe

The American public's views of France and Germany, which had turned sharply negative after those nations refused to back the war in Iraq, moderated slightly in the new poll but remain much lower than they were in 2002. U.S. opinion of Great Britain has declined somewhat over the past year, though it remains largely favorable.

A third of Americans (33%) have a favorable view of France, up slightly from 29% last May. And the percentage with a *very* unfavorable view of France dropped from 36% to 24% in the current survey. Nearly twice as many Democrats (42%) as Republicans (22%) have a favorable view of France. Half of Americans now have a favorable view of Germany, up from 44% last year. But this remains far below the 83% positive rating for Germany two years ago.



More than seven-in-ten Americans (73%) have a favorable opinion of Great Britain, down from 82% in May 2003. The percentage who expresses a *very* favorable view has also declined over that period, from 49% to 33%.

American views of the European Union are more favorable than unfavorable, though many in the U.S. have not formed an impression of the EU. Overall, 39% have a favorable impression, while 26% have an unfavorable view; 35% have no opinion. Views of the EU are largely unchanged since a poll taken in early September 2001, shortly before the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

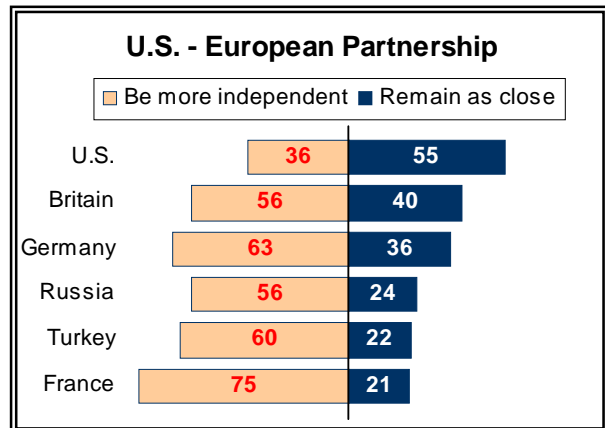
Rating of...	Fav- orable	Unfav- orable	Don't know
	%	%	%
Great Britain	73	12	14
May 2003	82	10	8
February 2002	90	7	3
France	33	49	18
May 2003	29	60	11
February 2002	79	16	5
Germany	50	28	23
May 2003	44	41	15
February 2002	83	11	6
European Union	39	26	35
Sept 2001	38	23	39

February 2002 trends from Gallup

U.S.-European Partnership Questioned

Despite disagreements with many traditional U.S. allies over the war in Iraq, a majority of Americans (55%) continue to believe that the partnership between the U.S. and Western Europe should remain as close as it has been. Only 36% think the U.S. should take a more independent approach. Opinion is essentially unchanged from the survey taken in May 2003. Only about a quarter of liberal Democrats (24%) favor looser security and diplomatic ties with Europe, compared with 44% of conservative Republicans.

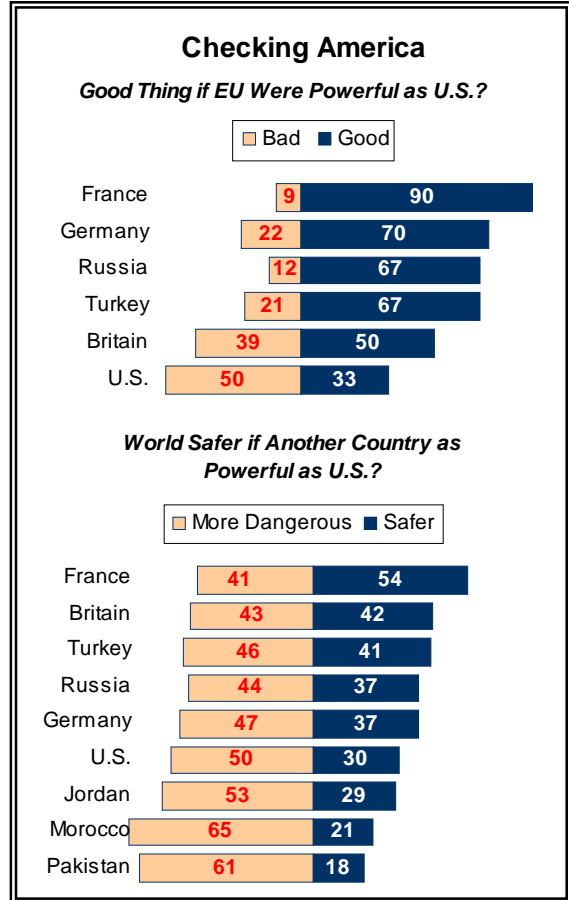
But most people in the European nations polled, including Great Britain, believe that Western Europe should chart a more independent course in its approach to security and diplomatic affairs. In Great Britain, just 40% favor keeping the relationship as close as in the past, down from 51% at the conclusion of the war in Iraq last year. In Germany, more than six-in-ten (63%) favor a more independent approach, up from 57% last year. And three-quarters of the French feel this way, about the same as last year. Smaller majorities in both Russia (56%) and Turkey (60%) favor a more independent approach.



Moreover, half or more of the public in each of the five European nations surveyed say it would be a good thing if the European Union becomes as powerful as the United States. This idea has nearly universal support in France (90% good thing), and is widely embraced in Germany (70%), Russia (67%) and Turkey (67%). Half of the British also believe it would be a good thing if the EU becomes as powerful as the U.S.

Among those favoring a more powerful EU, majorities in every country say they would continue to take this position even if it means that Europe would have to pay the costs of taking greater responsibility for international problems.

Just a third of Americans say it would be a good thing for the EU to become as powerful as the U.S. About the same number of Democrats (33%) and Republicans (28%) say a powerful EU would be a good thing; the greatest support for the idea is found among independents, who are evenly divided on the question (43% say it would be good, 45% say it would be bad).



The EU itself is generally well regarded in Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Turkey, with majorities in each country expressing a positive opinion. People in Jordan, Morocco and Pakistan express more negative than positive opinions about the EU: Jordan (75% negative/17% positive), Morocco (50% to 41%), and Pakistan (33% to 19%).

Less Enthusiasm for a Bipolar World

Although many Europeans view a more powerful EU as a positive thing, there is less enthusiasm for the notion of another *country* becoming as powerful as the United States. Majorities or pluralities in seven nations, including the U.S., believe that the world would be a more dangerous place if there was another country that was equal in power to the U.S.

France is the only country surveyed in which a majority (54%) believes the world would be safer if another country rivaled the power of the U.S. In Great Britain, people are evenly divided on this question (42% safer place/43% more dangerous). But majorities in Morocco (65%),

Pakistan (61%) and Jordan (53%) say the world would be more dangerous if a rival to the U.S. were to emerge.

Mixed Views of the U.N.

Overall opinion of the United Nations varies widely. Solid majorities in the Western European nations surveyed have a favorable view of the U.N., but Americans are somewhat less positive (55%).

But people in Muslim nations, with the exception of Turkey, have a much more negative opinion of the United Nations. More than seven-in-ten Jordanians (73%) and nearly as many Moroccans (65%) express an unfavorable opinion of the U.N. In Pakistan, opinion of the U.N. in Pakistan is less negative (27%), but 38% did not offer an opinion.

	Fav %	Unfav %	DK/ Ref %
U.S.	55	35	10
Britain	74	18	7
France	67	30	3
Germany	71	23	6
Russia	60	18	21
Turkey	51	35	14
Pakistan	35	27	38
Jordan	21	73	6
Morocco	25	65	10

Majorities in Great Britain, France, and Germany say that their nation should obtain U.N. approval before using military force to deal with an international threat, but opinion is divided in the other countries surveyed. Eight-in-ten Germans support the idea of obtaining U.N. approval, rejecting the notion that such a process would make it too difficult for their nation to deal with international threats. Large majorities in Great Britain (64%) and France (63%) also express this view.

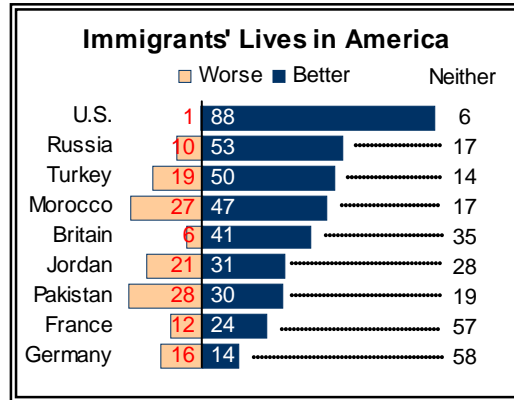
But the publics in the other nations in the poll are more skeptical about such a role for the U.N. Views are almost equally divided in Russia (37% favor the idea of U.N. approval, 41% oppose it), Turkey (45%-44%), Morocco (42%-42%), and Pakistan (38%-34%). Though not a majority, more in Jordan favor getting U.N. approval (47%) than oppose it (38%).

In the United States, a 48% plurality believes that getting U.N. approval for the use of force would make it too difficult to respond to international threats, while 41% believe such approval should be obtained. The public divides sharply along political lines on this question; a majority of Democrats (57%) support getting U.N. approval for the use of military force, while most Republicans (70%) are opposed.

America Still the Land of Opportunity?

Americans strongly believe that their country remains a place where people seeking a better life can find one, but people elsewhere are not convinced of this. The U.S. public is nearly unanimous (88%) in its belief that people who move to the U.S. from other countries have a better life here. About half of Russians (53%) agree that people who move from Russia to the

U.S. have a better life. In Great Britain, 41% think those who have left for the U.S. lead a better life there (only 6% think they are worse off), but just 24% in France and 14% in Germany agree.



