



# TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS 2003

## Topline Data

*July 2003*



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**TECHNICAL**

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**NOTE**

## TECHNICAL NOTE

- Commissioned by : THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE COMPAGNIA DI SAN PAOLO. SUPPORT FOR THE PORTUGUESE SECTION OF THE SURVEY COMES FROM THE LUSO-AMERICAN FOUNDATION.
  
- Fieldwork : 10 - 25 june 2003
  
- **TNS** interviewed national samples of men and women aged 18 + in the US (1,001 respondents), France (1,003 respondents), Great Britain (1,000 respondents, survey conducted by ICM Direct), Germany (1,000 respondents), Italy (1,000 respondents), the Netherlands (1,009 respondents), Portugal (1,000 respondents) and Poland (1,000 respondents). The survey was coordinated by **TNS SOFRES** (France).
  
- Methodology : Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (except in Poland : face-to-face Computer Assisted Personal Interview, due to lower telephone penetration).
  
- Random sampling.

## NOTES TO READERS

- The summary top line report shows results for each country and for Europe as a whole. The figures given for Europe as a whole are weighted on the basis of adult population in each of the seven countries surveyed. All other figures are unweighted.
- Where available, data from the GMF/ CCFR *Worldviews 2002* survey is provided. For purposes of comparison, *Worldviews 2002* figures are shown in brackets, beside the 2003 corresponding figure. In those cases where the wording of the question differs from the *Worldviews 2002* survey, an acknowledgment is made below the graph.
- The base size for all questions is the total sample for each country (see Technical Note), unless otherwise stated.
- All figures, except for question #8, are expressed in percentage terms. An asterisk denotes a figure less than half a per cent but greater than zero.

**Question 1 :**

Do you think it will be best for the future of [own country] if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs ?

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE <sup>(1)</sup>	U.S.
- Active part .....	73 <sup>(82)</sup>	88 <sup>(86)</sup>	82 <sup>(65)</sup>	78 <sup>(72)</sup>	87 <sup>(90)</sup>	73 <sup>(74)</sup>	80	81 <sup>(78)</sup>	77 <sup>(71)</sup>
- Stay out .....	17 <sup>(15)</sup>	9 <sup>(12)</sup>	13 <sup>(23)</sup>	16 <sup>(24)</sup>	9 <sup>(7)</sup>	14 <sup>(18)</sup>	11	13 <sup>(16)</sup>	15 <sup>(25)</sup>
- Not sure / Refusal ...	10 <sup>(3)</sup>	3 <sup>(2)</sup>	5 <sup>(12)</sup>	6 <sup>(5)</sup>	4 <sup>(2)</sup>	13 <sup>(8)</sup>	9	6 <sup>(6)</sup>	8 <sup>(4)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

(1) The figures given for Europe as a whole are weighted on the basis of adult population in each of the seven countries surveyed. For purposes of comparison, *Worldviews 2002* figures are shown in brackets.

**Question 2 :**

*In Europe:* How desirable is it that the United States exert strong leadership in world affairs ?

Very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable ?

*In the United States:* How desirable is it that Europe exert strong leadership in world affairs ?

Very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable ?

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHER- LANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Very desirable.....	15 <sup>(28)</sup>	2 <sup>(10)</sup>	4 <sup>(11)</sup>	8 <sup>(21)</sup>	12 <sup>(24)</sup>	10 <sup>(13)</sup>	9	8 <sup>(17)</sup>	43 <sup>(31)</sup>
- Somewhat desirable ....	40 <sup>(44)</sup>	25 <sup>(38)</sup>	41 <sup>(57)</sup>	49 <sup>(54)</sup>	34 <sup>(39)</sup>	43 <sup>(51)</sup>	34	37 <sup>(47)</sup>	37 <sup>(48)</sup>
- Somewhat undesirable	24 <sup>(18)</sup>	43 <sup>(33)</sup>	37 <sup>(21)</sup>	24 <sup>(17)</sup>	34 <sup>(21)</sup>	27 <sup>(19)</sup>	28	33 <sup>(22)</sup>	7 <sup>(10)</sup>
- Very undesirable.....	14 <sup>(7)</sup>	27 <sup>(15)</sup>	13 <sup>(6)</sup>	17 <sup>(6)</sup>	16 <sup>(12)</sup>	7 <sup>(3)</sup>	16	16 <sup>(9)</sup>	6 <sup>(7)</sup>
- Neither or both equally [volunteered].....	3 <sup>(1)</sup>	* <sup>(*)</sup>	3 <sup>(3)</sup>	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	2 <sup>(2)</sup>	2 <sup>(6)</sup>	2	2 <sup>(2)</sup>	* <sup>(*)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal .....	4 <sup>(2)</sup>	3 <sup>(4)</sup>	2 <sup>(2)</sup>	1 <sup>(*)</sup>	2 <sup>(2)</sup>	11 <sup>(9)</sup>	11	4 <sup>(3)</sup>	7 <sup>(4)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 3 :**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way the President of the United States George Bush is handling international policies ? Very much or somewhat ?<sup>(1)</sup>

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Approve very much .....	9 <sup>(3)</sup>	3 <sup>(1)</sup>	4 <sup>(3)</sup>	4 <sup>(1)</sup>	8 <sup>(10)</sup>	10 <sup>(7)</sup>	7	6 <sup>(4)</sup>	38 <sup>(13)</sup>
- Approve somewhat .....	26 <sup>(27)</sup>	12 <sup>(20)</sup>	12 <sup>(33)</sup>	33 <sup>(27)</sup>	32 <sup>(47)</sup>	48 <sup>(55)</sup>	34	24 <sup>(34)</sup>	22 <sup>(40)</sup>
- Disapprove somewhat	30 <sup>(44)</sup>	41 <sup>(53)</sup>	49 <sup>(50)</sup>	30 <sup>(58)</sup>	33 <sup>(28)</sup>	22 <sup>(22)</sup>	26	36 <sup>(42)</sup>	11 <sup>(31)</sup>
- Disapprove very much	27 <sup>(22)</sup>	41 <sup>(21)</sup>	32 <sup>(12)</sup>	31 <sup>(12)</sup>	24 <sup>(9)</sup>	8 <sup>(4)</sup>	25	28 <sup>(14)</sup>	23 <sup>(13)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	8 <sup>(4)</sup>	3 <sup>(4)</sup>	3 <sup>(3)</sup>	2 <sup>(3)</sup>	3 <sup>(5)</sup>	12 <sup>(12)</sup>	8	6 <sup>(5)</sup>	6 <sup>(3)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

(1) In *Worlviews 2002*, the question was : "How do you rate the G.W. Bush administration handling of the following problems? Would you say the American administration handling of overall foreign policy has been excellent, good, fair or poor?"

