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Global Opinion

The Spread of Anti-Americanism

The numbers paint a sobering picture. Just a quarter of the French approve of U.S. policies, and the situation is only slightly better in Japan and Germany. Most people around the world worry that U.S. global influence is expanding, and majorities in many countries say America's strong military presence actually increases the chances for war.

The latest survey on America's tarnished global image? No, those findings are from a poll conducted by Newsweek – in 1983. The United States has been down the “ugly American” road before, saddled with a bad image abroad and unable to draw much in the way of international support, even from close allies.

But anti-Americanism is deeper and broader now than at any time in modern history. It is most acute in the Muslim world, but it spans the globe — from Europe to Asia, from South America to Africa. And while much of the animus is aimed directly at President Bush and his policies, especially the war in Iraq, this new global hardening of attitudes amounts to something larger than a thumbs down on the current occupant of the White House.

Simply put, the rest of the world both fears and resents the unrivaled power that the United States has amassed since the Cold War ended. In the eyes of others, the U.S. is a worrisome colossus: It is too quick to act unilaterally, it doesn't do a good job of addressing the world's problems, and it widens the global gulf between rich and poor. On matters of international security, the rest of the world has become deeply suspicious of U.S. motives and openly skeptical of its word. People abroad are more likely to believe that the U.S.-led war on terror has been about controlling Mideast oil and dominating the world than they are to take at face value America's stated objectives of self-defense and global democratization.

Views of America: U.S. Favorability Ratings

	USIA*1999/2000	SUMMER 2002	MAR. 2003	MAY 2003	MAR. 2004
	%	%	%	%	%
Britain	83	75	48	70	58
France	62	63	31	43	37
Germany	78	61	25	45	38
Italy	76	70	34	60	—
Spain	50	—	14	38	—
Russia	37	61	28	36	47
Canada	71	72	—	63	—
Brazil	56	52	—	34	—
Japan	77	72	—	—	—
Indonesia	75	61	—	15	—
South Korea	58	53	—	46	—
Turkey	52	30	12	15	30
Nigeria	46	77	—	61	—
Pakistan	23	10	—	13	21
Jordan	—	25	—	1	5
Morocco	77	—	—	27	27

Source: Pew Global Attitudes, except as noted below

* Countries where 1999/2000 survey data are available. Trends provided by the Office of Research, U.S. Department of State (Canada trend by Environics International, now Globescan).

Anti-American Views in the Muslim World ...

	RATING OF THE UNITED STATES		
	FAVORABLE	SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE	VERY UNFAVORABLE
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

	RATING OF THE UNITED STATES		
	FAVORABLE	SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE	VERY UNFAVORABLE
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

Source: Pew Global Attitudes

No matter how negative these assessments are, however, they tell only part of a more complicated story. The relationship between the rest of the world and its sole superpower may be rocky, but it has enduring strengths. A majority of people around the world admire America's democratic values and much about its way of life. While they express deep misgivings about the U.S.-led war on terror, they feel more secure living in a world in which no other nation can challenge the United States militarily. In short, while they chafe at the U.S. role as the world's supercop, they're also relieved that no one else is walking the beat.

Since mid-2002, the Pew Global Attitudes Project has been measuring these attitudes — and the paradoxes they embody — in a series of global public opinion surveys. In all, the Project has conducted four separate surveys in a total of 50 populations (49 countries and the Palestinian Authority), interviewing a combined total of nearly 75,000 people, in the last two and a half years. (Complete reports and top-lines on all surveys are available at www.pewglobal.org.)

The surveys have examined public attitudes on a variety of topics, including economic globalization; democracy and governance; social, cultural and religious values, security and terrorism. The one theme that emerges most powerfully from the data is the stark contrast between how the rest of the world views the United States and how the United States views itself. That cleavage is the focus of this chapter.

A Unilateralist Superpower?

At the heart of the decline in world opinion about America is the perception that the United States acts internationally without taking into account the interests of other nations. This has been a consistent theme of Global Attitude Project polls. In 2003, majorities in 16 of 21 populations surveyed said the U.S. paid little or no attention to the interests of their countries. When we went back to a smaller group of countries a year later, solid majorities in seven of the eight nations surveyed (all except the U.S.) said the United States had little concern for their countries' interests when making foreign policy. Even in Great Britain, 61% said the U.S. paid little or no attention to British interests.