By more than two-to-one, people in Turkey say those who have moved from their country to the U.S. have a better life (50%-19%). Moroccans, on balance, share this view. But respondents in Jordan and Pakistan are divided over whether people in their country who move to the U.S. have a better or worse life.

In each of the countries surveyed, people's satisfaction with their own nation is unrelated to how they feel about America as a destination for immigrants. People who are satisfied with the way things are going at home, and those who are unsatisfied, have similar views on the lives of their fellow citizens who move to the U.S.

British Support for Iraq War Falls

For the most part, people in the nine countries surveyed continue to support their government's decision regarding the Iraq war, and this is especially the case in countries that did not participate in the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq.

But there has been a striking change in opinion on this issue in Great Britain, the most important U.S. ally in the conflict. Just 43% of the British believe their country made the right decision to use military force against Iraq, down sharply from 61% last May.

	<i>The "Willing"</i>			
	May 2003		Mar 2004	
	Right	Wrong	Right	Wrong
	%	%	%	%
U.S.	74	20	60	32
Britain	61	34	43	47

	<i>The "Unwilling"</i>			
	May 2003		Mar 2004	
	Right	Wrong	Right	Wrong
	%	%	%	%
France	83	16	88	11
Germany	80	19	86	11
Russia	89	7	83	10
Turkey	--	--	72	22
Pakistan	73	21	68	12
Jordan	95	4	87	3
Morocco	88	7	84	9

In the United States, support for the war also has fallen 14 points in that period (from 74% to 60%), but the American public has consistently been more supportive of military action in Iraq than have the British. In the U.S., support for the war declined last summer and has remained in the low-60% range since then, aside from an uptick following the capture of Saddam Hussein.

As in past surveys, American attitudes on the war in Iraq are split along partisan lines. Republicans continue to overwhelmingly believe the war was the right decision (86%-9%). Half

of Democrats think the war was the wrong decision, while 40% believe it was the right decision. Independents support the decision to go to war (60%-35%).

Westerners See Iraqis As Better Off

Publics in the surveyed countries have a mixed picture of progress in Iraq. Solid majorities in the U.S. and Western Europe – and a growing minority in Morocco – believe that the Iraqi people will be better off in the long run with Saddam Hussein removed from power. But there also is broad agreement that it will not be possible to establish a stable government in Iraq in the next 12 months.

By roughly eight-to-one, Americans and British believe the Iraqi people will be better off, not worse off, now that Hussein has departed from the scene. And by more than two-to-one, publics in Germany and France – who overwhelmingly back their governments’ stance in opposing the war – believe the Iraqi people will benefit in the long run with Hussein gone. In Russia, by contrast, just 31% feel the Iraqi people will be better off. (*See box, page 3.*)

On balance, publics in the four predominantly Muslim countries surveyed think the Iraqi people will be worse off now that Hussein has gone. But there has been a notable shift on this issue in Morocco, and somewhat smaller changes in Jordan and Turkey.

Last year, only about one-in-four Moroccans (24%) felt Iraqis would be better off with Hussein out of power; today, 37% express that view. Somewhat more Jordanians and Turks also say this than did so last year, although majorities in both countries feel the Iraqi people will be worse off with Hussein removed from power.

In all nine countries surveyed, there is little optimism that a stable government can be formed in Iraq in the next 12 months. Just 13% of Americans say this will occur, compared with 83% who believe the task will take longer than a year. Even fewer French (6%), Germans (6%) and Britons (8%) think a stable government in Iraq can be formed in a year or less. Among surveyed nations, only in Jordan does a substantial minority (33%) believe that a stable government can be formed in Iraq in the next 12 months.

More broadly, people in the surveyed countries are skeptical that the war and Hussein’s removal will foster the spread of democracy in the Middle East. Americans are relatively optimistic in this regard – 50% think the region will become somewhat more democratic while 9% say it will become much more democratic. But that view is not shared widely elsewhere, and in several countries there has been a significant decrease in the percentage saying the region will become more democratic. Fewer than half of Germans (48%) say the region will become even

somewhat more democratic, down from 67% last May. Declines are comparable in France (15 points) and Great Britain (13 points).

U.N. Role in Iraq Favored

The prevailing view in six of the nine countries surveyed is that the United Nations, not the U.S. and its allies, would do the best job in helping the Iraqi people form a stable government. Roughly eight-in-ten in Germany (84%), France (82%) and Great Britain (82%) express this view.

Fewer than one-in-five in any of the Muslim countries surveyed feel the U.S. and its allies are best able to help establish a stable government in Iraq. But in Jordan and Morocco, pluralities volunteer that *neither* the U.S. and its allies nor the U.N. can do best in helping Iraqis form a stable government (49% Jordan, 34% Morocco). This is consistent with the low regard people in both countries have for the U.N: 73% of Jordanians and 65% of Moroccans have an unfavorable opinion of the United Nations.

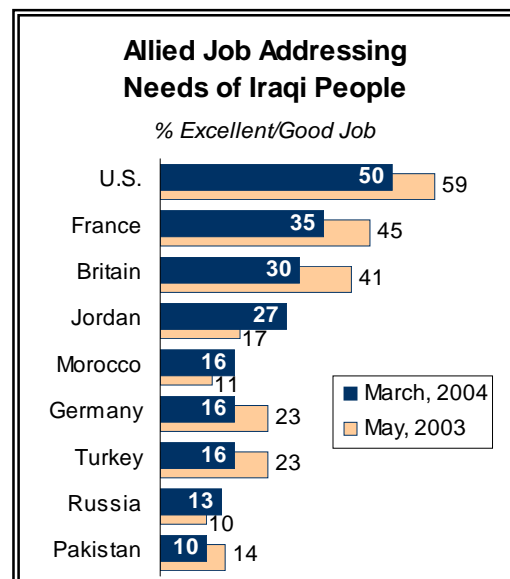
	U.S. & its Allies	The U.N.	(Vol.) Neither	(Vol.) Both	DK/Ref
	%	%	%	%	%
U.S.	42	46	2	4	7
Britain	10	82	2	3	3
France	8	82	4	2	4
Germany	8	84	2	2	3
Russia	9	47	14	12	18
Turkey	11	59	10	6	14
Pakistan	4	43	16	3	34
Jordan	5	15	49	21	10
Morocco	17	22	34	9	18

The American public is split along partisan lines over this question. Overall, 46% believe the U.N. can do the best job of establishing a stable government in Iraq, while 42% say the U.S. and its allies. Republicans, by more than two-to-one (66%-29%) think the U.S. and its allies can do best in helping the Iraqis establish a stable government. By nearly as wide a margin (59%-24%), Democrats feel the United Nations can do best in this task.

Rebuilding Efforts Poorly Rated

Outside of the United States, people in the surveyed countries give the U.S. and its allies poor marks for addressing the needs of the Iraqi people as they rebuild the country. Even among Americans, there has been a decline in the percentage who rates those efforts as excellent or good (50% now, 59% in May 2003).

Fewer people in Great Britain and France also give the allies a positive rating for addressing the needs of the Iraqi people as they rebuild the country. In Great



Britain, just 30% rate those efforts as excellent or good, down from 41% last year; there has been a comparable decline in France (35% now, 45% last year).

There has been a modest rise in the number of Jordanians who say the U.S. and the allies have done at least a good job in this regard; 27% express that view now, compared with 17% a year ago. Still, most Jordanians (65%) say the allies have done a fair or poor job in addressing the needs of Iraqis in the rebuilding effort. Fewer than one-in-five in the other Muslim nations surveyed – Turkey (16%), Morocco (16%) and Pakistan (10%) – believe the U.S. and its allies have done a good job in meeting the needs of the Iraqi people.

War Hurt Terrorism Fight

In every country except the United States more people say the war in Iraq has hurt the fight against terrorism than say it has helped.* Fully two-thirds of Moroccans (67%) say military action in Iraq has done more harm than good in this regard, as do solid majorities in Germany (58%), Pakistan (57%), Turkey (56%) and France (55%).

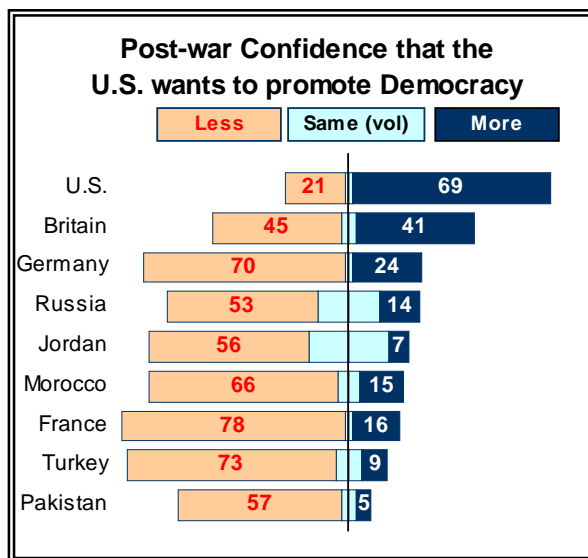
Even in Great Britain, 50% say the war in Iraq hurt the broader struggle against terrorism while just 36% say it helped the war on terrorism. As on other questions related to Iraq, Americans take a very different view. By more than two-to-one (62%-28%), Americans say the war in Iraq helped, not hurt the war on terror.