#### Question 4 :

Now I am going to read a list of government programs. Is the government spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on <sup>(1)</sup> :

##### 4/a. Defense

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Too much.....	26 <sup>(21)</sup>	32 <sup>(23)</sup>	43 <sup>(45)</sup>	37 <sup>(38)</sup>	27 <sup>(52)</sup>	14 <sup>(14)</sup>	26	31 <sup>(33)</sup>	25 <sup>(15)</sup>
- Too little.....	25 <sup>(24)</sup>	22 <sup>(28)</sup>	15 <sup>(14)</sup>	12 <sup>(6)</sup>	23 <sup>(12)</sup>	44 <sup>(45)</sup>	32	23 <sup>(22)</sup>	17 <sup>(44)</sup>
- About the right amount	40 <sup>(53)</sup>	43 <sup>(47)</sup>	37 <sup>(38)</sup>	41 <sup>(53)</sup>	37 <sup>(33)</sup>	23 <sup>(36)</sup>	24	37 <sup>(42)</sup>	53 <sup>(38)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	9 <sup>(3)</sup>	3 <sup>(2)</sup>	5 <sup>(2)</sup>	10 <sup>(2)</sup>	13 <sup>(2)</sup>	19 <sup>(6)</sup>	18	9 <sup>(3)</sup>	5 <sup>(3)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

##### 4/b. Economic aid to other nations

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Too much.....	33 <sup>(31)</sup>	30 <sup>(2)</sup>	40 <sup>(29)</sup>	26 <sup>(21)</sup>	18 <sup>(15)</sup>	25 <sup>(44)</sup>	43	31 <sup>(23)</sup>	59 <sup>(48)</sup>
- Too little.....	25 <sup>(22)</sup>	25 <sup>(58)</sup>	12 <sup>(20)</sup>	18 <sup>(18)</sup>	29 <sup>(45)</sup>	13 <sup>(12)</sup>	13	20 <sup>(31)</sup>	8 <sup>(14)</sup>
- About the right amount	32 <sup>(45)</sup>	39 <sup>(35)</sup>	42 <sup>(48)</sup>	48 <sup>(58)</sup>	41 <sup>(38)</sup>	33 <sup>(39)</sup>	25	38 <sup>(43)</sup>	26 <sup>(35)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	10 <sup>(2)</sup>	6 <sup>(4)</sup>	6 <sup>(3)</sup>	8 <sup>(2)</sup>	12 <sup>(2)</sup>	29 <sup>(6)</sup>	19	11 <sup>(3)</sup>	7 <sup>(3)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

##### 4/c. Social welfare and health <sup>(2)</sup>

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Too much.....	2 <sup>(2)</sup>	8 <sup>(6)</sup>	12 <sup>(7)</sup>	5 <sup>(3)</sup>	7 <sup>(9)</sup>	3 <sup>(3)</sup>	5	7 <sup>(6)</sup>	6 <sup>(3)</sup>
- Too little.....	81 <sup>(78)</sup>	57 <sup>(52)</sup>	56 <sup>(59)</sup>	68 <sup>(65)</sup>	73 <sup>(71)</sup>	89 <sup>(88)</sup>	81	69 <sup>(67)</sup>	66 <sup>(64)</sup>
- About the right amount	14 <sup>(19)</sup>	33 <sup>(40)</sup>	29 <sup>(31)</sup>	23 <sup>(31)</sup>	16 <sup>(20)</sup>	5 <sup>(7)</sup>	10	21 <sup>(26)</sup>	21 <sup>(30)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	3 <sup>(1)</sup>	2 <sup>(2)</sup>	3 <sup>(2)</sup>	4 <sup>(1)</sup>	4 <sup>(1)</sup>	3 <sup>(2)</sup>	4	3 <sup>(2)</sup>	7 <sup>(3)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

(1) In *Worldviews 2002*, the question was: "Now I'm going to read a list of government programs. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same". The numbers in brackets in this chart are as follows "cut back" = "too much", "expand" = "too little", "kept about the same" = "about the right amount".

(2) In the United States : "social security and healthcare". In the UK : "old age pensions and the National Health Service".



**Question 5 :**

In thinking about international affairs, which statement comes closer to your position about the United States and the European Union.

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- The US should remain the only superpower..	22 <sup>(20)</sup>	5 <sup>(3)</sup>	8 <sup>(22)</sup>	9 <sup>(11)</sup>	5 <sup>(7)</sup>	10 <sup>(12)</sup>	7	10 <sup>(14)</sup>	42 <sup>(52)</sup>
- The European Union should become a superpower, like the United States.....	52 <sup>(56)</sup>	89 <sup>(91)</sup>	70 <sup>(48)</sup>	65 <sup>(59)</sup>	80 <sup>(76)</sup>	63 <sup>(63)</sup>	80	71 <sup>(65)</sup>	37 <sup>(33)</sup>
- No country should be a superpower .....	17 <sup>(17)</sup>	4 <sup>(4)</sup>	16 <sup>(25)</sup>	22 <sup>(25)</sup>	13 <sup>(16)</sup>	17 <sup>(18)</sup>	5	14 <sup>(17)</sup>	5 <sup>(7)</sup>
- Don't know / other.....	9 <sup>(6)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	6 <sup>(4)</sup>	4 <sup>(5)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	10 <sup>(8)</sup>	8	5 <sup>(4)</sup>	16 <sup>(8)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 6a :**

What role then do you see for the European Union ?

*Asked only to those who answered "The US should remain the only superpower" to q. 5*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 222)	FRANCE (N = 45)	GERMANY (N = 82)	THE NETHER- LANDS (N = 88)	ITALY (N = 50)	POLAND (N = 98)	PORTUGAL (N = 67)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 423)
- Only a European role, relying on the US for global responsibilities <sup>(1)</sup> .....	37 <sup>(42)</sup>	38 <sup>(69)</sup>	52 <sup>(76)</sup>	62 <sup>(66)</sup>	50 <sup>(64)</sup>	58 <sup>(61)</sup>	37	45 <sup>(64)</sup>	60 <sup>(56)</sup>
- The European Union should not deal with international problems .....	46 <sup>(23)</sup>	53 <sup>(28)</sup>	31 <sup>(16)</sup>	22 <sup>(16)</sup>	38 <sup>(21)</sup>	25 <sup>(26)</sup>	46	39 <sup>(22)</sup>	24 <sup>(31)</sup>
- Both [volunteered].....	6 <sup>(27)</sup>	0 <sup>(0)</sup>	5 <sup>(4)</sup>	5 <sup>(4)</sup>	4 <sup>(6)</sup>	5 <sup>(5)</sup>	2	5 <sup>(8)</sup>	4 <sup>(1)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal	11 <sup>(8)</sup>	9 <sup>(3)</sup>	12 <sup>(4)</sup>	11 <sup>(14)</sup>	8 <sup>(10)</sup>	12 <sup>(8)</sup>	15	11 <sup>(7)</sup>	12 <sup>(12)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

(1) In the US only : "The European Union should play a role in the European region, relying on the US for global responsibilities"

**Question 6a1 (Europe only) :**

Are you opposed to superpower status for the European Union because you think it would require increased military expenditure ?

