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But Post-War Iraq Will Be Better Off, Most Say
AMERICA'S IMAGE FURTHER ERODES, EUROPEANS WANT WEAKER TIES

A Nine-Country Survey

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AMERICA’S IMAGE FURTHER ERODES, EUROPEANS WANT WEAKER TIES

Anti-war sentiment and disapproval of President Bush’s international policies continue to erode America’s image among the publics of its allies. U.S. favorability ratings have plummeted in the past six months in countries actively opposing war – France, Germany and Russia – as well as in countries that are part of the “coalition of the willing.” In Great Britain, favorable views of the U.S. have declined from 75% to 48% since mid-2002.

In Poland, positive views of the U.S. have fallen to 50% from nearly 80% six months ago; in Italy, the proportion of respondents holding favorable views of the United States has declined by half over the same period (from 70% to 34%). In Spain, fewer than one-in-five (14%) have a favorable opinion of the United States. Views of the U.S. in Russia, which had taken a dramatically positive turn after Sept. 11, 2001, are now more negative than they were prior to the terrorist attacks.

U.S. Image Plummetts			
	<i>Favorable view of the U.S.</i>		
	<u>'99-00</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>Today</u>
	%	%	%
Britain	83	75	48
France	62	63	31
Germany	78	61	25
Italy	76	70	34
Spain	50	--	14
Poland	86	79	50
Russia	37	61	28
Turkey	52	30	12

1999/2000 trends provided by Office of Research, U.S. Department of State

Among possible coalition countries, majorities oppose joining the U.S. to take action against Iraq to end Saddam Hussein’s rule. Even in Great Britain, a 51% majority opposes war. Among the unwilling allies, there is also virtually no potential support for a U.S.- led military effort.

But ironically, most publics surveyed think that in the long run the Iraqi people will be better off and the Middle East will be more stable if Iraq is disarmed and Hussein is removed from power. More than seven-in-ten of the French (73%) and Germans (71%) see the Iraqi public benefiting. Only in Russia and Turkey is there significant pessimism that war may worsen conditions in the region.

More generally, criticisms of U.S. foreign policy are almost universal. Overwhelming majorities disapprove of President Bush’s foreign policy and the small boost he received in the wake of Sept. 11 has disappeared. As a consequence, publics in seven of the eight nations surveyed believe that American policies

Support for War			
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
U.S.	59	30	11=100
<i>Join the war?</i>			
Britain	39	51	10=100
Italy	17	81	2=100
Spain	13	81	7=101
Poland	21	73	6=100
<i>Support the war?</i>			
France	20	75	6=101
Germany	27	69	4=100
Russia	10	87	3=100
Turkey	12	86	2=100

have a negative effect on their country. Only the British are divided on the impact of American foreign policy on their country.

While critics of America’s foreign policies mostly blame the president, rather than America more generally, the poll finds strong support for the idea that Western Europe should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs. Majorities in four of five Western European countries surveyed hold this opinion, and a 48% plurality in Great Britain agrees. In the U.S., by contrast, 62% believe diplomatic and security ties with Western Europe should remain as close as they have been.

There is more of a consensus on both sides of the Atlantic about the continued importance of the United Nations. Majorities in the U.S. and Western Europe (except for Spain) think it still plays an important role in addressing global conflicts, despite the controversy over Iraq. That view is not shared in Russia and Turkey, and even in the U.S., where as many as a third see the U.N. as less important. Republicans, in particular, are divided about the continued importance of the U.N. More than four-in-ten Republicans (44%) think the Iraq crisis has shown it to be less important.

The latest survey by the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* interviewed more than 5,500 people in the United States and eight other countries from March 10-17. See page 8 for a full description of the methodology.

	<i>Should...</i>		
	Remain	Be more	DK
	<u>close</u>	<u>independent</u>	
	%	%	%
U.S.*	62	29	9=100
Britain	40	48	12=100
Apr 2002	48	47	5=100
France	30	67	4=101
Apr 2002	33	60	7=100
Germany	46	52	3=101
Apr 2002	44	51	5=100
Italy	30	63	7=100
Apr 2002	36	59	5=100
Spain	24	60	16=100

* U.S. figures from Feb 12-18, 2003

81% in Spain Oppose War

Outside of Great Britain, the prospect of war in Iraq draws substantial – in many cases overwhelming – opposition. Among other U.S. allies, publics reject participating in a military coalition against Iraq by much wider margins. The Spanish oppose joining an allied military action against Iraq by more than six-to-one (81%-13%). Fewer than a quarter of Italians and Poles (17%, 21%) favor their governments joining the U.S. and other nations in taking military action against Iraq.