Republicans overwhelmingly believe the war in Iraq helped the war on terrorism (82%) as do most independents (62%). Democrats are divided on this issue: 46% say the war helped in the overall fight against terrorism while 42% disagree.

Confidence in U.S. Undermined

At least half the people in countries other than the U.S. say as a result of the war in Iraq they have less confidence that the United States is trustworthy. Similarly, majorities in all eight

	Helped %	Hurt %	(Vol.) No effect %	DK/ Ref %
U.S.	62	28	3	7
Britain	36	50	5	8
France	33	55	10	2
Germany	30	58	5	7
Russia	22	50	18	10
Turkey	24	56	8	12
Pakistan	8	57	6	29
Jordan	12	36	37	15
Morocco	16	67	8	9



* Corrected 3-17-04. Previous release mistakenly said "at least half of respondents in every country except the U.S...."

of these countries say they have less confidence that the U.S. wants to promote democracy globally.

The erosion of confidence in the U.S. – in its trustworthiness and its commitment to promote democracy – is particularly apparent in Germany and France. Compared with the other countries surveyed, more people in Germany and France say as a consequence of the war they have less confidence that the U.S. is trustworthy (82% Germany, 78% France).

And nearly eight-in-ten French respondents (78%) – a higher percentage than any other country surveyed – say that because of the war they have less confidence that the U.S. is intent on promoting democracy around the world. Seven-in-ten Germans agree.

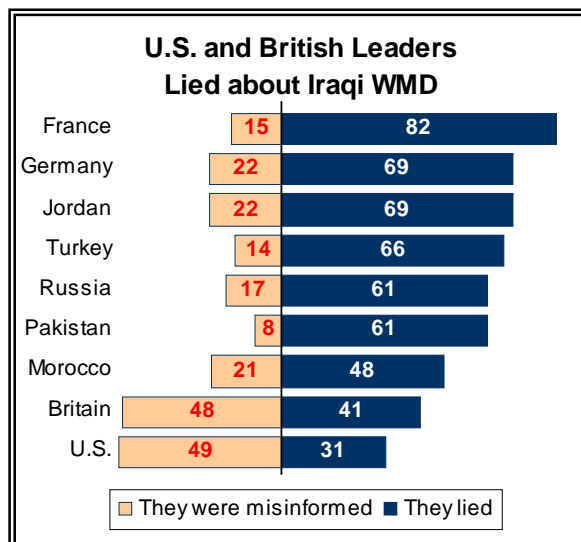
The British express more confidence in the United States on these issues than do people in other nations, with about four-in-ten (41%) saying that as a consequence of the war they have more confidence that the U.S. wants to promote democracy globally; slightly more British (45%) say they have less confidence that the U.S. is intent on promoting democracy. But the British take a far more negative view of U.S. trustworthiness. Just 24% say they have more confidence that the U.S. is trustworthy as a result of the war while 58% say they have less confidence.

WMD Claims...

In that regard, solid majorities in six of the nine countries surveyed say that U.S. and British leaders’ prewar assertions that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction were made mostly because the leaders “lied to provide a reason for invading Iraq,” rather than because the leaders “were themselves misinformed by bad intelligence.”

This view is most pervasive in France – more than eight-in-ten respondents (82%) say U.S. and British leaders mostly lied in claiming Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. Yet it also is widely held in Germany (69%), Jordan (69%), Turkey (66%) and Russia (61%). And even in Great Britain, roughly four-in-ten (41%) express the opinion that the leaders mostly lied, while somewhat more (48%) say they were mostly misinformed by bad intelligence.

Moreover, the dominant view among respondents who believe that U.S. and British leaders lied in their prewar weapons claims is that the leaders *knew* Iraq had no weapons, rather



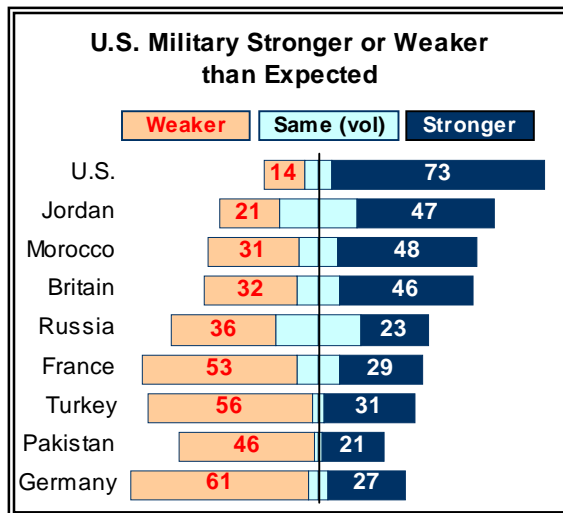
than that they chose to believe only the intelligence that bolstered their case for war. Half of all respondents in France say that the U.S. knew that Iraq had no weapons, and roughly four-in-ten in Turkey (44%), Pakistan (43%) and Russia (40%) also believe that U.S. and British leaders knew that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction.

Americans, by contrast, are much more inclined to give leaders of the two countries the benefit of the doubt in the WMD controversy. About half (49%) attribute the erroneous claims that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction to bad intelligence, while 31% say it was mostly because the U.S. and British leaders lied. Relatively few Americans (9%) say U.S. and British leaders knew that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction prior to the war.

As might be expected, this issue is politically divisive: most Republicans (65%) say U.S. and British leaders were mostly misinformed by bad intelligence while a plurality of Democrats (48%) thinks the leaders mostly lied to provide a rationale for the war.

Little ‘Shock and Awe’

In the United States, people overwhelmingly believe the war in Iraq showed the American military to be stronger than they expected. But that view is not widely shared elsewhere – majorities in Germany (61%), Turkey (56%) and France (53%) say that the war in Iraq showed the U.S. to be *weaker* than they expected.



However, nearly half of those in Morocco and Jordan (48%, 47%) say the U.S. military showed itself to be stronger as a result of the war. A plurality in Great Britain (46%) also views the U.S. military as stronger as a consequence of the war. Even so, about a third of British respondents (32%) say the U.S. military was weaker than they anticipated.

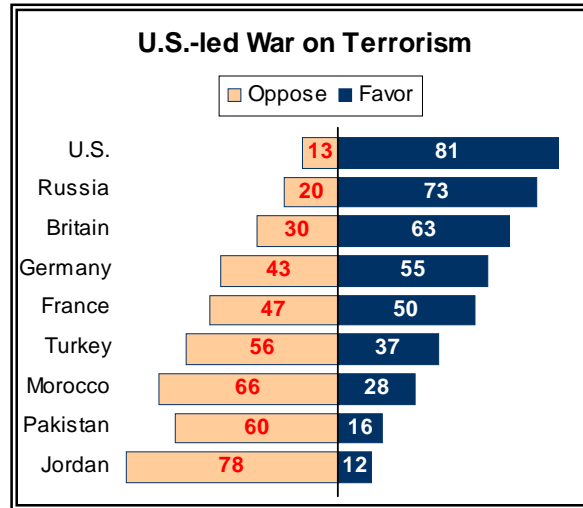
Flagging Support for Terrorism War

While support for the war on terrorism remains firm in America, opposition to U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism are significant in many of the European and Muslim nations surveyed.

In France, nearly as many say they oppose the US-led war on terrorism (47%) as favor it (50%), while 55% in Germany support the war on terrorism. In both France and Germany, this reflects a continuing decline in public support for the war on terrorism over the past two years. Among the French, support for U.S. terrorism policies dropped from 75% in the summer of 2002

to 60% following the war in Iraq to 50% today. The pattern in Germany is similar (from 70% to 60% to 55% over the same time period).

Clear majorities in Jordan (78%), Morocco (66%), Pakistan (60%) and Turkey (56%) oppose America's war on terrorism. Opposition to the anti-terrorism campaign in these countries is not as universal as it was last year, but remains widespread. For example, in Jordan, fully 97% opposed the war on terrorism immediately after the war last May, with just 2% in favor. Today, 78% still oppose the U.S. on this front, but 12% are in favor.



Aside from the United States, support for the war on terrorism is strongest in Great Britain and Russia. The British favor the war on terrorism by a 63% to 30% margin, and the Russians by an even stronger 73% to 20% margin, nearly as high as the 81% support for the war on terrorism in the U.S. In contrast with France and Germany, British support for the U.S.-led war on terrorism has remained relatively stable over the past two years. In Russia, support for the American war on terrorism dropped significantly immediately following the war, but support has surged 22 points over the past year.

U.S. Overreacting

Public support and opposition to U.S. anti-terrorism policies are closely linked to evaluations of the seriousness of the terrorist threat. In the U.S., Great Britain, and Russia, where majorities favor the war on terrorism, most people believe the U.S. is right to be so concerned about the threat of international terrorism. In Pakistan, Jordan, Turkey and Morocco, where most oppose the war on terrorism, the prevailing view is that the U.S. is overreacting to the terrorist threat.