*Asked only to those who answered "The US should remain the only superpower" to q. 5*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 222)	FRANCE (N = 45)	GERMANY (N = 82)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 88)	ITALY (N = 50)	POLAND (N = 98)	PORTUGAL (N = 67)	EUROPE
- Yes.....	54	42	47	43	60	50	70	52
- No .....	40	51	49	52	40	40	19	43
- Don't know / Refusal.....	6	7	4	5	0	10	11	5
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 6a1 (U.S. only) :**

But what if the European Union could help share the cost and the risks of global problems?

Would you still oppose the European Union becoming a superpower ?

*Asked only to those who answered "The US should remain the only superpower" to q. 5*

	U.S. (N = 423)
- Yes.....	41
- No .....	50
- Don't know / Refusal .....	9
	100 %

**Question 6b (a-d) - Experiment question (split sample)**

**Question 6b.a**

Do you think the European Union should become a superpower :

*Asked only to those who answered "The European Union should become a superpower, like the United States" to q.5*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 123)	FRANCE (N = 250)	GERMANY (N = 165)	THE NETHER- LANDS (N = 168)	ITALY (N = 198)	POLAND (N = 154)	PORTUGAL (N = 203)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 92)
- To better compete with the US .....	14 <sup>(7)</sup>	14 <sup>(9)</sup>	7 <sup>(22)</sup>	6 <sup>(7)</sup>	9 <sup>(5)</sup>	9 <sup>(7)</sup>	18	10 <sup>(11)</sup>	4
- To cooperate effectively with the US in dealing with international problems .....	84 <sup>(89)</sup>	82 <sup>(87)</sup>	86 <sup>(70)</sup>	83 <sup>(87)</sup>	88 <sup>(92)</sup>	86 <sup>(89)</sup>	75	85 <sup>(84)</sup>	94
- Both [volunteered] .....	1 <sup>(4)</sup>	2 <sup>(3)</sup>	5 <sup>(7)</sup>	11 <sup>(4)</sup>	3 <sup>(3)</sup>	2 <sup>(3)</sup>	5	4 <sup>(4)</sup>	1
- Don't know / Refusal .....	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	0 <sup>(1)</sup>	0 <sup>(*)</sup>	3 <sup>(1)</sup>	2	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	1
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

### Question 6b.b

Do you think the European Union should become a superpower :

*Asked only to those who answered "The European Union should become a superpower, like the United States" to q.5*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 144)	FRANCE (N = 203)	GERMANY (N = 168)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 155)	ITALY (N = 194)	POLAND (N = 156)	PORTUGAL (N = 200)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 91)
- To better compete with the US.....	19	17	11	3	12	12	20	14	7
- To cooperate effectively with the US .....	79	76	86	86	82	82	73	81	90
- Both [volunteered].....	1	7	1	10	5	2	4	3	3
- Don't know / Refusal .....	1	0	2	1	1	4	3	2	0
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 6b.c**

Do you think the European Union should become a superpower :

*Asked only to those who answered "The European Union should become a superpower, like the United States" to q.5*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 118)	FRANCE (N = 214)	GERMANY (N = 182)	THE NETHER- LANDS (N = 174)	ITALY (N = 207)	POLAND (N = 169)	PORTUGAL (N = 192)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 95)
- To counterbalance the US .....	26	22	19	21	18	19	23	20	14
- To cooperate effectively with the US in dealing with international pro- blems .....	68	73	75	66	77	75	69	74	81
- Both [volunteered] .....	4	4	5	13	4	3	4	5	3
- Don't know / Refusal .....	2	1	1	*	1	3	4	1	2
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 6b.d**

Do you think the European Union should become a superpower :

*Asked only to those who answered "The European Union should become a superpower, like the United States" to q.5*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 134)	FRANCE (N = 227)	GERMANY (N = 188)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 162)	ITALY (N = 200)	POLAND (N = 157)	PORTUGAL (N = 212)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 92)
- To counterbalance the US.....	33	34	25	17	16	20	35	25	8
- To cooperate effectively with the US.....	62	60	68	72	74	71	61	67	78
- Both [volunteered].....	4	5	4	9	9	5	3	6	13
- Don't know / Refusal.....	1	1	3	2	1	4	1	2	1
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %



**Question 6b.1 (Europe Only) :**

Would you be willing for the European Union to be a superpower even if this implies greater military expenditures ?

*Asked only to those who answered "The European Union should become a superpower, like the United States" to q.5*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 519)	FRANCE (N = 894)	GERMANY (N = 703)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 659)	ITALY (N = 799)	POLAND (N = 636)	PORTUGAL (N = 807)	EUROPE
- Yes.....	57 <sup>(58)</sup>	52 <sup>(53)</sup>	48 <sup>(51)</sup>	41 <sup>(39)</sup>	54 <sup>(49)</sup>	43 <sup>(50)</sup>	49	51 <sup>(52)</sup>
- No .....	36 <sup>(37)</sup>	45 <sup>(44)</sup>	49 <sup>(43)</sup>	54 <sup>(57)</sup>	39 <sup>(46)</sup>	47 <sup>(39)</sup>	41	44 <sup>(43)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	7 <sup>(5)</sup>	3 <sup>(3)</sup>	3 <sup>(6)</sup>	5 <sup>(5)</sup>	7 <sup>(4)</sup>	10 <sup>(11)</sup>	10	5 <sup>(5)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 6b.1 (US only) :**

But what if the European Union sometimes opposed US policies? Would you still favor the European Union becoming a superpower ?