Americans have been just as consistent in their view that the United States does, in fact, take the interests of other countries into account. Most Americans think this happens a great deal (34%) or a fair amount (36%); just 27% think the U.S. is mostly unconcerned with other nations.

Post-9/11 Sympathy Short-Lived

To be sure, anti-Americanism in much of the world, especially in many predominantly Muslim nations, predates the U.S. war on terror and the invasion of Iraq. Even in Pakistan, a staunch U.S. ally for decades, just 23% expressed a favorable opinion of the United States in a State Department survey conducted in 1999 and 2000.

Global Perception Gap on American Unilateralism

	A GREAT DEAL/ FAIR AMOUNT	U.S. CONSIDERS OTHERS NOT MUCH/ NOT AT ALL	OTHERS DON'T KNOW/ REFUSED
U.S.	70	27	3
Great Britain	36	61	3
Morocco	34	57	8
Germany	29	69	2
Russia	20	73	2
Jordan	16	77	7
Pakistan	18	48	34
France	14	84	2

Source: Pew Global Attitudes, March 2004

“Americans have been just as consistent in their view that the United States does, in fact, take the interests of other countries into account.”

Perceived Popular Views of September 11 Attacks

	MOST/MANY PEOPLE BELIEVE	
	U.S. POLICY CAUSED ATTACKS	GOOD FOR U.S. TO FEEL VULNERABLE
	%	%
U.S.	18	n/a
Total non-U.S.	58	70
Western Europe	36	66
E. Europe/Russia	71	70
Latin America	58	71
Asia	60	76
Mideast/Conflict Area	81	65
All Islamic states	76	73

Source: Survey of Opinion Leaders, Pew Global Attitudes, December 2001

The terror attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, had the potential to change this dynamic. Initially, there was a spontaneous outpouring of sympathy and support for the United States, memorably given voice by the famous headline in the French newspaper *Le Monde*: “We are all Americans.” Even some in parts of the Middle East, hostility toward the U.S. appeared to soften a bit.

But this reaction proved short-lived. Just a few months after the attacks, a Global Attitudes Project survey of opinion leaders around the world found that, outside Western Europe, there was a widespread sense that U.S. policies were a major cause of the attacks. Moreover, solid majorities in every region said that most people in their countries believed it was good for Americans to know what it feels like to be vulnerable.

By the time the Project’s first major survey went into the field — in 44 countries and among 38,000 people in the summer and fall of 2002 — it found that favorability ratings for the United States had eroded since 2000 in 19 of the 27 countries where trend benchmarks were available.

With the onset of the war in Iraq in the spring of 2003 it became clear that the U.S. global image hadn’t just slipped, it had plummeted. The second major survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, among 16,000 people in 20 countries and the Palestinian Authority, showed that the war had widened the rift between the United States and its traditional allies and intensified hostility toward the U.S. in the Muslim world. In subsequent surveys there have been a few episodic blips upward, reflecting world events at the time, but the overall trend remains downward.

A Eurobarometer survey conducted in countries of the European Union in October 2003 found that respondents placed the U.S. on a par with Iran as a threat to world peace. Even in the United Kingdom, the United States’ most trusted European ally, 55% said they saw the U.S. as a threat to global peace. And in four countries — Greece, Spain, Finland and Sweden — the United States was viewed as the *greatest* threat to peace, more menacing than Iran or North Korea.

In the Muslim world, opinions about the U.S. have been negative for decades, but in recent years that broad dislike has taken on an aspect of outright fear. In a 2003 Pew survey, majorities in seven of eight predominantly Muslim nations said they believed the U.S. may someday threaten their country — including 71% in Turkey and 58% in Lebanon.

Rising anti-Americanism is not confined to Western Europe and predominantly Muslim countries. In Brazil, 52% expressed a favorable opinion of the United States in 2002; by 2003, that number had dropped to 34%. And while the U.S. image in Russia has been on the upswing, it is still far below where it stood in 2002.