	America is overreacting to threat	U.S. is right to be so concerned	DK/Ref
	%	%	%
U.S.	13	84	3
Britain	33	64	3
France	57	42	2
Germany	49	49	2
Russia	34	58	8
Turkey	55	33	13
Pakistan	66	8	26
Jordan	76	15	9
Morocco	72	20	8

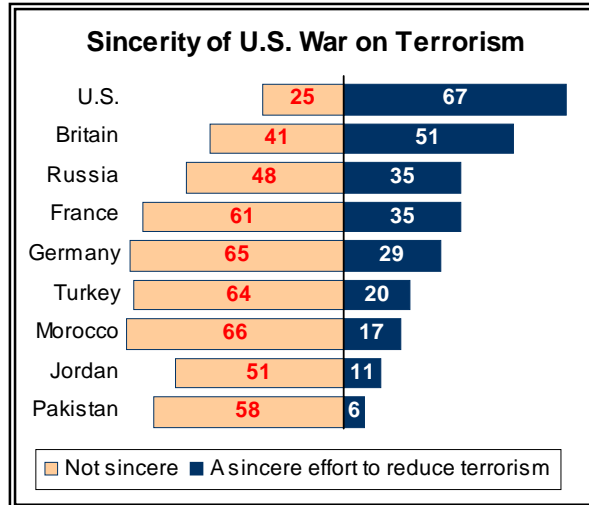
In France and Germany, there has been a sharp rise in the number of people who say the U.S. is overreacting to the threat of terrorism, which is consistent with the decline in support for the war on terrorism. The percentage of French respondents who believe the U.S. has reacted excessively to the terrorist threat has nearly doubled since April 2002 (from 30% to 57%). The shift among Germans has been less

pronounced, though substantial (from 33% to 49%). Even in Great Britain, the proportion saying the U.S. has overreacted has risen from 20% to 33% over the past two years.

U.S. Motives Questioned

Majorities in six of the nine countries surveyed do not believe that the U.S.-led war on terrorism is a sincere effort to reduce international terrorism. And even in Russia and Great Britain, where there is strong support for the fight against terrorism, many people are skeptical of U.S. motives.

By more than two-to-one (65%-29%), Germans doubt the sincerity of the U.S.-led war on terrorism; the margin is nearly as large in France (61%-35%). There is even more skepticism of the motives for the war on terrorism in predominantly Muslim countries. By wide margins, the publics of Turkey, Morocco, Jordan and Pakistan question America’s sincerity in this effort. In Pakistan, just 6% see the effort as a genuine attempt to reduce international terrorism, while 58% say it is not.



A narrow majority of British respondents (51%) say the war on terrorism is a sincere effort by the U.S. to counter international terrorism while 41% disagree. Most Russians support the war on terrorism, but nearly half of Russians (48%) say it is not a sincere attempt to reduce international terrorism.

Two-thirds of Americans (67%) believe the war on terrorism is a sincere effort to reduce the threat while 25% disagree. By about ten-to-one (88%-9%), Republicans view the war on terrorism as a genuine attempt to reduce terrorism, but Democrats are somewhat divided – 52% say it is a sincere anti-terrorism effort, 38% disagree.

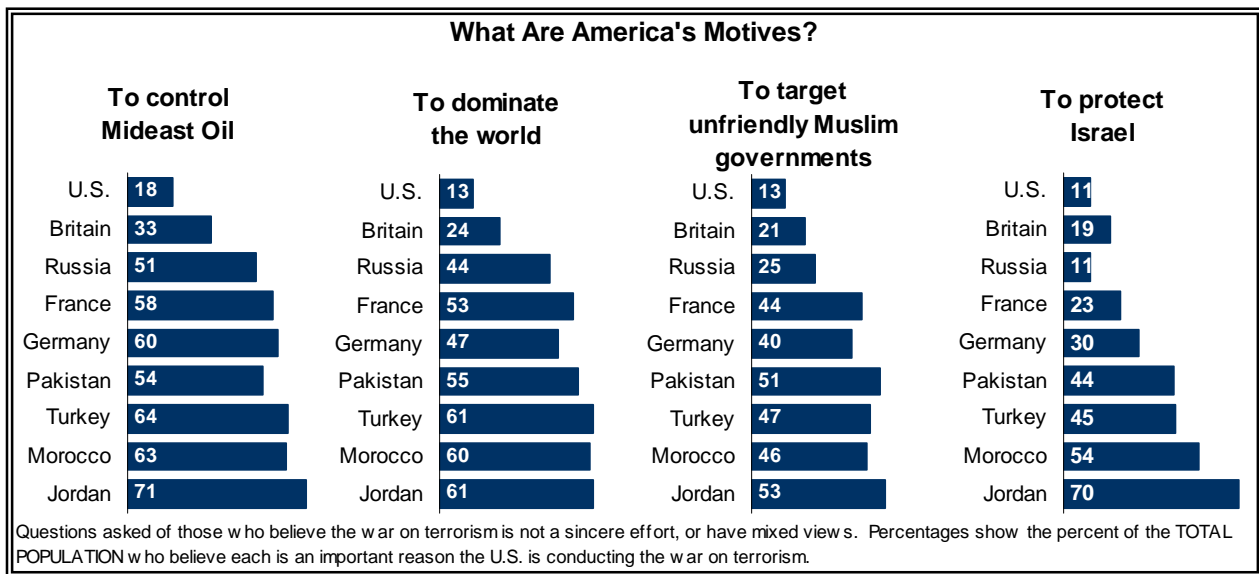
It’s About Oil

When people who express doubts about U.S. sincerity in the terrorism effort are asked about other possible reasons for the war on terrorism, oil is mentioned most often as a U.S. motive for the policy. Majorities in seven of the nine nations surveyed believe that controlling Mideast oil supplies is an important reason why the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism. This view is not only widespread in Jordan (71%), Morocco (63%) and Pakistan (54%), but also in Turkey (64%), Germany (60%) and France (58%).

While Russians strongly back the war on terrorism, half of Russians (51%) say controlling oil is an important U.S. motivation. Great Britain and the U.S., where relatively few doubt America’s sincerity in the first place, are the only countries where relatively small minorities hold this opinion (33% in Great Britain, 18% in U.S.).

Majorities in five of the nine countries surveyed say that the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism in order to dominate the world. This view is particularly widespread in Jordan (61%), Turkey (61%) and Morocco (60%). But roughly half of the French (53%) and Germans (47%) also believe that world domination is an important factor in the U.S. fight against terrorism.

Large percentages of people in predominantly Muslim countries also believe the anti-terrorism effort is driven by the desire of the U.S. to protect Israel. Seven-in-ten Jordanians hold this view, about as many as see the war as an attempt by the United States to control oil in the Middle East (71%). A majority of people in Morocco (54%) and slightly fewer in Turkey (45%) and Pakistan (44%) also see protecting Israel as an important reason for America’s actions.

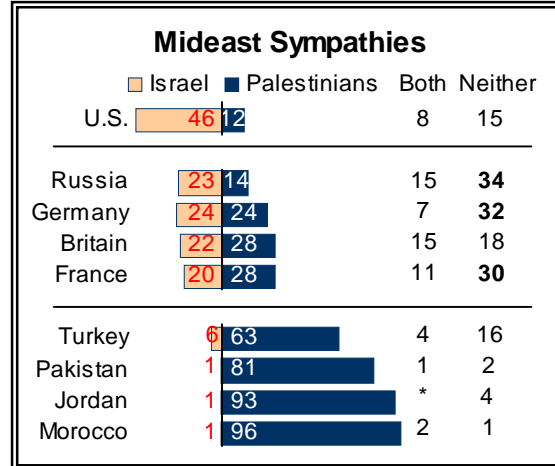


About half of respondents in the four Muslim countries surveyed – and roughly four-in-ten in France and Germany – also say the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism to target unfriendly Muslim governments and groups. For the most part, however, this is not mentioned as frequently by Muslim publics as other possible U.S. motives. In Jordan, for example, 53% say the U.S. is waging the war to target unfriendly Muslim governments; significantly more Jordanians see the anti-terrorism campaign driven by America’s desire to control oil supplies in the Middle East and to protect Israel.

Mideast Sympathies

The nine countries surveyed fall into three main groups when it comes to opinion about the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. In the United States, there is significantly more sympathy for Israel than for the Palestinians – by a margin of roughly four-to-one (46% vs. 12%). This has been the case fairly consistently over the past decade.

In Russia, Germany, Great Britain and France, public opinion is much more divided, with a large proportion sympathizing with neither side. In Russia, 23% side with Israel, 14% with the Palestinians and a plurality of 34% say they sympathize with neither side. Sympathy for the Palestinian position has declined somewhat among the French. Two years ago, 36% sided with the Palestinians in the conflict. Today 28% do, while support for Israel has remained unchanged. German and British attitudes on the conflict have remained largely unchanged from two years ago.



In the predominantly Muslim nations surveyed, people side with the Palestinians over Israel by lop-sided margins. In Pakistan, Jordan and Morocco, virtually no one sides with Israel. Opinion in Turkey is somewhat less uniform, though people sympathize with the Palestinians by about ten-to-one (63%-6%); 16% of Turks say they sympathize with neither side in the conflict.

Justifying Suicide Bombings

Generally, people in the largely Muslim nations surveyed are divided over whether suicide bombings and other violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam against its enemies. Fully three-quarters of those interviewed in Turkey (76%) say such attacks are rarely or never justified. But more people in Pakistan and Morocco say suicide attacks in the defense of Islam are justifiable: roughly four-in-ten in each country say these attacks are often or sometimes justified (41% Pakistan, 40% Morocco).

There is broader agreement that suicide attacks in specific circumstances – against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq, and by Palestinians against Israeli citizens – are justified. Large majorities in Jordan (70%) and Morocco (66%) believe suicide bombings carried out against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable. Nearly half of those in Pakistan agree (46%), while 36% say such attacks are not justifiable. In Turkey, most respondents (59%) feel attacks against Americans in Iraq are *not* justified, but about three-in-ten (31%) say that they are.