*Asked only to those who answered "The European Union should become a superpower, like the United States" to q.5*

	<b>U.S. (N = 370)</b>
- Yes .....	83
- No.....	11
- Don't know / Refusal.....	6
	100 %

**Question 7 :**

I am going to read you a list of possible international threats to Europe (“to the U.S.” in the U.S.) in the next 10 years. Please tell me if you think each one on the list is an extremely important threat, an important threat, or not an important threat at all.<sup>(1)</sup>

*7/a. Economic competition from the United States (“from Europe” in the U.S.)*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Extremely important threat .....	15 <sup>(18)</sup>	18 <sup>(26)</sup>	11 <sup>(10)</sup>	9 <sup>(12)</sup>	15 <sup>(20)</sup>	12 <sup>(19)</sup>	22	14 <sup>(18)</sup>	12 <sup>(13)</sup>
- Important threat.....	47 <sup>(54)</sup>	63 <sup>(62)</sup>	53 <sup>(52)</sup>	43 <sup>(51)</sup>	49 <sup>(46)</sup>	41 <sup>(50)</sup>	51	51 <sup>(53)</sup>	37 <sup>(63)</sup>
- Not important threat .	32 <sup>(26)</sup>	18 <sup>(11)</sup>	33 <sup>(35)</sup>	44 <sup>(36)</sup>	32 <sup>(32)</sup>	34 <sup>(22)</sup>	16	30 <sup>(27)</sup>	47 <sup>(22)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	6 <sup>(1)</sup>	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	3 <sup>(3)</sup>	4 <sup>(1)</sup>	4 <sup>(2)</sup>	13 <sup>(10)</sup>	11	5 <sup>(3)</sup>	4 <sup>(2)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*7/b. Islamic fundamentalism (If needed: “The more radical stream of Islam”)*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Extremely important threat .....	40 <sup>(55)</sup>	51 <sup>(46)</sup>	53 <sup>(55)</sup>	47 <sup>(47)</sup>	49 <sup>(48)</sup>	35 <sup>(19)</sup>	39	47 <sup>(47)</sup>	44 <sup>(61)</sup>
- Important threat.....	39 <sup>(33)</sup>	41 <sup>(45)</sup>	38 <sup>(40)</sup>	40 <sup>(40)</sup>	37 <sup>(35)</sup>	37 <sup>(37)</sup>	36	38 <sup>(38)</sup>	39 <sup>(24)</sup>
- Not important threat .	12 <sup>(9)</sup>	6 <sup>(8)</sup>	7 <sup>(4)</sup>	11 <sup>(12)</sup>	10 <sup>(14)</sup>	12 <sup>(25)</sup>	11	9 <sup>(11)</sup>	11 <sup>(8)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	9 <sup>(3)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	4 <sup>(3)</sup>	16 <sup>(20)</sup>	14	6 <sup>(4)</sup>	6 <sup>(7)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*7/c. International terrorism*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Extremely important threat .....	69 <sup>(74)</sup>	65 <sup>(60)</sup>	74 <sup>(63)</sup>	65 <sup>(54)</sup>	71 <sup>(67)</sup>	70 <sup>(55)</sup>	69	70 <sup>(64)</sup>	70 <sup>(91)</sup>
- Important threat.....	26 <sup>(23)</sup>	33 <sup>(37)</sup>	23 <sup>(33)</sup>	31 <sup>(36)</sup>	25 <sup>(27)</sup>	25 <sup>(34)</sup>	21	26 <sup>(31)</sup>	26 <sup>(7)</sup>
- Not important threat .	4 <sup>(2)</sup>	2 <sup>(3)</sup>	3 <sup>(3)</sup>	4 <sup>(9)</sup>	3 <sup>(6)</sup>	2 <sup>(6)</sup>	8	3 <sup>(4)</sup>	4 <sup>(2)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	* <sup>(1)</sup>	0 <sup>(0)</sup>	* <sup>(*)</sup>	1 <sup>(*)</sup>	3 <sup>(6)</sup>	2	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	0 <sup>(2)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

(1) In *Worldviews 2002*, the question was, in the United States: “I am going to read you a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next ten years. For each one, please tell me if you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all”.

**Question 7 (Continued) :**

I am going to read you a list of possible international threats to Europe (“to the U.S.” in the U.S.) in the next 10 years. Please tell me if you think each one on the list is an extremely important threat, an important threat, or not an important threat at all.

*7/d. Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into Europe (“into the United States” in the U.S.)*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Extremely important threat .....	45 <sup>(54)</sup>	22 <sup>(34)</sup>	25 <sup>(23)</sup>	21 <sup>(30)</sup>	36 <sup>(52)</sup>	20 <sup>(30)</sup>	39	30 <sup>(37)</sup>	38 <sup>(60)</sup>
- Important threat.....	35 <sup>(33)</sup>	50 <sup>(47)</sup>	47 <sup>(48)</sup>	42 <sup>(42)</sup>	42 <sup>(33)</sup>	50 <sup>(49)</sup>	41	44 <sup>(42)</sup>	37 <sup>(31)</sup>
- Not important threat .	18 <sup>(12)</sup>	26 <sup>(19)</sup>	26 <sup>(29)</sup>	36 <sup>(26)</sup>	20 <sup>(14)</sup>	21 <sup>(13)</sup>	16	23 <sup>(19)</sup>	23 <sup>(8)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	1 <sup>(2)</sup>	2 <sup>(*)</sup>	9 <sup>(8)</sup>	4	3 <sup>(2)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*7/e. Military conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Extremely important threat .....	45 <sup>(51)</sup>	45 <sup>(42)</sup>	53 <sup>(47)</sup>	39 <sup>(32)</sup>	50 <sup>(42)</sup>	28 <sup>(20)</sup>	42	46 <sup>(42)</sup>	39 <sup>(67)</sup>
- Important threat.....	38 <sup>(40)</sup>	47 <sup>(48)</sup>	39 <sup>(46)</sup>	43 <sup>(42)</sup>	38 <sup>(45)</sup>	49 <sup>(46)</sup>	35	41 <sup>(45)</sup>	43 <sup>(27)</sup>
- Not important threat .	13 <sup>(8)</sup>	7 <sup>(10)</sup>	7 <sup>(7)</sup>	16 <sup>(23)</sup>	9 <sup>(12)</sup>	15 <sup>(22)</sup>	16	10 <sup>(11)</sup>	14 <sup>(5)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	4 <sup>(1)</sup>	1 <sup>(*)</sup>	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	2 <sup>(2)</sup>	3 <sup>(1)</sup>	8 <sup>(13)</sup>	7	3 <sup>(2)</sup>	4 <sup>(1)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 7 (Continued) :**

I am going to read you a list of possible international threats to Europe (“to the U.S.” in the U.S.) in the next 10 years. Please tell me if you think each one on the list is an extremely important threat, an important threat, or not an important threat at all.