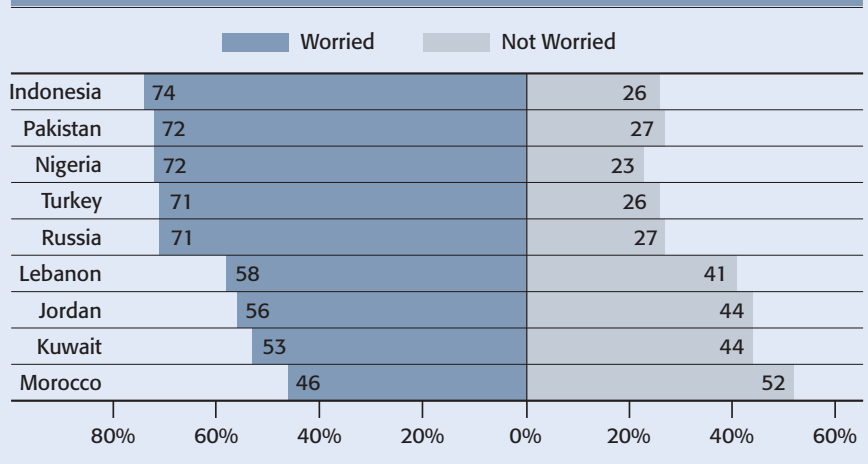
Doubts on Iraq, War on Terror

The 2004 presidential election showed that the American public is deeply divided over the war in Iraq. But except in the United States, reactions to the war are almost uniformly negative. The war in Iraq has badly frayed international unity in the war on terror and, more important, it has further undermined America's global credibility.

At least half the respondents in eight foreign countries surveyed in March 2004 view the U.S. as less trustworthy as a consequence of the war. Large majorities in almost every country surveyed think that American and British leaders lied when they claimed, before the Iraq war, that Saddam Hussein's regime had weapons of mass destruction.

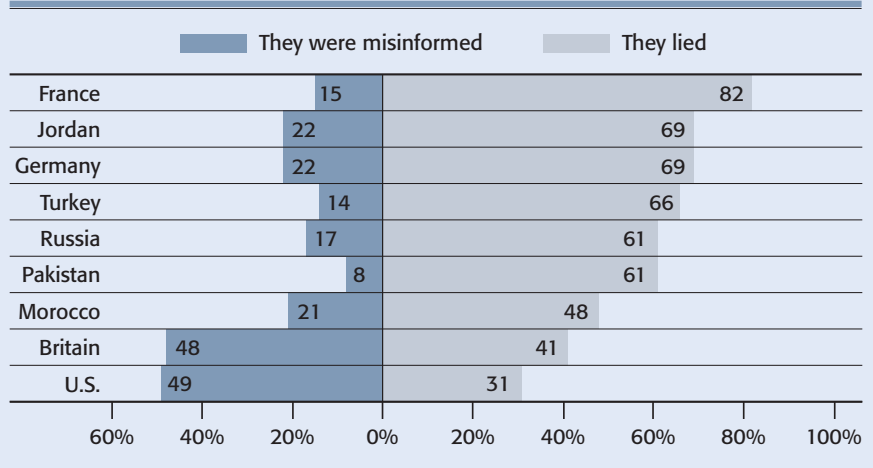
And the U.S.-led war on terror, which was once widely supported as a legitimate response to September 11, is being viewed with increasing skepticism. Many people in France (57%) and Germany (49%) have come to agree with the widespread view in the Muslim countries surveyed that the America is exaggerating the terrorist threat. Only in Great Britain and Russia do large majorities believe that the U.S. is right to be so concerned about terrorism.

Are You Worried about Potential U.S. Military Threat?



Source: Pew Global Attitudes, 2003

Did U.S. and British Leaders Lie about Iraqi WMD?