In Germany roughly a quarter (27%) favor military action, unchanged since November. In France, where just a third of respondents favored military action against Iraq in November, support for that option has dropped to 20%.

Support for military action was gauged in two ways. In Great Britain, Italy, Spain and Poland – the so-called “coalition of the willing” – respondents were asked whether they favored or opposed their country joining other allies in taking military action against Iraq. In France, Russia, Germany and Turkey – whose governments have ruled out such participation – respondents were asked their opinion of “the U.S. and other allies” using force against Iraq.

Turks More Suspicious of U.S. Motives

Nearly nine-in-ten respondents in Russia and Turkey oppose war in Iraq. And since November, Turks have grown more suspicious of U.S. motives for why the United States wants to use force against Iraq. Six-in-ten Turkish respondents now believe that U.S. military action against Iraq is part of a broader U.S. war against unfriendly Muslim nations, an increase from 53% who held that opinion in November. Fewer than a quarter of Turks (22%) accept the administration’s stated rationale for war, that it will lead to greater stability in the Middle East.

Growing Skepticism in Turkey		
	Nov. 2002	Today
<i>Why will U.S. go to war?</i>		
Believes Saddam is a threat	34	22
War against Muslim nations	53	60
Don't know	13	17
	100	100

A majority of Turks (52%) also believe the nation’s parliament made the right decision a few weeks ago in turning down a U.S. request to use Turkish bases as a staging ground for attacks on Iraq. About four-in-ten (37%) think the parliament made the wrong decision. In November, Turks signaled their strong opposition to the U.S. using Turkey’s bases for the war; just 13% favored that idea, while 83% were opposed. (See “What the World Thinks in 2002,” Dec. 4, 2002).

War Will Bring Long-Term Stability

Despite the broad opposition in Europe to war, there is considerable agreement that disarming Iraq and removing Saddam Hussein from power will ultimately improve the lot of Iraq's people and lead to more stability in the Middle East. Fully eight-in-ten Americans believe that the people of Iraq will be better off if Saddam is deposed, and there is broad agreement on this point among Western Europeans.

Moreover, solid majorities in the U.S., Great Britain and Germany agree that the Middle East will eventually become more stable if Iraq is disarmed and Saddam Hussein is removed from power. This view is not as prevalent in France, Italy and Poland, although pluralities in each of these countries believe Hussein's ouster could lead to greater regional stability. Spanish respondents are more divided on this question (38% more stable/29% less stable).

	<i>Iraqi people will be...</i>		<i>Mideast will be...</i>	
	Better off %	Worse off %	More stable %	Less stable %
U.S.	79	8	64	17
Britain	76	8	59	22
France	73	14	46	37
Germany	71	15	56	32
Italy	61	18	46	27
Spain	46	21	38	29
Poland	52	22	46	34
Russia	20	40	21	45
Turkey	33	52	30	56

Russians, Turks Much More Pessimistic

In Russia and Turkey, by contrast, there is far less optimism that war in Iraq will improve the lives of people in that country or result in stability in the Middle East. Just one-in-five Russians think Hussein's ouster and the disarmament of Iraq will improve the lives of people there, while roughly the same number (21%) expect Hussein's departure to stabilize the Middle East.

Turkish respondents also are much more pessimistic than Americans and other Europeans about the aftermath of war. Majorities of Turks believe the Iraqi people will be worse off (52%) and the Middle East will be less stable (56%), if Iraq is disarmed and Hussein is removed.

U.N. Still Relevant

For the most part, respondents in the U.S. and Europe say that despite the diplomatic impasse over Iraq, the U.N. still plays an important role in dealing with international conflicts. Fully seven-in-ten Germans say the U.N. remains important in spite of the disagreements over Iraq, and smaller majorities in France, Great Britain, the U.S. and Italy agree. Spanish respondents are divided; 41% say the U.N. is still relevant and about the same number disagree.