*7/f1. North Korea developing weapons of mass destruction (Experiment question – split half with Q.7f.2)*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 477)	FRANCE (N = 505)	GERMANY (N = 521)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 501)	ITALY (N = 493)	POLAND (N = 506)	PORTUGAL (N = 497)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 499)
- Extremely important threat .....	51	41	48	48	54	52	57	49	60
- Important threat .....	32	44	36	38	30	32	27	35	33
- Not important threat ..	14	12	14	13	14	7	11	13	6
- Don't know / Refusal .....	3	3	2	1	2	9	5	3	1
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*7/f2. Iran developing weapons of mass destruction (Experiment question – split half with Q.7f.1)*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 523)	FRANCE (N = 498)	GERMANY (N = 479)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 508)	ITALY (N = 507)	POLAND (N = 494)	PORTUGAL (N = 503)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 502)
- Extremely important threat .....	48	36	39	50	56	51	52	46	57
- Important threat .....	32	46	37	34	29	38	29	36	28
- Not important threat ..	17	14	22	14	12	6	13	15	12
- Don't know / Refusal .....	3	4	2	2	3	5	6	3	3
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*7/g. U.S. unilateralism (If needed: “The tendency of the US to ‘go it alone”)*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Extremely important threat .....	25	34	40	24	29	24	28	31	21
- Important threat .....	43	54	48	53	46	43	44	47	46
- Not important threat ..	26	11	11	19	21	18	17	17	24
- Don't know / Refusal .....	6	1	1	4	4	15	11	5	9
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 8 :**

Next I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some countries, institutions and people, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country or institution, please say so.

*Split half. a - h are asked to both sample, i - m change depending on the sample.*

**Mean score**

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
a - The United States...	61 <sup>(68)</sup>	50 <sup>(60)</sup>	56 <sup>(63)</sup>	55 <sup>(59)</sup>	61 <sup>(68)</sup>	61 <sup>(65)</sup>	54	57 <sup>(64)</sup>	92
b - Russia.....	52 <sup>(50)</sup>	51 <sup>(47)</sup>	55 <sup>(44)</sup>	48 <sup>(46)</sup>	51 <sup>(53)</sup>	41 <sup>(42)</sup>	46	51 <sup>(47)</sup>	54 <sup>(55)</sup>
c - Germany.....	53 <sup>(54)</sup>	67 <sup>(62)</sup>	82 <sup>(84)</sup>	63 <sup>(61)</sup>	60 <sup>(60)</sup>	52 <sup>(51)</sup>	58	65 <sup>(65)</sup>	56 <sup>(61)</sup>
d - Israel.....	46 <sup>(43)</sup>	43 <sup>(43)</sup>	43 <sup>(32)</sup>	48 <sup>(48)</sup>	43 <sup>(42)</sup>	33 <sup>(29)</sup>	40	43 <sup>(38)</sup>	60 <sup>(55)</sup>
e - France.....	49 <sup>(55)</sup>	78 <sup>(79)</sup>	71 <sup>(59)</sup>	60 <sup>(58)</sup>	62 <sup>(61)</sup>	55 <sup>(59)</sup>	62	64 <sup>(62)</sup>	45 <sup>(55)</sup>
f - The European Union	57 <sup>(59)</sup>	73 <sup>(75)</sup>	75 <sup>(67)</sup>	66 <sup>(70)</sup>	80 <sup>(84)</sup>	63 <sup>(60)</sup>	74	71 <sup>(70)</sup>	60 <sup>(53)</sup>
g - Great Britain.....	80 <sup>(87)</sup>	53 <sup>(57)</sup>	61 <sup>(60)</sup>	62 <sup>(63)</sup>	61 <sup>(62)</sup>	58 <sup>(57)</sup>	58	63 <sup>(65)</sup>	79 <sup>(76)</sup>
h - The Palestinians.....	47	45	40	41	46	35	43	43	39
i1 - Italy.....	60	60	69	60	83	62	58	67	63
j1 - The Netherland.....	62	63	70	82	65	58	57	65	65
k1 - Poland.....	54	53	55	53	58	87	50	58	61
l1 - North Korea.....	40	33	32	31	32	27	33	33	27
n1 - Syria.....	43	38	38	35	38	34	36	38	34
i2 - China.....	50	51	49	51	45	38	43	47	46
j2 - Turkey.....	47	44	52	47	41	43	43	46	47
k2 - Portugal.....	57	62	62	62	59	52	80	60	57
l2 - Iran.....	41	35	34	32	32	30	32	34	31
m2 - Saudi Arabia.....	46	40	44	41	42	33	39	42	38

**Question 9a :**

Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. For the United Nations, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

*Split half with Q.9b*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 500)	FRANCE (N = 482)	GERMANY (N = 534)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 507)	ITALY (N = 506)	POLAND (N = 503)	PORTUGAL (N = 497)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 501)
- Yes, needs to be strengthened .....	78 <sup>(81)</sup>	71 <sup>(67)</sup>	80 <sup>(75)</sup>	69 <sup>(76)</sup>	72 <sup>(82)</sup>	61 <sup>(69)</sup>	81	74 <sup>(75)</sup>	70 <sup>(77)</sup>
- No, does not need to be strengthened ...	18 <sup>(16)</sup>	25 <sup>(29)</sup>	18 <sup>(22)</sup>	26 <sup>(22)</sup>	22 <sup>(13)</sup>	23 <sup>(17)</sup>	14	21 <sup>(20)</sup>	26 <sup>(21)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal.....	4 <sup>(3)</sup>	4 <sup>(4)</sup>	2 <sup>(3)</sup>	5 <sup>(3)</sup>	6 <sup>(5)</sup>	16 <sup>(3)</sup>	5	5 <sup>(5)</sup>	4 <sup>(2)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 9b :**

Would you say your overall opinion of the United Nations is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavourable ?

*Split half with Q.9a*

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 500)	FRANCE (N = 521)	GERMANY (N = 466)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 502)	ITALY (N = 494)	POLAND (N = 497)	PORTUGAL (N = 503)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 500)
- Very favorable .....	16	10	13	8	26	7	17	14	16
- Mostly favorable .....	61	59	67	75	52	68	61	62	50
- Mostly unfavorable .....	16	24	17	13	17	10	11	17	20
- Very unfavorable .....	6	6	1	2	4	2	3	4	12
- Never heard [volunteered]	*	0	0	*	*	2	0	*	0
- Don't know / Refusal .....	1	1	2	2	1	11	8	3	2
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %



**Question 10 :**

In recent years, have Europe and the United States grown closer, further apart or remained about the same ?

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Grown closer.....	24	17	18	20	41	42	41	27	21
- Further apart.....	38	29	50	51	25	25	22	36	34
- Remained about the same.	36	53	30	27	31	23	29	34	41
- Don't know / Refusal .....	2	1	2	2	3	10	8	3	4
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 11 - (Europe only) :**

In terms of (own country) vital interests today, which is more important to (own country): the European Union or the United States of America ?