A similar pattern is evident in opinion on the question of whether suicide bombings by Palestinians against Israelis are justified. Support for this idea is especially widespread in Jordan and Morocco, where 86% and 74%, respectively, condone Palestinian suicide attacks. As with attacks against Americans in Iraq, Pakistanis are more divided, with 47% saying Palestinian bombings are justifiable, and 36% saying they are not. In Turkey, the weight of public opinion is against Palestinian violence – 24% say Palestinian suicide bombings are justifiable, while two-thirds say they are not.

There is little evidence of a generational divide among Muslims in opinion about the U.S. or the use of violence against Americans. In Turkey, Pakistan, Jordan and Morocco, older people are just as likely as the young to view America unfavorably, and are just as likely to say that suicide bombings against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable. In Pakistan, people age 50 and older express somewhat greater hostility toward American than those under age 50. Six-in-ten older Pakistanis say suicide attacks against Americans in Iraq are justifiable, compared with just 44% of those who are younger.

In Turkey and Pakistan, there is a significant gender gap in attitudes toward suicide attacks. In both countries, men are roughly twice as likely as women to say such violence against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq is justifiable. Four-in-ten Turkish men take this view, compared with 22% of Turkish women, and 61% of Pakistani men vs. 29% of Pakistani women. But in Jordan and Morocco, both men and women agree, in equal parts, that suicide bombing is justifiable.

	Fav %	Unfav %	DK/ Ref %
Britain	3	92	4
France	4	93	3
Germany	2	96	2
Russia	3	87	10
Turkey	11	75	14
Pakistan	65	9	26
Jordan	55	39	7
Morocco	45	42	13

Bin Laden Popular in Pakistan

Osama bin Laden is viewed with almost universal disdain throughout the European nations surveyed as well as in Turkey. But bin Laden is regarded favorably by 65% of Pakistanis and by 55% of Jordanians. Moroccans are divided in their views, with 45% favorable and 42% unfavorable.

Polarized Views of World Leaders

Majorities in every country surveyed except the U.S. have an unfavorable opinion of President Bush, with negative ratings ranging from 57% in Great Britain (with 39% favorable) to 85% negative in both France and Germany. Six-in-ten have an unfavorable view of Bush in Russia, and two-thirds (67%) feel this way in Turkey. Feelings about Bush are nearly unanimously negative in Jordan (96% unfavorable) and Morocco (90%), and

	Fav %	Unfav %	DK/ Ref %
U.S.	61	36	3
Britain	39	57	4
France	15	85	1
Germany	14	85	1
Russia	28	60	12
Turkey	21	67	12
Pakistan	7	67	25
Jordan	3	96	1
Morocco	8	90	2

are nearly as low in Pakistan (67% unfavorably, 7% favorable, 25% no opinion).

Opinion of Prime Minister Tony Blair is divided in his own country, with 51% of the British giving Blair a favorable rating and 47% rating him unfavorably. Americans, even many who disapprove of Bush, view Blair in a positive light. Although Blair has faced considerable criticism at home, American impressions of the British prime minister have only improved. Three-quarters of Americans have a favorable impression of Blair, up from 68% last April.

In other countries, Blair's image is only somewhat more positive than Bush's. Solid majorities in France, Germany and Turkey rate Blair unfavorably, and, as with Bush, tiny minorities in Jordan, Pakistan, or Morocco view him favorably. Russian opinion about the British leader is evenly divided (36% positive, 37% negative).

	<u>Fav</u> %	<u>Unfav</u> %	<u>DK/</u> <u>Ref</u> %
U.S.	75	11	14
Britain	51	47	2
France	35	63	2
Germany	33	62	5
Russia	36	37	26
Turkey	19	59	22
Pakistan	7	57	36
Jordan	9	84	7
Morocco	6	87	7

French President Jacques Chirac is well regarded in his own country (60% favorable, 40% unfavorable), and gets even better ratings in Germany (70% favorable), as well as Russia and Morocco (63% favorable). But just as the French generally view Bush and Blair unfavorably, just a quarter of Americans and 37% of the British have a favorable opinion of Chirac.

Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf is widely unknown, with a third or more in every country except Pakistan giving no opinion. Pakistanis expressed highly favorable opinions of their president; 86% rate him favorably, and 60% view him *very* favorably, by far the highest rating of any leader in the survey. Views of Musharraf are more positive than negative in Turkey, and are about evenly divided in Britain, the U.S., Russia, and Jordan. Negative opinion of Musharraf is strongest in France, Germany, and Morocco.

U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan is well regarded in most of the nations surveyed, with majorities expressing a favorable opinion of Annan in France (79%), Germany (74%), Great Britain (65%), and Russia (53%). Opinion is more positive than negative in the U.S. (42% favorable to 23% unfavorable), Turkey (43% to 36%), and Pakistan (29% to 21%), though many have no opinion about the U.N. leader in these nations. But these favorable reviews are not universal. Majorities rate the U.N. leader unfavorably in both Jordan (54%) and Morocco (78%).

	<u>Fav</u> %	<u>Unfav</u> %	<u>DK/</u> <u>Ref</u> %
U.S.	42	23	34
Britain	65	15	20
France	79	15	5
Germany	74	11	15
Russia	53	16	31
Turkey	43	36	21
Pakistan	29	21	51
Jordan	41	54	5
Morocco	12	78	10

The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press
Pew Global Attitudes Project: Nine Nation Survey (March 2004)
FINAL TOPLINE

United States – February 24 - 29, 2004 (N=1,000)
 Great Britain – February 23 - 29, 2004 (N=500)
 France – February 23 - 28, 2004 (N=504)
 Germany – February 23 - 29, 2004 (N=500)
 Russia – February 20 - 29, 2004 (N=1,002)
 Turkey – February 21 – March 1, 2004 (N=1,017)
 Pakistan – February 23 – March 3, 2004 (N=1,242)
 Jordan – February 24 - 29, 2004 (N=1,000)
 Morocco – February 19 - 24, 2004 (N=1,000)

NOTE: Data based on national samples except in Pakistan (predominantly) and Morocco (exclusively) urban. See page 40 for details.

Q.1 Now thinking about our country, overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	39	55	6=100
<i>April 8, 2003</i>	50	41	9=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	41	55	4=100
Great Britain	38	58	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	46	49	5=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	30	63	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	32	64	4=100
France	32	68	*=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	44	56	*=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	31	67	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	32	67	1=100
Germany	20	78	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	25	73	2=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	18	79	3=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	31	66	2=99
Russia	26	69	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	64	9=101
<i>March, 2003</i>	35	58	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	20	71	9=100
Turkey	40	58	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	19	79	2=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	18	81	2=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	93	3=100
Pakistan	54	41	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	29	67	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	49	39	13=101
Jordan	59	30	11=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	42	56	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	21	78	1=100
Morocco	58	40	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	34	62	4=100

Q.2 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (insert)? [Rotate items a and b first, followed by rotating items c thru g]

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
a1. Great Britain ¹					
United States	33	40	9	3	14=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	49	33	6	4	8=100
<i>February, 2002</i>	48	42	5	2	3=100
<i>Aug., 1998</i>	23	50	6	5	16=100
a2. France ¹					
United States	8	25	25	24	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	21	24	36	11=100
<i>February, 2002</i>	23	56	13	3	5=100
a3. Germany ¹					
United States	8	42	19	9	23=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	36	26	15	15=100
<i>February, 2002</i>	22	61	8	3	6=100
<i>Aug., 1998</i>	13	52	14	5	16=100
a. The United States					
Great Britain	15	43	24	10	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	18	52	14	12	5=101
<i>March, 2003</i>	14	34	24	16	11=99
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	27	48	12	4	9=100
France	6	31	42	20	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	9	34	38	19	*=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	6	25	45	22	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	54	26	8	2=99
Germany	3	35	49	10	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	6	39	42	12	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	4	21	41	30	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	52	31	4	4=100
Russia	9	38	29	15	10=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	11	25	32	23	9=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	4	24	43	25	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	8	53	27	6	6=100
Turkey	6	24	18	45	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	13	15	68	3=101
<i>March, 2003</i>	3	9	17	67	5=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	6	24	13	42	15=100
Pakistan	4	17	11	50	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	10	10	71	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	2	8	11	58	20=99
Jordan	2	3	26	67	1=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	*	1	16	83	0=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	6	19	18	57	*=100
Morocco	8	19	22	46	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	14	13	53	7=100

¹ Only U.S. respondents were asked about Great Britain, France and Germany. February 2002 trend from Gallup. Question wording: "I'd like your overall opinion of some foreign countries. First, is your overall opinion of _____ very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?"

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
b. Americans					
Great Britain	21	52	14	5	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	53	10	5	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	25	58	8	3	8=102
France	5	48	30	13	3=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	45	29	13	*=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	10	61	21	5	3=100
Germany	9	59	20	5	6=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	15	52	22	7	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	12	58	20	3	7=100
Russia	13	51	18	8	11=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	17	48	18	7	10=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	58	21	3	9=100
Turkey	6	26	21	32	15=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	5	27	17	43	8=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	26	12	38	19=100
Pakistan	5	20	13	34	27=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	30	11	40	11=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	3	14	12	50	21=100
Jordan	4	17	40	33	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	15	36	46	*=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	21	32	17	29	1=100
Morocco	9	28	25	31	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	29	25	10	28	9=101
c. The European Union					
United States	7	32	17	9	35=100 (7% Never Heard)
<i>Early Sept., 2001</i>	6	32	18	5	39=100 (20% Never Heard)
Great Britain	13	41	21	15	9=99
France	12	57	21	9	1=100
Germany	13	45	33	6	3=100
<i>1991²</i>	13	58	14	5	10=100
Russia	11	51	13	5	21=101
Turkey	22	36	15	20	7=100
Pakistan	3	16	11	22	48=100
Jordan	3	14	44	31	9=101
Morocco	14	27	27	23	9=100

² 1991 wording was "The EEC."