Again, Russians and Turks take a different view. A solid majority of Russians (57%) and nearly half of Turks (47%) think that the U.N. has lost luster because of Iraq crisis. Fewer than three-in-ten in both of those countries believe the U.N. still plays an important role in addressing global conflicts.

U.S. Policy's Negative Impact

With the exception of the British, most respondents report that American foreign policy is having a negative effect on their country. This sentiment is strongest in Turkey, where roughly two-thirds (68%) feel this way. Opinion is also predominantly negative in France (63%), Germany (59%), and Russia (58%), though attitudes have moderated slightly in France and Germany over the past two months. And pluralities in Spain and Poland (49%, 41% respectively) say U.S. policies are having a negative impact.

The British are divided about the impact of American foreign policy (39% see it as negative, 38% positive). This reflects a positive shift since January when only 30% of Britons thought U.S. policy was having a good impact, according to a survey by Gallup International.

Bush, Not America, Blamed

The publics of Western Europe are more apt to blame President Bush for the negative impact of U.S. policy than to blame America in general. Among those saying U.S. foreign policy is having a bad effect on their country, about three-quarters of the French (76%) and two-thirds of Germans (68%) blame the president. Relatively small minorities in both countries (15% in France and 30% in Germany) blame America in general.

Just over half of the British (56%), Italians (52%) and Spanish (53%) also place responsibility solely on Bush. But outside of Western Europe, people are more inclined to blame the negative impact of U.S. policies more generally on America. Almost half of Russians and Turks (48%), and four-in-ten Poles think America itself is to blame for the damage U.S. foreign policy causes in their country.

	What Does Iraq Situation Show?		
	<i>The United Nations is...</i>		
	<u>Still</u> <u>important</u> %	<u>Not so</u> <u>important</u> %	<u>Same/</u> <u>DK</u> %
U.S.	54	32	14=100
Britain	54	35	12=101
France	55	42	3=100
Germany	73	24	3=100
Italy	52	39	10=101
Spain	41	40	19=100
Poland	49	35	17=101
Russia	29	57	14=100
Turkey	23	47	31=101

	Is it Bush or America?			
	<i>The problem is...*</i>			
	<u>Mostly</u> <u>Bush</u> %	<u>America</u> <u>in general</u> %	<u>Both</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Britain	56	31	11	2=100
France	76	15	7	1=99
Germany	68	30	1	*=99
Italy	52	36	7	5=100
Spain	53	33	10	5=101
Poland	44	40	10	6=100
Russia	29	48	17	6=100
Turkey	35	48	12	6=101

* Based on those who think U.S. policy has a negative effect on their country.

U.S. Views on Iraq Polarizing

In the United States, support for military action in Iraq dropped over the past two months, from 68% in January to 59% in the days leading up to the president's March 17 speech on Iraq (March 13-16). Opposition to military action rose five points over the same period (from 25% in January to 30% today).

	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Mar</u>
<i>Military action in Iraq</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%
Favor	64	64	55	68	66	59
Even if allies won't join	30	33	27	26	38	38
Only if allies agree	30	25	23	37	22	16
Don't know	4	6	5	5	6	5
Oppose	21	23	34	25	26	30
Don't know	15	13	11	7	8	11
	100	100	100	100	100	100

American views on how to deal with Iraq have crystallized as the prospects for war have increased. While the percent opposing military action in Iraq inched upwards, support for unilateral action also increased. In the latest survey, nearly four-in-ten Americans (38%) favored military action in Iraq even without allied support. That was unchanged from last month, but significantly higher than in January and throughout 2002.

Just 16% of Americans said they support military action only if allies agree to participate. More than twice as many (37%) expressed contingent support for military action two months ago.

The hardening of opinion on Iraq also is reflected in the increasingly partisan cast to perceptions of the war and the president's leadership. Republicans, Democrats, and independents alike have moved away from contingent support for military action (only with allies), but in opposite directions. With war approaching, fully 44% of Democrats said they oppose military action in Iraq, up from 30% two months ago, as fewer believe that military action with allied support is a viable option. Both Republicans and independents moved in the opposite direction. In both groups, a greater number favored U.S. military action even without the support of allies, while the percent opposing war did not change.