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE
- European Union.....	53 <sup>(56)</sup>	95 <sup>(93)</sup>	81 <sup>(55)</sup>	84 <sup>(88)</sup>	80 <sup>(77)</sup>	68 <sup>(69)</sup>	85	77 <sup>(70)</sup>
- United States .....	36 <sup>(37)</sup>	3 <sup>(4)</sup>	9 <sup>(20)</sup>	8 <sup>(9)</sup>	13 <sup>(15)</sup>	9 <sup>(11)</sup>	5	13 <sup>(17)</sup>
- Both equally important [volunteered only] .....	7 <sup>(5)</sup>	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	8 <sup>(22)</sup>	6 <sup>(2)</sup>	6 <sup>(7)</sup>	16 <sup>(14)</sup>	6	7 <sup>(10)</sup>
- Don't know / Refusal .....	4 <sup>(3)</sup>	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	2 <sup>(3)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup>	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	7 <sup>(7)</sup>	4	3 <sup>(3)</sup>
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 11 (US only) :**

In terms of American vital interests today, which is more important to the United States: the countries of Europe, such as Britain, France, and Germany, or the countries of Asia, such as China, Japan, and South Korea ?

- The countries of Europe .....	50
- The countries of Asia .....	36
- Both equally important [volunteered only] .....	8
- Don't know / Refusal .....	6
	100 %

**Question 12 :**

Do you think the war in Iraq was worth the loss of life and the other costs of attacking Iraq, or not ?

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Yes .....	42	13	15	38	26	30	24	25	55
- No .....	51	84	81	55	68	62	71	70	36
- Don't know / Refusal.....	7	3	4	7	6	8	5	5	9
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 13 (a - h) – Experiment question**

**Question 13a :**

Imagine **North Korea** has acquired weapons of mass destruction. **The United States** government has decided to attack **North Korea** to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not ?

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 101)	FRANCE (N = 117)	GERMANY (N = 121)	THE NETHER- LANDS (N = 127)	ITALY (N = 116)	POLAND (N = 138)	PORTUGAL (N = 136)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 125)
- Support.....	37	41	20	33	24	37	25	30	58
- Not support.....	57	53	76	61	70	52	72	64	31
- Don't know / Refusal.....	6	6	4	6	6	11	3	6	11
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 13b :**

Imagine **North Korea** has acquired weapons of mass destruction. **NATO** has decided to attack **North Korea** to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not ?

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 121)	FRANCE (N = 126)	GERMANY (N = 137)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 109)	ITALY (N = 126)	POLAND (N = 123)	PORTUGAL (N = 110)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 125)
- Support.....	55	47	34	44	32	38	39	40	68
- Not support.....	41	48	64	51	63	55	56	56	24
- Don't know / Refusal.....	4	5	2	5	5	7	5	4	8
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 13c :**

Imagine **North Korea** has acquired weapons of mass destruction. **The United Nations Security Council** has decided to attack **North Korea** to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not ?

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 123)	FRANCE (N = 117)	GERMANY (N = 134)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 135)	ITALY (N = 118)	POLAND (N = 123)	PORTUGAL (N = 121)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 127)
- Support.....	56	45	33	52	37	31	44	41	72
- Not support.....	37	50	66	46	59	58	54	55	24
- Don't know / Refusal.....	7	5	1	2	4	11	2	4	4
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 13d :**

Imagine **North Korea** has acquired weapons of mass destruction. **The United States and its allies** have decided to attack **North Korea** to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not ?

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 133)	FRANCE (N = 122)	GERMANY (N = 121)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 119)	ITALY (N = 140)	POLAND (N = 125)	PORTUGAL (N = 129)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 125)
- Support.....	49	43	30	40	24	41	34	36	53
- Not support.....	48	49	63	56	71	47	61	57	38
- Don't know / Refusal.....	3	8	7	4	5	12	5	7	9
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %



**Question 13e :**

Imagine **Iran** has acquired weapons of mass destruction. **The United States government** has decided to attack **Iran** to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not ?

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 140)	FRANCE (N = 141)	GERMANY (N = 142)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 132)	ITALY (N = 108)	POLAND (N = 120)	PORTUGAL (N = 112)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 126)
- Support.....	51	44	32	45	26	38	28	38	67
- Not support.....	43	52	66	49	68	49	66	57	23
- Don't know / Refusal.....	6	4	2	6	6	13	6	5	10
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 13f :**

Imagine **Iran** has acquired weapons of mass destruction. **NATO** has decided to attack **Iran** to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not ?

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 140)	FRANCE (N = 119)	GERMANY (N = 117)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 122)	ITALY (N = 137)	POLAND (N = 124)	PORTUGAL (N = 138)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 125)
- Support.....	66	54	29	54	34	51	47	46	78
- Not support.....	31	44	67	43	62	40	49	50	17
- Don't know / Refusal.....	3	2	4	3	4	9	4	4	5
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 13g :**

Imagine **Iran** has acquired weapons of mass destruction. **The United Nations Security Council** has decided to attack **Iran** to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not ?

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 119)	FRANCE (N = 128)	GERMANY (N = 114)	THE NETHER- LANDS (N = 134)	ITALY (N = 141)	POLAND (N = 114)	PORTUGAL (N = 113)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 124)
- Support.....	70	56	46	48	44	38	48	51	75
- Not support.....	27	39	51	46	52	45	50	44	16
- Don't know / Refusal.....	3	5	3	6	4	17	2	5	9
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 13h :**

Imagine **Iran** has acquired weapons of mass destruction. **The United States and its allies** have decided to attack **Iran** to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not ?

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 123)	FRANCE (N = 133)	GERMANY (N = 114)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 131)	ITALY (N = 114)	POLAND (N = 133)	PORTUGAL (N = 141)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 124)
- Support.....	58	47	33	40	38	40	38	42	73
- Not support.....	40	49	63	55	60	47	54	53	20
- Don't know / Refusal.....	2	4	4	5	2	13	8	5	7
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 14 (a – h) – Experiment question**

**Question 14a :**

Imagine now a country that is **harboring dangerous international terrorists**. To counter this country, **the United States proposes to impose economic sanctions** while **the European Union proposes to use military force**. According to you what should [country] do :

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 118)	FRANCE (N = 144)	GERMANY (N = 134)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 127)	ITALY (N = 113)	POLAND (N = 138)	PORTUGAL (N = 136)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 129)
- Impose economic sanctions .....	59	63	84	72	59	54	65	67	58
- Use military force to change the countries' policy .....	26	25	11	18	19	20	21	19	33
- Do nothing / Stay out [volunteered) .....	6	6	2	6	16	12	8	7	3
- Don't know / Refusal .....	9	6	3	4	6	14	6	7	6
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 14b :**

Imagine now a country that is **harboring dangerous international terrorists**. To counter this country, **the United States proposes to use military force** while **the European Union proposes to impose economic sanctions**. According to you what should [country] do :