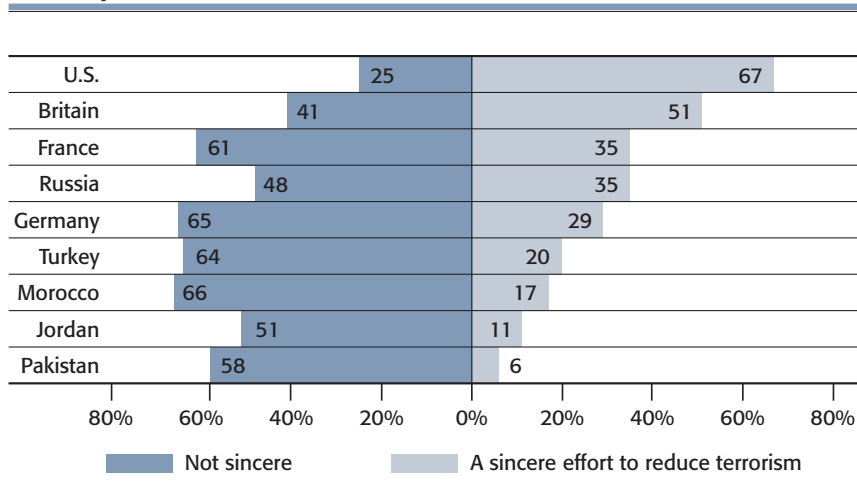


Source: Pew Global Attitudes, 2004

Moreover, this skepticism has caused many people around the world to question not just U.S. antiterrorism policies, but America's motives in the war on terror. In the March 2004 survey, solid majorities in Germany and France — and 41% of the British — said the war on terrorism is not a sincere effort to reduce terrorism.

What do these global skeptics think is America's real objective? In seven of the nine nations surveyed in 2004, majorities of those who doubt U.S. sincerity in the war on terror said America is seeking to control Mideast oil. Nearly as many respondents believe America's ultimate aim is nothing less than world domination. Majorities in the predominantly Muslims nations expressed that opinion, as did about half of the respondents in France and Germany.

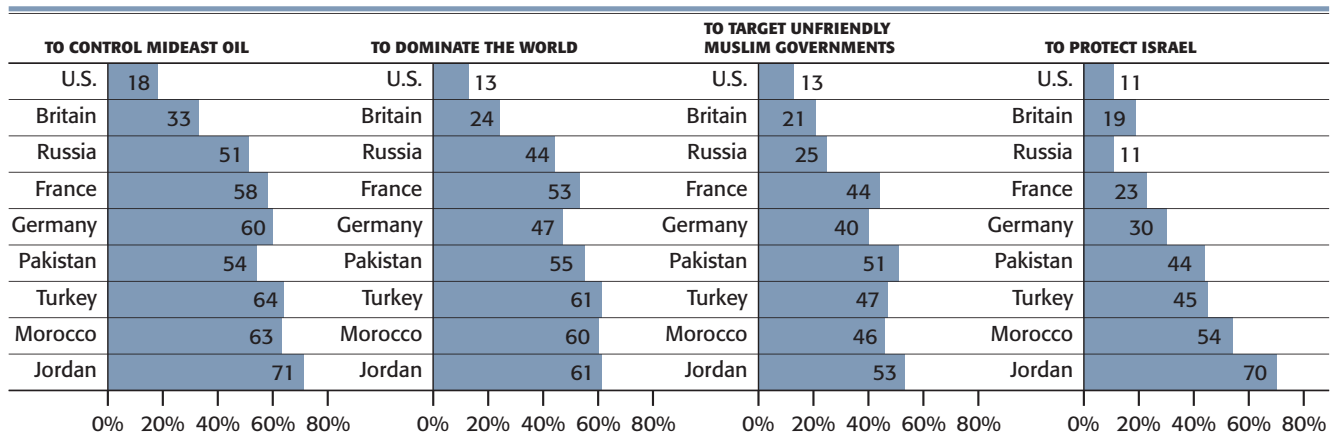
Sincerity of U.S. War on Terrorism



Source: Pew Global Attitudes, 2004

And while somewhat fewer people suspect the United States of deliberately targeting Muslim nations and using the war on terror to protect Israel, those perceived motives strike a chord with many in Muslim nations. In Jordan, for example, majorities doubt the sincerity of the U.S. war on terror for all of the reasons listed: They believe that the U.S. seeks Mideast oil; that it wants to dominate the world; that it targets Muslim nations, and that it is trying to protect Israel.

What Are America's Motives?