<i>Position on</i>	<i>Repub-</i>		<i>Demo-</i>		<i>Indep-</i>	
	<i>licans</i>	<i>crats</i>	<i>crats</i>	<i>crats</i>	<i>endents</i>	<i>endents</i>
<i>Military action</i>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Mar</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Unilateral	44	59	21	23	19	35
Only w/allies	38	17	35	17	37	16
Oppose	10	11	30	44	33	35
Don't know	8	13	14	16	89	14
	100	100	100	100	100	100

U.S. Public Split Over Bush's Message

Prior to Bush's Monday night speech on Iraq, about half of Americans (49%) felt the president had explained the stakes clearly, while 47% said he had not. These evaluations were somewhat worse than a month ago. At that time, shortly after the president's State of the Union address and Secretary of State Powell's address to the U.N. Security Council, just four-in-ten said the president had not explained the reasons for war clearly enough.

As with overall views on military action, evaluations of the president's leadership on this issue have become increasingly partisan. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of Democrats said the president has failed to explain his reasons clearly, up from 58% in February. Three-quarters of Republicans believed he has made the case completely. Like Democrats, most independents (54%) expressed reservations about the president's ability to explain the issues clearly, up from just 42% a month ago.

International Support Insufficient

Most Americans (56%) wanted the U.S. to convince more of its allies to go along before using military force, and an equal number (54%) said the U.S. should first get a United Nations resolution to use force before taking military action against Iraq. Just over a third said they believe that sufficient international support already existed (37%) and that another U.N. resolution was not necessary (35%).¹

As was the case in February, a U.N. resolution was not seen as a necessity in the view of most Americans. If the U.S. and most of its allies were to back the use of force against Iraq, but the U.N. resolution were to be vetoed by one or two countries who oppose it, just 24% said the administration should abide by such a veto. Roughly the same proportion (25%), representing about half of those who favored seeking a new resolution, said the U.S. should go ahead with military action if most allies are on board and the U.S. thinks it is the right thing to do.

While Americans expressed a need for more international support for military action in Iraq, there was little evidence that the public viewed continued inspections as a viable option. Most remained skeptical about even the

International Support Wanted		
	Feb 12-18	Mar 13-16
<i>Currently, the U.S....</i>		
	%	%
Has enough int'l support	37	37
Still has to convince more	56	56
Don't know	7	7
	100	100
<i>Before taking action...</i>		
Get U.N. resolution first	57	54
Not necessary	33	35
Other/Don't know	10	11
	100	100
<i>So far, inspections show...</i>		
Iraq will cooperate and disarm peacefully	4	8
Iraq will not	58	60
Too early to say	34	28
Don't know	4	4
	100	100

¹ U.S. polling completed March 16, 2003, before the U.S. announced it would not seek another U.N. resolution on Iraq.

possibility that weapons inspections would lead to effective disarmament in Iraq. Six-in-ten thought the inspections have already shown that Iraq cannot be peacefully disarmed. Just half as many (28%) said it was too early to tell whether Iraq will cooperate.

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the nine-nation survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide, representative sample of 1,032 adults, 18 years of age or older, in the United States, 962 in Britain, 485 in France, 524 in Germany, 500 in Italy, and 503 in Spain. In Russia, 501 telephone interviews were conducted in urban areas of 500,000 or greater. In Poland, the interviews were conducted face-to-face in urban areas with 500 adults. In Turkey, the nationwide survey was conducted face-to-face among 513 adults. The fieldwork was conducted by NOP in Britain between March 14-16, 2003, by IFOP in France between March 13-14, 2003, by EMNID in Germany between March 14-15, 2003, by Pragma in Italy between March 12-14, 2003, by Romir in Russia between March 12-14, 2003, by Democopia in Spain between March 12-17, 2003, by Demoskop in Poland between March 10-14, 2003, by PIAR in Turkey between March 10-17, 2003, and by Princeton Data Source in the U.S. between March 13-16, 2003. For results based on the total sample in the United States and Britain, 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 each of the other seven countries (France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland, Russia and Turkey), sampling error is plus or minus 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

This poll is part of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*. The project's first major report, "What the World Thinks in 2002," focusing on how people view their lives, their countries and the world, was released Dec. 4, 2002. It and other international polling by the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press are available online at www.people-press.org.