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 130)	FRANCE (N = 135)	GERMANY (N = 106)	THE NETHER- LANDS (N = 117)	ITALY (N = 133)	POLAND (N = 114)	PORTUGAL (N = 110)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 126)
- Impose economic sanc- tions .....	66	64	86	75	65	65	70	70	62
- Use military force to chan- ge the countries' policy .....	28	24	5	17	23	21	15	19	27
- Do nothing / Stay out [volunteered) .....	2	8	4	4	9	5	7	6	4
- Don't know / Refusal .....	4	4	5	4	3	9	8	5	7
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 14c :**

Imagine now a country that is **harboring dangerous international terrorists**. To counter this country, **the United States and the European Union** propose to **engage military force**. According to you what should [country] do :

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 104)	FRANCE (N = 118)	GERMANY (N = 129)	THE NETHER- LANDS (N = 128)	ITALY (N = 125)	POLAND (N = 136)	PORTUGAL (N = 121)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 127)
- Impose economic sanc- tions .....	58	59	77	63	61	54	61	64	52
- Use military force to chan- ge the countries' policy .....	31	33	11	26	21	21	29	22	35
- Do nothing / Stay out [volunteered) .....	3	4	7	6	9	13	3	7	1
- Don't know / Refusal .....	8	4	5	5	9	12	7	7	12
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 14d :**

Imagine now a country that is **harboring dangerous international terrorists**. To counter this country, **the United States and the European Union** propose to **impose economic sanctions**. According to you what should [country] do :

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 131)	FRANCE (N = 117)	GERMANY (N = 131)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 129)	ITALY (N = 136)	POLAND (N = 125)	PORTUGAL (N = 129)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 124)
- Impose economic sanctions .....	72	66	90	75	71	77	78	76	73
- Use military force to change the countries' policy .....	21	24	5	22	10	10	8	14	19
- Do nothing / Stay out [volunteered] .....	2	5	2	2	12	6	5	5	2
- Don't know / Refusal .....	5	5	3	1	7	7	9	5	6
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %



**Question 14e :**

Imagine now a country that is **threatening with nuclear weapons a neighbor country**. To counter this country, **the United States proposes to impose economic sanctions** while **the European Union proposes to use military force**. According to you what should [country] do :

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 126)	FRANCE (N = 121)	GERMANY (N = 122)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 118)	ITALY (N = 121)	POLAND (N = 127)	PORTUGAL (N = 112)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 124)
- Impose economic sanctions .....	68	69	82	76	57	58	59	69	65
- Use military force to change the countries' policy .....	23	26	9	14	25	20	23	19	26
- Do nothing / Stay out [volunteered] .....	4	3	2	6	8	13	8	5	2
- Don't know / Refusal .....	5	2	7	4	10	9	10	7	7
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 14f :**

Imagine now a country that is **threatening with nuclear weapons a neighbor country**. To counter this country, **the United States proposes to use military force** while **the European Union proposes to impose economic sanctions**. According to you what should [country] do :

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 123)	FRANCE (N = 117)	GERMANY (N = 122)	THE NETHERLANDS (N = 139)	ITALY (N = 124)	POLAND (N = 118)	PORTUGAL (N = 138)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 124)
- Impose economic sanctions .....	68	81	84	76	69	56	72	74	61
- Use military force to change the countries' policy .....	24	14	11	18	19	16	14	16	23
- Do nothing / Stay out [volunteered] .....	2	1	1	5	6	14	4	4	3
- Don't know / Refusal .....	6	4	4	1	6	14	10	6	13
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 14g :**

Imagine now a country that **is threatening with nuclear weapons a neighbor country**. To counter this country, **the United States and the European Union propose to engage military force**. According to you what should [country] do :

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 141)	FRANCE (N = 124)	GERMANY (N = 122)	THE NETHER- LANDS (N = 126)	ITALY (N = 104)	POLAND (N = 136)	PORTUGAL (N = 113)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 124)
- Impose economic sanc- tions .....	66	56	73	60	53	51	50	61	56
- Use military force to chan- ge the countries' policy .....	29	37	17	29	30	20	35	26	32
- Do nothing / Stay out [volunteered).....	2	0	3	6	8	14	7	5	3
- Don't know / Refusal .....	3	7	7	5	9	15	8	8	9
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 14h :**

Imagine now a country that **is threatening with nuclear weapons a neighbor country**. To counter this country, **the United States and the European Union propose to impose economic sanctions**. According to you what should [country] do :

	GREAT BRITAIN (N = 127)	FRANCE (N = 127)	GERMANY (N = 134)	THE NETHER- LANDS (N = 125)	ITALY (N = 144)	POLAND (N = 106)	PORTUGAL (N = 141)	EUROPE	U.S. (N = 123)
- Impose economic sanc- Tions .....	71	67	84	73	66	67	70	72	71
- Use military force to chan- ge the countries' policy .....	19	20	7	19	12	9	14	14	20
- Do nothing / Stay out [volunteered) .....	2	6	4	2	10	15	4	6	2
- Don't know / Refusal .....	8	7	5	6	12	9	12	8	7
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 15 :**

Here is a list of proposals that are sometimes made to help resolve the **Arab/Israeli conflict/Israeli/Palestinian conflict**<sup>(1)</sup>. For each item on the list, would you please tell me if you agree or disagree with the proposal. How about (a)... Is that strongly or somewhat. And now (b) :

**15a. The US and Europeans [The US]** <sup>(2)</sup> *should increase political pressure on Israel to withdraw from Palestinian territory*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	50	35	42	41	40	38	43	41	40
- Agree somewhat.....	28	37	34	41	34	35	30	34	27
- Disagree somewhat...	10	14	16	10	12	7	8	12	12
- Disagree strongly.....	7	10	5	5	9	3	8	7	14
- Don't know / Refusal .....	5	4	3	3	5	17	11	6	7
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**15b. The US and Europeans should impose economic sanctions on Israel in order for it to withdraw from Palestinian territory**

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	36	26	25	28	28	32	38	29	22
- Agree somewhat.....	35	38	36	44	34	34	31	36	30
- Disagree somewhat...	15	18	27	15	18	10	12	19	18
- Disagree strongly.....	8	14	8	9	15	5	8	10	22
- Don't know / Refusal .....	6	4	4	4	5	19	11	6	8
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

(1) For this question, the Middle East conflict was described as the **Arab/Israeli conflict** to half of the sample. To the other half of the sample, it was described as the **Israeli/Palestinian conflict**. As there were no statistically relevant differences in the responses, the results of these two sub-samples have been collapsed. The numbers given here are the collapsed results.

(2) For this question, half of the sample was told "The US and Europeans should increase political pressure on Israel to withdraw from Palestinian territory". The other half was told "The US should increase political pressure on Israel to withdraw from Palestinian territory". As there were no statistically relevant differences in the responses, the results of these two sub-samples have been collapsed. The numbers given here are the collapsed results.