Questions asked of those who believe the war on terrorism is not a sincere effort, or who have mixed views. Percentages show the portion of the total population who believe each is an important reason the United States is conducting the war on terrorism. Source: Pew Global Attitudes, 2004

Americans, by contrast, overwhelmingly view the war on terrorism as a sincere effort to respond to a global threat. And just 13% of the public here believes the U.S. is overreacting to that threat. These attitudes carry over into significant differences of opinion — especially between the United States and its traditional European allies — over security and the use of force in the post-September 11 era. Respondents in Great Britain, France and Germany strongly endorse the idea of their governments' seeking U.N. approval before using military force. A plurality of Americans disagrees; on this point, Americans find more in common with people in Russia and predominantly Muslim countries, who also are reluctant to cede such power to the United Nations.

Other Policies Cause Friction

There are other major policy differences between Americans and people around the world. For Muslims, it has become almost an article of faith that the United States sides unfairly with Israel in its conflict with the Palestinians; 99% of Jordanians, 96% of Palestinians and 94% of Moroccans agree. So too do most Europeans.

This opinion is even widely shared in Israel itself — in May 2003, nearly half of Israelis said U.S. policy favors Israel too much. At that time, majorities or pluralities in 20 of 21 populations surveyed said U.S. policy was unfair, with Americans the lone exceptions.

But global opposition to strong U.S. support for Israel long predates the Bush administration. While the U.S. stance on the Middle East is a factor in longstanding hostility toward the U.S. among Muslim populations, America's international image has suffered much more as a consequence of the war in Iraq. Similarly, Europeans believe the United States does too little to solve world problems and backs policies that increase the yawning global gap between rich and poor. However, these sentiments also were evident well before the war in Iraq and the recent steep decline in favorable attitudes to the United States.

U.S. Middle East Policy

	FAVORS ISRAEL	FAIR	FAVORS PALESTINE	DK/REFUSED
	%	%	%	%
Jordan	99	1	*	*
Palestinian Authority	96	*	2	2
Morocco	94	1	2	3
Lebanon	90	5	1	4
Kuwait	77	14	1	8
Indonesia	76	6	4	14
Turkey	67	5	5	23
Pakistan	64	7	7	22
France	56	28	7	9
Germany	56	17	6	21
Spain	52	13	5	30
Great Britain	48	29	3	20
Israel	47	38	11	5
Italy	42	31	5	22
Canada	37	33	4	26
Russia	29	10	7	53
United States	27	47	8	18

Source: Pew Global Attitudes, May 2003

Global Objections to America's Foreign Policy

	U.S. DOESN'T SOLVE WORLD'S PROBLEMS*	U.S. INCREASES POVERTY GAP
	%	%
NORTH AMERICA		
Canada	68	68
WESTERN EUROPE		
France	74	69
Italy	60	58
Great Britain	60	53
Germany	47	70
EASTERN EUROPE		
Russia	54	53
Poland	52	49
Bulgaria	48	48
Slovak Republic	45	62
Ukraine	44	54
Czech Republic	38	54
CONFLICT AREA		
Egypt	78	42
Lebanon	68	73
Jordan	63	70
Turkey	63	63
Pakistan	58	39
Uzbekistan	55	40
LATIN AMERICA		
Venezuela	85	48
Bolivia	76	74
Mexico	74	55
Guatemala	69	55
Honduras	67	45
Argentina	65	67
Brazil	65	60
Peru	60	55
ASIA**		
Indonesia	76	53
South Korea	65	67
Vietnam	64	63
Japan	60	69
India	59	46
Bangladesh	53	41
Philippines	44	33
AFRICA		
Nigeria	76	22
Angola	69	56
Kenya	67	24
South Africa	66	41
Ghana	65	31
Uganda	64	36
Mali	59	49
Tanzania	56	48
Ivory Coast	53	51
Senegal	46	49

* Includes those who said the U.S. does "too much," those who said it does "too little," and those volunteering that the U.S. does "nothing."

** These questions were not permitted in China.

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Survey, 2002

Americans Liked Better Than America

For the most part, people in Western Europe retain a good opinion of Americans despite their opposition to the United States and many of its policies. But the French have increasingly soured on the American people in recent years; positive assessments of Americans have declined from 71% in 2002 to 53% two years later.