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
d. The United Nations					
United States	14	41	20	15	10=100
<i>Early Sept., 2001</i>	23	54	12	6	5=100
<i>Aug., 1999</i>	19	57	14	5	5=100
<i>June, 1999</i>	19	51	16	7	7=100
<i>Early Sept., 1998</i>	14	55	16	7	8=100
<i>Sept., 1997</i>	11	53	19	9	8=100
<i>Feb., 1996</i>	19	46	20	9	6=100
<i>June, 1995</i>	14	53	20	8	5=100
<i>Feb., 1995</i>	13	49	18	8	12=100
<i>July, 1994</i>	21	55	14	5	5=100
<i>May, 1993</i>	21	52	13	4	10=100
<i>May, 1990</i>	15	55	13	6	11=100
Great Britain	22	52	14	4	7=99
France	10	57	24	6	3=100
Germany	21	50	20	3	6=100
<i>1991</i>	21	62	7	3	7=100
Russia	13	47	13	5	21=99
<i>1991</i>	21	59	3	1	16=100
Turkey	13	38	16	19	14=100
Pakistan	9	26	10	17	38=100
Jordan	6	15	26	47	6=100
Morocco	6	19	27	38	10=100

e. Jews

United States	36	41	6	2	15=100
<i>Mid-July, 2003</i>	20	52	6	3	19=100
<i>June, 2003</i>	25	54	6	2	13=100
<i>March, 2002</i>	18	56	7	2	17=100
<i>Mid-Nov., 2001</i>	24	51	5	2	18=100
<i>March, 2001</i>	16	56	8	2	18=100
<i>Sept., 2000 (RV's)</i>	27	50	5	3	15=100
<i>June, 1997</i>	26	56	7	2	9=100
Great Britain	23	53	6	3	15=100
France³	28	53	8	3	8=100
<i>1991</i>	14	58	11	3	14=100
Germany	10	53	16	4	17=100
<i>1991</i>	5	47	18	6	24=100
Russia	18	47	17	8	10=100
<i>1992</i>	11	54	15	7	13=100
<i>1991</i>	9	49	18	8	16=100
Turkey	6	21	17	32	23=99
Pakistan	1	2	7	73	17=100
Jordan	N/A				
Morocco	1	5	11	81	2=100

³Question introduction for France, Germany, and Russia was worded, respectively, "I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (Western Europe/Germany/Russia) according to how you feel about them."

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
f. Christians					
United States	55	29	5	1	10=100
Great Britain	36	48	5	1	9=99
France	34	50	7	2	6=99
Germany	15	60	13	3	9=100
Russia	44	49	2	1	4=100
Turkey	6	25	19	33	17=100
Pakistan	4	20	17	45	15=101
Jordan	N/A				
Morocco	2	21	31	42	4=100

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
g. Muslims					
United States	13	35	18	14	20=100
<i>Mid-July, 2003</i>	9	38	19	12	22=100
<i>June, 2003</i>	12	38	20	10	20=100
<i>March, 2002</i>	7	40	18	11	24=100
Great Britain	18	49	12	6	16=101
France	16	48	20	9	7=100
<i>1991 (N. Africans)</i>	7	42	30	12	9=100
Germany	5	36	35	11	13=100
<i>1991 (Turks)</i>	3	32	32	14	19=100
Russia	15	38	23	15	11=100
Turkey	66	22	6	3	3=100
Pakistan	87	10	1	1	1=100
Jordan	N/A				
Morocco	70	20	6	3	1=100

Q.3 From what you know, do people from our country who move to the U.S. have a better life there, a worse life there, or is life neither better nor worse there?

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't know anyone (VOL)</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
United States	88	1	6	1	4=100
Great Britain	41	6	35	10	7=99
France	24	12	57	6	2=101
Germany	14	16	58	3	10=101
Russia	53	10	17	13	7=100
Turkey	50	19	14	6	10=99
Pakistan	30	28	19	8	15=100
Jordan	31	21	28	16	4=100
Morocco	47	27	17	4	5=100

Q.4 In making international policy decisions, to what extent do you think the United States takes into account the interests of countries like (survey country) – a great deal, a fair amount, not too much or not at all?

	<u>A great deal</u>	<u>A fair amount</u>	<u>Not too much</u>	<u>Not much at all</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
United States⁴	34	36	21	6	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	45	19	6	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	31	44	17	3	5=100

⁴ U.S. respondents were asked "takes into account the interests of other countries around the world."

	A great <u>deal</u>	A fair <u>amount</u>	Not <u>too much</u>	Not <u>much at all</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Great Britain	7	29	43	18	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	37	39	16	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	11	33	37	15	3=99
France	3	11	51	33	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	13	44	41	*=99
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	17	50	26	2=99
Germany	3	26	47	22	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	29	42	24	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	44	35	10	2=100
Russia	5	15	43	30	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	15	38	33	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	3	18	45	25	9=100
Turkey	5	9	35	44	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	6	28	58	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	11	27	47	10=100
Pakistan	3	15	16	32	34=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	19	22	40	15=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	18	9	27	41=100
Jordan	1	15	38	39	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	16	44	36	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	7	21	35	36	1=100
Morocco	9	25	16	41	8=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	18	17	46	6=100

Q.5 Do you think the partnership between the U.S. 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?

	Remain <u>as close</u>	More <u>independent</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States⁵	55	36	9=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	53	39	8=100
<i>February, 2003</i>	62	29	9=100
Great Britain	40	56	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	51	45	4=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	40	48	12=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	48	47	5=100
France	21	75	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	23	76	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	30	67	4=101
<i>April, 2002</i>	33	60	7=100
Germany	36	63	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	42	57	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	46	52	3=101
<i>April, 2002</i>	44	51	5=100
Russia	24	56	20=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	17	60	23=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	17	72	11=100
Turkey	22	60	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	16	62	22=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	17	62	21=100

⁵ U.S. respondents were asked "...or do you think that the U.S. should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past?"

Q.6 In your opinion, would it be a good thing or a bad thing if the European Union becomes as powerful as the U.S.?

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	33	50	17=100
Great Britain	50	39	11=100
France	90	9	1=100
Germany	70	22	8=100
Russia	67	12	21=100
Turkey	67	21	11=99

[IF GOOD THING IN Q.6 ASK:]

Q.6b Would you favor this even if it means that Europe would have to pay the costs of taking greater responsibility for international problems, or wouldn't you favor it in that case?

	Yes, <u>still favor</u>	No, <u>wouldn't favor</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Great Britain	41	7	2=50
France	77	12	1=90
Germany	46	22	2=70
Russia	52	7	8=67
Turkey	49	12	6=67

Q.7 Now a question about using military force, do you think (survey country) should have U.N. approval before it uses military force to deal with an international threat or do you think that would make it too difficult for our country to deal with international threats?

	<u>U.N. approval</u>	<u>Too difficult</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	41	48	10=99
Great Britain	64	30	6=100
France	63	35	2=100
Germany	80	15	6=101
Russia	37	41	21=99
Turkey	45	44	11=100
Pakistan	38	34	28=100
Jordan	47	38	15=100
Morocco	42	42	16=100

Q.8 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of (insert).

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>	
a. Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf						
United States	4	23	20	12	41=100	(13%= Never Heard)
Great Britain	4	26	18	7	46=101	
France	*	23	33	11	33=100	
Germany	1	15	37	7	40=100	
Russia	2	15	16	6	61=100	
Turkey	15	27	7	9	41=100	
Pakistan	60	26	3	5	6=100	
Jordan	14	21	13	17	35=100	
Morocco	2	11	13	30	44=100	

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u> ⁶	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>	
b. French President Jacques Chirac						
United States	4	21	26	22	26=99	<i>(9%= Never Heard)</i>
Great Britain	4	33	29	16	18=100	
France	9	51	27	13	*=100	
Germany	9	61	22	2	6=100	
<i>1991</i> ⁷	<i>13</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>14=100</i>	
Russia	10	53	9	3	25=100	
Turkey	5	17	17	28	33=100	
Pakistan	3	11	7	16	63=100	
Jordan	15	18	24	35	8=100	
Morocco	32	31	15	17	4=99	
c. U.S. President George W. Bush						
United States	31	30	14	22	3=100	
<i>April 11-16, 2003</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>3=100</i>	
Great Britain	10	29	25	32	4=100	
France	3	12	33	52	1=101	
Germany	1	13	46	39	1=100	
<i>1991</i> ⁸	<i>18</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4=100</i>	
Russia	4	24	35	25	12=100	
<i>1991</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>18=100</i>	
Turkey	4	17	13	54	12=100	
Pakistan	2	5	5	62	25=99	
Jordan	1	2	31	65	1=100	
Morocco	2	6	14	76	2=100	
d. British Prime Minister Tony Blair						
United States	37	38	7	4	14=100	<i>(4%= Never Heard)</i>
<i>April 11-16, 2003</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>22=100</i>	
Great Britain	14	37	24	23	2=100	
France	2	33	43	20	2=100	
Germany	2	31	47	15	5=100	
Russia	4	32	25	12	26=99	
Turkey	4	15	16	43	22=100	
Pakistan	1	6	7	50	36=100	
Jordan	3	6	34	50	7=100	
Morocco	1	5	17	70	7=100	
[ITEM e. NOT ASKED IN THE U.S.]						
e. Osama bin Laden						
Great Britain	1	2	7	85	4=99	
France	1	3	10	83	3=100	
Germany	*	2	12	84	2=100	
Russia	1	2	13	74	10=100	
Turkey	4	7	8	67	14=100	
Pakistan	40	25	4	5	26=100	
Jordan	31	24	20	19	7=101	
Morocco	21	24	17	25	13=100	

⁶ For items b, c, and d, U.S. trends and 1991 response categories were “very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, very unfavorable.”