**Question 15 : (Continued)**

Here is a list of proposals that are sometimes made to help resolve the **Arab/Israeli conflict/Israeli/Palestinian conflict**. For each item on the list, would you please tell me if you agree or disagree with the proposal. How about (a)... Is that strongly or somewhat. And now (b) :

*15c. The US and Europeans should stop economic aid to the Palestinians to end their suicide attacks against Israeli civilians*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	37	17	23	29	23	27	38	26	50
- Agree somewhat.....	21	27	26	31	27	29	25	26	22
- Disagree somewhat...	20	26	32	22	22	19	15	24	13
- Disagree strongly.....	17	25	16	14	23	10	15	18	10
- Don't know / Refusal .....	5	5	3	4	5	15	7	6	5
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*15d. The US and Europeans should increase pressure on the Arab states to stop their support of Palestinian terrorism*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	52	40	42	42	50	44	58	45	70
- Agree somewhat.....	28	39	35	42	33	33	23	34	19
- Disagree somewhat...	8	9	17	9	7	7	5	10	4
- Disagree strongly.....	8	9	4	5	6	3	6	6	3
- Don't know / Refusal .....	4	3	2	2	4	13	8	5	4
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*15e. The US and European should send a peace-keeping force to separate the parties*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	41	29	28	28	35	31	53	33	26
- Agree somewhat.....	31	40	32	40	36	32	26	34	29
- Disagree somewhat...	13	15	26	18	14	14	5	17	18
- Disagree strongly.....	12	13	11	12	10	9	9	11	22
- Don't know / Refusal .....	3	3	3	2	5	14	7	5	5
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 16 :**

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following. Do you agree/disagree strongly or somewhat :

*16/a. The EU is not as powerful militarily as the US but it can still have influence to solve world problems by other tools such as diplomacy, trade or development aid*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	50	55	46	47	65	44	68	52	48
- Agree somewhat.....	36	38	39	45	28	36	19	36	40
- Disagree somewhat...	5	4	10	5	3	6	3	6	4
- Disagree strongly.....	5	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	3
- Don't know / Refusal .....	4	1	2	1	2	11	8	3	5
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*16/b. The US and Europe should act more independently in the world*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	30	20	21	17	22	17	24	22	20
- Agree somewhat.....	32	27	31	32	33	29	28	31	30
- Disagree somewhat...	20	30	29	31	20	27	17	25	25
- Disagree strongly.....	13	20	17	16	19	11	21	17	17
- Don't know / Refusal .....	5	3	2	4	6	16	10	5	8
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*16/c. Israel deserves our support because it is the only democracy in the Arab world*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	16	13	8	14	13	7	22	12	28
- Agree somewhat.....	32	34	35	38	34	22	32	33	35
- Disagree somewhat...	24	28	33	29	23	28	15	27	17
- Disagree strongly.....	18	20	20	14	20	19	18	19	12
- Don't know / Refusal .....	10	5	4	5	10	24	13	9	8
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 16 (Continued) :**

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following. Do you agree/disagree strongly or somewhat :

*16/d. Economic power is becoming more important in world affairs than military power*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	39	37	44	31	44	36	46	40	31
- Agree somewhat.....	37	42	41	48	37	39	28	40	38
- Disagree somewhat...	12	10	9	12	8	8	6	9	17
- Disagree strongly.....	5	7	4	4	5	3	7	5	7
- Don't know / Refusal .....	7	4	2	5	6	14	13	6	7
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*16/e. Under some conditions, war is necessary to obtain justice*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	35	12	12	22	15	18	16	18	55
- Agree somewhat.....	39	27	27	38	28	28	29	30	29
- Disagree somewhat...	10	28	25	18	20	24	14	21	6
- Disagree strongly.....	13	32	35	21	35	20	36	28	7
- Don't know / Refusal .....	3	1	1	1	2	10	5	3	3
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*16/f. When vital interests of our country are involved, it is justified to bypass the UN (if needed: "vital interest means when stakes are high")*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	25	15	14	14	13	12	14	16	36
- Agree somewhat.....	27	22	24	25	25	25	16	24	21
- Disagree somewhat...	22	30	32	34	26	27	23	28	18
- Disagree strongly.....	20	30	27	22	28	17	37	25	20
- Don't know / Refusal .....	6	3	3	5	8	19	10	7	5
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %



**Question 16 (Continued) :**

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following. Do you agree/disagree strongly or somewhat :

*16/g. Europeans are too preoccupied with their own affairs and are unwilling to take responsibility for dealing with world problems*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	31	19	14	13	29	18	30	22	27
- Agree somewhat.....	32	32	29	32	35	35	36	32	28
- Disagree somewhat...	20	26	36	35	19	25	14	26	22
- Disagree strongly.....	13	21	19	18	12	7	9	15	15
- Don't know / Refusal .....	4	2	2	2	5	15	11	5	8
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

*16/h. Europeans and Americans have different social and cultural values*

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- Agree strongly .....	45	49	36	40	35	37	47	40	46
- Agree somewhat.....	37	36	43	47	38	35	33	39	37
- Disagree somewhat...	10	9	14	9	15	14	6	12	10
- Disagree strongly.....	5	5	5	2	8	4	5	5	4
- Don't know / Refusal .....	3	1	2	2	4	10	9	4	3
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 17 :**

Before moving on to some background questions, do you happen to remember some of the names of the five countries which have permanent seats on the Security Council of the United Nations ?

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- All 5 countries answers are correct.....	14	21	24	18	15	12	5	18	18
- 4 countries answers are correct.....	11	13	16	18	8	9	7	12	17
- 3 countries answers are correct.....	11	17	14	15	11	14	10	13	13
- 2 countries answers are correct.....	11	8	10	16	11	11	15	11	6
- 1 country answer is correct.....	4	4	3	8	7	12	17	6	4
- The respondent gave answers but none of the countries answers were correct.....	*	5	1	4	1	1	3	2	1
- The did not cite any country / Refusal.....	49	32	32	21	47	41	43	38	41
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Question 17 (Countries remembered) :**

Before moving on to some background questions, do you happen to remember some of the names of the five countries which have permanent seats on the Security Council of the United Nations ?

	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	THE NETHERLANDS	ITALY	POLAND	PORTUGAL	EUROPE	U.S.
- U.S.A. ....	35	49	53	51	34	43	25	43	47
- Great Britain ....	44	50	54	56	38	42	32	46	47
- France ....	46	61	62	70	47	44	44	54	50
- Russia.....	29	37	47	39	28	27	16	35	42
- China .....	20	29	34	31	23	18	12	26	30
	% (1)	% (1)	% (1)	% (1)	% (1)	% (1)	% (1)	% (1)	% (1)

(1) The total of percentages is higher than 100 % as respondents could give several responses.