"The Pew Global Attitudes Project" is a series of worldwide public-opinion surveys that measure the impact of globalization, modernization, rapid technological and cultural change and the Sept. 11 terrorist events on the values and attitudes of more than 38,000 people in 44 countries worldwide. It will be conducted and released over the course of two years.

The Project is chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright. Andrew Kohut, director of The Pew Research Center For The People & The Press, is the project director. An international advisory board - consisting of regional experts, academics, activists, and business and government leaders and chaired by Sec. Albright - provides guidance in shaping the surveys. Team members include Bruce Stokes, a columnist at the National Journal; Mary McIntosh, vice-president of Princeton Survey Research Associates; and Elizabeth Mueller Gross and Nicole Speulda, of the Pew Research Center. Pew Research Center staff Carroll Doherty, Michael Dimock, Scott Keeter, Nilanthi Samaranayake and Peyton Craighill also contributed to this report. The Global Attitudes Project is funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts, with a supplemental grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

Pew Global Attitudes Project
9 Country Study
- FINAL TOPLINE -

United States – March 13 - 16, 2003 (N=1,032)
Britain – March 14 - 16, 2003 (N=962)
France – March 13 - 14, 2003 (N=485)
Germany – March 14 - 15, 2003 (N=524)
Italy – March 12 - 14, 2003 (N=500)
Spain – March 12 - 17, 2003 (N=503)
Poland – March 10 - 14, 2003 (N=500)
Russia – March 12 - 14, 2003 (N=501)
Turkey – March 10 - 17, 2003 (N=513)

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

		<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Britain		30	63	7=100
	July, 2002	32	64	4=100
France		31	67	2=100
	July, 2002	32	67	1=100
Germany		18	79	3=100
	July, 2002	31	66	2=99
Italy		20	74	7=101
	July, 2002	24	70	6=100
Spain		41	47	12=100
Poland		7	89	4=100
	July, 2002	9	87	3=99
Russia		35	58	7=100
	July, 2002	20	71	9=100
Turkey		18	81	2=101
	July, 2002	4	93	3=100

Q.2 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United States.

		<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Britain		14	34	24	16	11=99
	July, 2002	27	48	12	4	9=100
France		6	25	45	22	2=100
	July, 2002	9	54	26	8	2=99
Germany		4	21	41	30	4=100
	July, 2002	9	52	31	4	4=100
Italy		8	26	33	26	8=101
	July, 2002	13	57	18	5	7=100
Spain		3	11	35	39	12=100
Poland		9	41	33	11	7=101
	July, 2002	14	65	10	1	10=100
Russia		4	24	43	25	4=100
	July, 2002	8	53	27	6	6=100
Turkey		3	9	17	67	5=101
	July, 2002	6	24	13	42	15=100

Q.3 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the international policies of President George W. Bush?
(U.S. asked “Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the nation’s foreign policy?”)

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	53	36	11=100
April, 2002	69	20	11=100
March, 2002 ²	78	17	5=100
October, 2001 ²	81	14	5=100
Early September, 2001	46	34	20=100
August, 2001 ³	45	32	23=100
Britain	23	60	17=100
April, 2002	40	37	23=100
August, 2001	17	49	34=100
France	10	87	3=100
April, 2002	32	61	7=100
August, 2001	16	59	25=100
Germany	14	85	2=101
April, 2002	35	59	6=100
August, 2001	23	65	12=100
Italy	14	76	10=100
April, 2002	44	47	9=100
August, 2001	29	46	25=100
Spain	9	79	13=101
Poland	33	54	13=100
Russia	8	83	9=100
Turkey	5	85	10=100

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

³ In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about Bush’s handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation’s foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

Ask in U.S., Britain, Italy, Spain and Poland:
 Q.4a Thinking about possible war with Iraq, would you favor or oppose (Survey country) joining the U.S. and other allies in military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?
 (U.S. asked "Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?")