⁷ In 1991, Germany was asked about François Mitterrand.

⁸ In 1991, Germany and Russia were asked about George Bush Sr.

f. U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>	
United States	10	32	14	9	34=99	<i>(16% Never Heard)</i>
Great Britain	26	39	9	6	20=100	
France	25	54	12	3	5=99	
Germany	36	38	11	*	15=100	
Russia	10	43	11	5	31=100	
Turkey	10	33	15	21	21=100	
Pakistan	7	22	8	13	51=101	
Jordan	18	23	29	25	5=100	
Morocco	3	9	23	55	10=100	

Q.9 Which of the following phrases comes closer to your view? I favor the US-led efforts to fight terrorism, OR I oppose the US-led efforts to fight terrorism.

	<u>Favor war on terrorism</u>	<u>Oppose war on terrorism</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
United States	81	13	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	89	8	3=100
Great Britain	63	30	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	63	30	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	69	23	8=100
France	50	47	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	60	39	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	75	23	3=101
Germany	55	43	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	60	35	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	70	25	5=100
Russia	73	20	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	51	28	21=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	73	16	11=100
Turkey	37	56	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	22	71	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	30	58	12=100
Pakistan	16	60	25=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	16	74	10=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	20	45	35=100
Jordan	12	78	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	97	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	13	85	2=100
Morocco	28	66	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	9	84	7=100

Q.10 Which of the following phrases comes closer to your point of view? The U.S. is right to be so concerned about the threat of international terrorism OR the U.S. is over reacting to the threat of international terrorism.

	<u>U.S. right to be concerned</u>	<u>U.S. over reacting to terrorism threat</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	84	13	3=100
Great Britain	64	33	3=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	77	20	3=100
France	42	57	2=101
<i>April, 2002</i>	67	30	3=100
Germany	49	49	2=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	63	33	4=100
Russia	58	34	8=100
Turkey	33	55	13=101
Pakistan	8	66	26=100
Jordan	15	76	9=100
Morocco	20	72	8=100

Q.11 Do you think the U.S. led war on terrorism is a sincere effort to reduce international terrorism or don't you believe that?

	<u>Sincere effort</u>	<u>Not sincere</u>	<u>Both (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<i>If "Not sincere" or Both" important reasons (See Q.12)</i>			
					<u>To control Mideast oil</u>	<u>To target Muslim</u>	<u>To protect Israel</u>	<u>To dominate the world</u>
United States	67	25	2	6=100	18	13	11	13
Great Britain	51	41	3	5=100	33	21	19	24
France	35	61	2	2=100	58	44	23	53
Germany	29	65	1	5=100	60	40	30	47
Russia	35	48	9	8=100	51	25	11	44
Turkey	20	64	7	10=101	64	47	45	61
Pakistan	6	58	5	31=100	54	51	44	55
Jordan	11	51	24	14=100	71	53	70	61
Morocco	17	66	4	13=100	63	46	54	60

HOW TO READ THIS TABLE: Those answering "not sincere" or "both" were read a list of items and asked if each was an important reason why the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism. This table shows the percent of the total population responding "yes" to each item. All percentages are based on the total population of the country. Each item is listed in full detail below.

[IF "NOT SINCERE" OR "BOTH" IN Q11 ASK:]

Q.12 Why do you think the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism? Is (insert) an important reason why the U.S. is doing this or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
a. To control Mideast oil			
United States	18	8	1=27
Great Britain	33	7	3=43
France	58	5	*=63
Germany	60	5	2=67
Russia	51	3	2=56
Turkey	64	3	3=70
Pakistan	54	3	5=62
Jordan	71	4	*=75
Morocco	63	4	3=70

b. To target Muslim governments and groups it sees as unfriendly

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	13	11	3=27
Great Britain	21	18	4=43
France	44	16	3=63
Germany	40	21	5=66
Russia	25	17	14=56
Turkey	47	15	8=70
Pakistan	51	8	4=63
Jordan	53	18	4=75
Morocco	46	16	8=70

c. To protect Israel

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	11	14	2=27
Great Britain	19	20	4=43
France	23	38	2=63
Germany	30	30	6=66
Russia	11	31	14=56
Turkey	45	15	10=70
Pakistan	44	10	8=62
Jordan	70	3	3=76
Morocco	54	10	6=70

d. To dominate the world

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	13	14	1=28
Great Britain	24	17	2=43
France	53	10	*=63
Germany	46	18	2=66
Russia	44	7	6=57
Turkey	61	4	6=71
Pakistan	55	5	3=63
Jordan	61	13	1=75
Morocco	60	4	5=69

NOTE: In Q.12a-d percentages are based on the total population of each country. Figures do not always add precisely to the sum of "Not sincere" and "Both" in Q.11 due to rounding.

Q.13 Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?

	<u>Often justified</u>	<u>Sometimes justified</u>	<u>Rarely justified</u>	<u>Never justified</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	6	9	9	67	9=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	9	7	64	14=98
Pakistan	27	14	8	35	17=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	19	14	5	38	23=99
Jordan	See Q.13a Below				
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	15	28	22	26	8=99
Morocco	16	24	15	38	8=101

Q.13a Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?

Jordan⁹	32	50	14	3	1=100
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Q.14 What about suicide bombing carried out by Palestinians against Israeli citizens? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

	<u>Justifiable</u>	Not <u>justifiable</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	24	67	10=101
Pakistan	47	36	17=100
Jordan	86	12	3=101
Morocco	74	22	4=100

Q.15 What about suicide bombing carried out against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

	<u>Justifiable</u>	Not <u>justifiable</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	31	59	10=100
Pakistan	46	36	19=101
Jordan	70	24	6=100
Morocco	66	27	7=100

Q.16 Do you think the world would be a safer place or more dangerous place if there was another country that was equal in power to the United States?

	<u>Safer place</u>	More <u>dangerous</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	30	50	20=100
Great Britain	42	43	15=100
France	54	41	5=100
Germany	37	47	16=100
Russia	37	44	19=100
Turkey	41	46	14=101
Pakistan	18	61	21=100
Jordan	29	53	17=99
Morocco	21	65	15=101

[ASKED IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE U.S.]

Q.17 On the subject of Iraq, did (survey country) make the right decision or the wrong decision to use military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	Wrong <u>decision</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	60	32	8=100
<i>Early Feb., 2004</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>Mid-Jan., 2004</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>Early Jan., 2004</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>10=100</i>
<i>Dec., 2003</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>7=100</i>

⁹ Original question wording in Jordan was not allowed in this round of polling. The phrase "in order to defend Islam from its enemies" was stricken.

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
<i>Oct., 2003</i>	60	33	7=100
<i>Aug., 2003</i>	63	30	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	74	20	6=100
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	74	19	7=100
<i>March 20-24, 2003</i>	72	22	6=100
<i>Late Jan., 1991</i>	77	15	8=100
Great Britain	43	47	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	61	34	5=100

[ASKED IN FRANCE, GERMANY, RUSSIA, TURKEY, PAKISTAN, JORDAN AND MOROCCO]

Q.18 On the subject of Iraq, did (survey country) make the right decision or the wrong decision to not use military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
France	88	11	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	83	16	1=100
Germany	86	11	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	80	19	1=100
Russia	83	10	6=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	89	7	4=100
Turkey	72	22	7=100
Pakistan	68	12	20=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	73	21	6=100
Jordan	87	3	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	95	4	1=100
Morocco	84	9	8=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	88	7	5=100

Q.19 Do you think the people of Iraq will be better off or worse off in the long run than they were, now that Saddam Hussein has been removed from power by the U.S. and its allies?¹⁰

	<u>Better off</u>	<u>Worse off</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	84	9	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	87	6	7=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	79	8	13=100
Great Britain	82	11	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	85	7	8=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	76	8	16=100
France	67	27	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	76	21	3=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	73	14	13=100
Germany	65	27	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	76	15	9=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	71	15	14=100
Russia	31	37	31=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	25	48=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	20	40	40=100

¹⁰ In March 2003 the question was worded: "If Iraq is disarmed and Saddam Hussein is removed from power by the U.S. and its allies, do you think the people of Iraq will be better off or worse off than they are now?"

	<u>Better off</u>	<u>Worse off</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	41	44	16=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	37	45	18=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	33	52	15=100
Pakistan	8	61	31=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	17	60	23=100
Jordan	25	70	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	19	80	1=100
Morocco	37	48	15=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	24	53	23=100

Q.20 In rebuilding Iraq, how good a job are the U.S. and its allies doing in taking into account the needs and interests of the Iraqi people? Is the coalition doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job in taking into consideration the interests and needs of the Iraqi people?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	Only <u>fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	13	37	31	9	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	18	41	26	6	9=100
Great Britain	4	26	47	16	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	33	36	14	9=100
France	2	33	47	13	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	41	41	13	2=101
Germany	1	15	59	21	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	21	55	15	7=100
Russia	1	12	36	39	12=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	8	39	39	12=100
Turkey	1	15	31	38	14=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	20	27	36	15=101
Pakistan	3	7	18	34	38=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	10	17	43	26=100
Jordan	6	21	28	37	9=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	15	25	55	3=100
Morocco	4	12	31	37	16=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	8	20	47	22=100

Q.21 In the next 12 months do you believe that a stable government will be established in Iraq or do you think it will take longer than that?