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	59	30	11=100
February, 2003	66	26	8=100
Britain	39	51	10=100
November, 2002	47	47	6=100
Italy	17	81	2=100
Spain	13	81	7=101
Poland	21	73	6=100

Ask in France, Germany, Russia and Turkey:
 Q.4b Thinking about possible war with Iraq, would you favor or oppose the U.S. and other allies taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?⁴

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
France	20	75	6=101
November, 2002	33	64	3=100
Germany	27	69	4=100
November, 2002	26	71	3=100
Russia	10	87	3=100
November, 2002	12	79	9=100
Turkey	12	86	2=100

Ask in Turkey only:
 Q.5 In your opinion, which of the following better explains why the U.S. might use military force against Iraq? Is it more because the U.S. believes that SADDAM HUSSEIN IS A THREAT to stability in the Middle East and world peace or is it more because this is a part of the U.S.'s war against MUSLIM COUNTRIES that it sees as unfriendly?

	<u>US believes Saddam is threat to stability</u>	<u>Part of war against Muslim countries</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Turkey	22	60	17=99
November, 2002	34	53	13=100

4

In November 2002, the question was worded "Thinking about possible war with Iraq, would you favor or oppose (Survey country) joining the U.S. and other allies in military action to end Saddam Hussein's rule?"

Q.6a Generally, do you think American foreign policy has a positive effect on our country, a negative effect, or does American foreign policy have no effect on our country?⁵

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>No Effect</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Britain	38	39	11	12=100
January, 2003	30	42	9	19=100
France	14	63	20	4=101
January, 2003	9	71	9	11=100
Germany	15	59	20	5=99
January, 2003	11	67	17	5=100
Italy	17	52	15	16=100
Spain	14	49	16	21=100
January, 2003	9	57	15	19=100
Poland	26	41	18	15=100
Russia	8	58	17	17=100
January, 2003	11	55	23	11=100
Turkey	14	68	9	10=101

[If Negative]

Q.6b Why is it that American policy is having a negative effect on our country? Is it mostly because of President George W. Bush or is it more a general problem with America?

	<u>Mostly Bush</u>	<u>America in general</u>	<u>Both [VOL.]</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Britain	56	31	11	2=100 (N=375)
France	76	15	7	1=99 (N=305)
Germany	68	30	1	*=99 (N=327)
Italy	52	36	7	5=100 (N=258)
Spain	53	33	10	5=101 (N=247)
Poland	44	40	10	6=100 (N=205)
Russia	29	48	17	6=100 (N=290)
Turkey	35	48	12	6=101 (N=348)

Q.7 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 in the long run than they are now?

	<u>Better Off</u>	<u>Worse Off</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	79	8	13=100
Britain	76	8	16=100
France	73	14	13=100
Germany	71	15	14=100
Italy	61	18	20=99
Spain	46	21	33=100
Poland	52	22	27=101
Russia	20	40	40=100
Turkey	33	52	15=100

Q.8 If Iraq is disarmed and Saddam Hussein is removed from power by the U.S. and its allies, do you think the Middle East region will be more stable or less stable in the long run than it is now?

	<u>More Stable</u>	<u>Less Stable</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	64	17	19=100
Britain	59	22	19=100
France	46	37	17=100
Germany	56	32	13=101
Italy	46	27	26=99
Spain	38	29	33=100
Poland	46	34	20=100
Russia	21	45	34=100
Turkey	30	56	15=101

Q.9 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?

		<u>Remain As Close</u>	<u>More Independent</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
U.S. ⁶	February, 2003	62	29	9=100
Britain		40	48	12=100
	April, 2002	48	47	5=100
France		30	67	4=101
	April, 2002	33	60	7=100
Germany		46	52	3=101
	April, 2002	44	51	5=100
Italy		30	63	7=100
	April, 2002	36	59	5=100
Spain		24	60	16=100
Poland		40	49	11=100
Russia		17	72	11=100
Turkey		17	62	21=100

Q.10 Does the current controversy over what to do about Iraq show that the United Nations still plays an important role in dealing with international conflicts or does it show that the United Nations is not so important any more?

	<u>Still Important</u>	<u>Not so Important</u>	<u>No Difference [VOL.]</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	54	32	1	13=100
Britain	54	35	1	11=101
France	55	42	1	2=100
Germany	73	24	*	3=100
Italy	52	39	2	8=101
Spain	41	40	3	16=100
Poland	49	35	6	11=101
Russia	29	57	3	11=100
Turkey	23	47	12	19=101

⁶ In February, 2003 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?"

Ask in Turkey only:
Q.11 Has the Turkish parliament made the right decision not to allow the American military to use Turkey as a staging ground for a possible war against Iraq?

	<u>Right Decision</u>	<u>Wrong Decision</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
Turkey	52	37	11=100

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Q.3 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the nation's foreign policy?

		<i>Gallup</i>		Early	
		April	October	Sept	Aug
		<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u> ⁷
53	Approve	69	81	46	45
36	Disapprove	20	14	34	32
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>23</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

On the subject of Iraq...

Q.4 How much have you yourself thought about whether the U.S. should use military force to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? **[READ]**

		Feb	Jan	Dec	Early	Mid-	Late	Early
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Jan</u>
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>1991</u> ⁸
64	A Great deal	58	56	58	54	55	46	66
24	Some	27	29	29	32	27	35	24
7	Only a little – OR –	8	8	8	8	9	11	6
4	Not at all	6	6	4	5	6	6	2
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>						

Q.5/6 Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule? **[IF FAVOR, ASK Should we attack Iraq only if our major allies agree to join us, or attack Iraq even if allies do not want to join us?]**

		Feb	Jan	Dec	Nov	Oct	Late	Early	Mid-	Late	-----Gallup ⁹ -----				
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Mar</u>
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1992</u>							
59	Favor	66	68	65	62	55	62	64	64	59	74	52	70	55	
38	Even if allies won't join	38	26	--	--	27	--	33	30	--	--	--	--	--	
16	Only if allies agree	22	37	--	--	23	--	25	30	--	--	--	--	--	
5	Don't know/Refused	6	5	--	--	5	--	6	4	--	--	--	--	--	
30	Oppose	26	25	25	26	34	28	23	21	34	20	42	27	40	
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>									

⁷ In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.
⁸ In Early January 1991 the question was worded "How much thought have you given to the question of whether the U.S. should use military force against Iraq if it does not withdraw its forces from Kuwait?"
⁹ Gallup trend was worded "Would you favor or oppose sending American troops back to the Persian Gulf in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?"

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?

		Feb <u>2003</u>	Jan <u>2003</u>	Dec <u>2002</u>	Late Oct <u>2002</u>	Mid- Sept <u>2002</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>	<i>NY Times</i> <u>Aug 1990</u> ¹⁰
49	Explained clearly	53	42	48	48	52	37	50
47	Not clearly	40	53	45	45	37	52	41
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.8 Should the U.S. first get a United Nations resolution to use force before taking military action against Iraq or don't you think the U.S. needs to do this?

IF "SHOULD GET UN RESOLUTION" ASK:

Q.9 If the U.S. and most of its allies back using force against Iraq, but the UN resolution is vetoed by one or two countries who oppose it – what should the U.S. do? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

		Feb <u>2003</u>
54	Should first get a UN resolution	57
24	Not use force because the UN has not approved it	22
25	Use force if it feels it is the right thing to do	30
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	5
35	Does not need to do this	33
1	Should not use force in Iraq (VOL.)	*
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>10</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>

ASK ALL:

Q.10 In your opinion, what do you think the UN weapons inspections have shown so far... **[READ ALL THREE OPTIONS; ROTATE ITEMS 1 & 2]**

		Feb <u>2003</u>
8	That Iraq will cooperate and can be peacefully disarmed	4
60	That Iraq will not cooperate and can not be peacefully disarmed	58
	--OR--	
28	That it is too early to tell	34
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>4</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>

Q.11 From your point of view, does the U.S. now have enough international support to use military force against Iraq or do you think it still has to convince more of its allies to go along?

		Feb <u>2003</u>
37	Has enough international support	37
56	Still has to convince more	56
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>7</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>

10

New York Times trend was worded "Do you think George Bush has explained clearly what's at stake and why the U.S. is sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or do you think ..."

Q.12 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 in the long run than they are now?

79	Better off
8	Worse off
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.13 If Iraq is disarmed and Saddam Hussein is removed from power by the U.S. and its allies do you think the Middle East region will be more stable or less stable in the long run than it is now?

64	More stable
17	Less stable
<u>19</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.14 Does the current controversy over what to do about Iraq show that the United Nations still plays an important role in dealing with international conflicts or does it show that the United Nations is not so important any more?

54	Still plays important role
32	Not so important
1	No difference [VOL.]
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	