	<u>Next 12 months</u>	<u>Take longer</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	13	83	4=100
Great Britain	8	89	2=99
France	6	93	1=100
Germany	6	93	1=100
Russia	14	70	16=100
Turkey	12	78	10=100
Pakistan	5	58	36=99
Jordan	33	51	16=100
Morocco	8	79	13=100

Q.22 Who do you think could do the best job at helping the Iraqi people form a stable government—the United States and its allies or the United Nations?

	<u>The U.S. and its allies</u>	<u>The U.N.</u>	<u>Both (VOL.)</u>	<u>Neither (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	42	46	4	2	7=101
Great Britain	10	82	3	2	3=100
France	8	82	2	4	4=100
Germany	8	84	2	2	3=99
Russia	9	47	12	14	18=100
Turkey	11	59	6	10	14=100
Pakistan	4	43	3	16	34=100
Jordan	5	15	21	49	10=100
Morocco	17	22	9	34	18=100

Here are a few questions about the war in Iraq may have changed your opinion of the U.S.

Q.23 Did the U.S. military show itself to be stronger or weaker than you expected?

	<u>Stronger</u>	<u>Weaker</u>	<u>Same (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	73	14	9	4=100
Great Britain	46	32	14	8=100
France	29	53	14	4=100
Germany	27	61	6	6=100
Russia	23	36	29	12=100
Turkey	31	56	4	9=100
Pakistan	21	46	3	30=100
Jordan	47	21	26	6=100
Morocco	48	31	13	8=100

Q.24 As a consequence of the war, do you have more confidence or less confidence that the U.S. is trustworthy?

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Same (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	58	29	6	7=100
Great Britain	24	58	12	6=100
France	14	78	6	2=100
Germany	10	82	5	3=100
Russia	8	63	21	8=100
Turkey	8	74	11	7=100
Pakistan	5	64	7	24=100
Jordan	4	50	38	8=100
Morocco	12	72	7	9=100

Q.25 And, as a consequence of the war, do you have more confidence or less confidence that the U.S. wants to promote democracy all around the world?

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Same</u> <u>(VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>
United States	69	21	3	7=100
Great Britain	41	45	5	9=100
France	16	78	3	3=100
Germany	24	70	3	3=100
Russia	14	53	21	12=100
Turkey	9	73	9	8=99
Pakistan	5	57	5	33=100
Jordan	7	56	28	9=100
Morocco	15	66	8	11=100

Q.26 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

	<u>Helped</u>	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>No effect</u> <u>(VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>
United States	62	28	3	7=100
<i>Dec., 2003</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>9=100</i>
<i>Sept., 2003</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8=100</i>
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>--</i>	<i>15=100</i>
Great Britain	36	50	5	8=99
France	33	55	10	2=100
Germany	30	58	5	7=100
Russia	22	50	18	10=100
Turkey	24	56	8	12=100
Pakistan	8	57	6	29=100
Jordan	12	36	37	15=100
Morocco	16	67	8	9=100

Q.27 Before the war, the U.S. and Britain claimed that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. These weapons have yet to be found. Why do you think they made this claim? Was it mostly because U.S. and British leaders were themselves misinformed by bad intelligence, or was it mostly because U.S. and British leaders lied to provide a reason for invading Iraq?

	<u>Leaders</u> <u>misinformed</u>	<u>Leaders</u> <u>lied</u>	<u>If "Leaders Lied" (See Q.27b)</u>		<u>WMD might</u> <u>still be found</u> <u>(VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>
			<u>Chose to believe</u> <u>intelligence</u>	<u>Knew Iraq</u> <u>had no weapons</u>		
United States	49	31	22	9	9	11=100
Great Britain	48	41	27	13	3	7=99
France	15	82	30	50	*	3=100
Germany	22	69	37	30	2	7=100
Russia	17	61	16	40	8	14=100
Turkey	14	66	19	44	6	14=100
Pakistan	8	61	13	43	2	29=100
Jordan	22	69	43	25	6	3=100
Morocco	21	48	12	35	14	18=101

[IF LIED IN Q27 ASK:]

Q27b Do you think U.S. and British leaders knew Iraq had no weapons, or did they simply choose to believe only the intelligence that supported going to war?

	<u>Chose to believe intelligence</u>	<u>Knew Iraq had no weapons</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
United States	22	9	*=31	N=606
Great Britain	27	13	1=41	N=205
France	30	50	2=82	N=411
Germany	37	30	2=69	N=346
Russia	16	40	5=61	N=610
Turkey	19	44	2=66	N=668
Pakistan	13	43	4=60	N=751
Jordan	43	25	1=69	N=688
Morocco	12	35	2=49	N=478

Q.28 Now thinking about the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Palestinians</u>	<u>Both (VOL.)</u>	<u>Neither (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
United States	46	12	8	15	19=99
<i>Mid-July, 2003</i>	41	13	8	18	20=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	41	13	6	21	19=100
<i>Mid-Oct., 2001</i>	47	10	8	18	17=100
<i>Early Sept., 2001</i>	40	17	6	23	14=100
<i>Sept. 1997</i>	48	13	5	16	18=100
<i>Sept. 1993</i>	45	21	3	18	12=100
<i>Chicago CFR 1990</i>	34	13	7	26	20=100
<i>Chicago CFR 1978</i>	38	12	8	15	13=100
Great Britain	22	28	15	18	17=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	17	28	11	23	21=100
France	20	28	11	30	11=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	19	36	8	25	12=100
Germany	24	24	7	32	12=99
<i>April, 2002</i>	24	26	4	33	13=100
Russia	23	14	15	34	14=100
Turkey	6	63	4	16	11=100
Pakistan	1	81	1	2	14=99
Jordan	1	93	*	4	2=100
Morocco	1	96	2	1	1=101

Q.29 Do you think the U.S. government favors or opposes democracy in our country?

	<u>Favors</u>	<u>Opposes</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Pakistan	28	36	36=100
Jordan	43	44	13=100
Morocco	51	27	22=100

Q.29b Now that Saddam Hussein has been removed from power by the U.S. and its allies, do you think the Middle East region will become much more democratic, somewhat more democratic, or will there be no change in the region?

	Much more <u>democratic</u>	Somewhat more <u>democratic</u>	No <u>change</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	9	50	34	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>4=100</i>
Great Britain	12	35	49	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>4=101</i>
France	3	29	67	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>1=100</i>
Germany	3	45	50	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>2=100</i>
Russia	9	20	52	19=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>22=101</i>
Turkey	9	33	47	11=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>13=101</i>
Pakistan	2	12	43	43=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>28=100</i>
Jordan	12	21	56	11=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>4=100</i>
Morocco	13	29	37	20=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>28=100</i>

ABOUT THE MARCH 2004 GLOBAL ATTITUDES SURVEY

Results for the survey of 9 countries are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Telephone interviews were conducted among a nationwide, representative sample of 1,000 adults, 18 years of age or older, in the United States, 500 in Great Britain, 503 in France, and 500 in Germany. The fieldwork was conducted by NOP in Great Britain between February 23-29, 2004, by IFOP in France between February 23-28, 2004, by TNS-Emnid in Germany between February 23-29, 2004, and by Princeton Data Source in the U.S. between February 24-29, 2004.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted among a nation-wide representative sample of 1,000 adults in Jordan, 1,002 in Russia, and 1,017 in Turkey. The fieldwork was conducted by MRO in Jordan between February 24-29, 2004, by ROMIR in Russia between February 20-29, 2004, and by TNS Piar in Turkey between February 21 and March 1, 2004. In Morocco, 1,000 face-to-face interviews of adults 18-59 years of age were conducted in four major cities (Casablanca, Rabat, Fes and Marrakech) by Synovate Market Research between February 19-24, 2004. In Pakistan, 1,242 predominantly urban face-to-face interviews were conducted by ACNielsen between February 23-March 3, 2004.

For results based on the total sample in countries where the sample size is more than 900 (the U.S., Russia, Jordan, Turkey, Morocco, and Pakistan), one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. In countries where the sample size is approximately 500 (Great Britain, France, and Germany), the margin of error is 5 percentage points.

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.



ABOUT THE PEW GLOBAL ATTITUDES PROJECT

The Pew Global Attitudes Project is a series of worldwide public opinion surveys. This latest survey was conducted in 9 countries among nearly 8,000 people during late February and early March, 2004. Since its inception in late 2001, the Pew Global Attitudes Project has surveyed more than 74,000 people among 50 populations. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright chairs the project and its international advisory board. All surveys were conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. The project is funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts, with a supplemental grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

This report focuses on the war in Iraq one year after it began, America's image in the world, European-U.S. relations, and attitudes in the Muslim world on these and related issues. The previous Global Attitudes report, "Views of a Changing World, June 2003," focused on international reactions to changes in society, specifically regarding globalization, democratization, modernization and, in countries with significant Muslim populations, the role of Islam in public policy. The first major report, "What the World Thinks in 2002," released December 2002, focused on how people view their lives, their countries, the world and the United States. These and all other reports from the Pew Global Attitudes Project are available at: www.people-press.org