The image of Americans is not nearly as strong in predominantly Muslim countries, and it has eroded noticeably in Jordan and Morocco. In Morocco, a long-time U.S. ally in North Africa, 37% expressed a favorable view of Americans in 2004, down from 54% just a year earlier.

President Bush's reelection may influence how global publics view Americans. Throughout his first term, Bush was the lightning rod for the world's criticism of America's foreign policy. Now that the American people have awarded Bush a second term in a high-turnout election that focused to an unusual degree on foreign policy, it may be more difficult for the rest of the world to separate the presidential policies and leadership style it dislikes from the American people and values it admires.

Before the election, Bush was viewed extremely negatively by global publics. Majorities in every country surveyed in 2004 (except the U.S.) had an unfavorable opinion of the president, with negative ratings ranging from 57% in Great Britain (with 39% favorable) to 85% in both France and Germany. Six in ten Russians had an unfavorable view of Bush, as did two thirds of the people of Turkey. Feelings about Bush were nearly unanimously negative in Jordan (96% unfavorable) and Morocco (90%), and almost as low in Pakistan (87%).

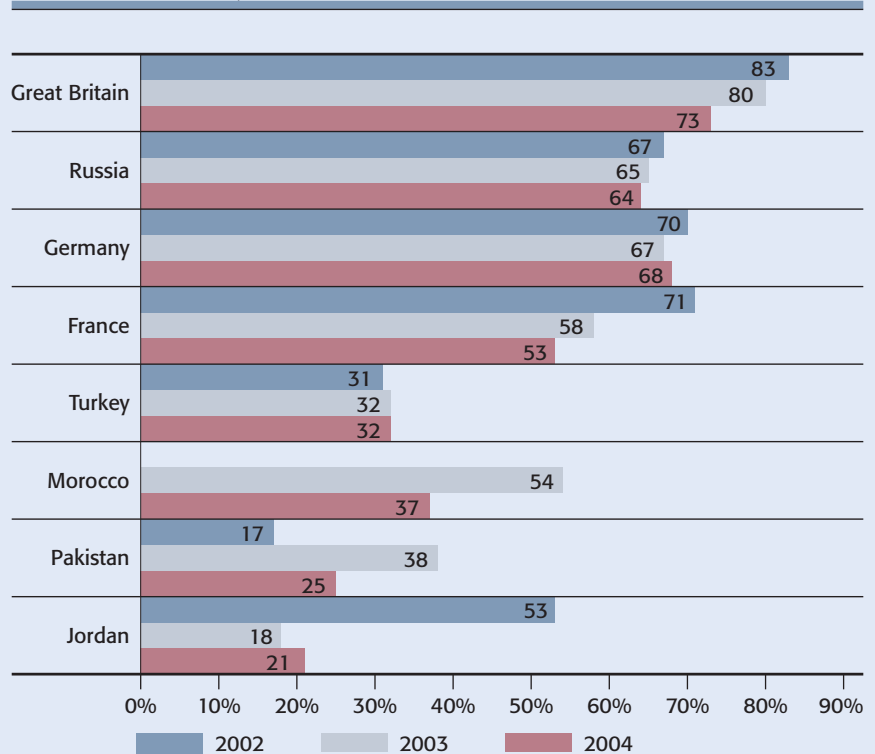
Enduring U.S. Strengths: Ideals, Technology

Despite the widespread hostility toward the United States and many of its policies, the democratic ideals that America has long promoted remain broadly popular. Freedom of speech, fair elections and an impartial judiciary are prized goals for people around the world. However, there is somewhat less support for these ideals in predominantly Muslim countries than in other developing countries.

Even globalization and expanded trade are widely supported, although people around the world are ambivalent about consumerism and the influence of American customs on their own country.

The love-hate relationship that people around the world have long had with things American is seen in conflicting attitudes toward U.S. technology and American pop culture. Our 2002 survey found broad admiration for U.S. technology. Even in Jordan, where both the United States and Americans are held in low regard, 64% of the people said they have a high opinion of U.S. technology.

Views of Americans, Percent Favorable



Source: Pew Global Attitudes

Commitment to Democratic Ideals

	IT'S VERY IMPORTANT TO LIVE IN A COUNTRY WHERE ...		
	PEOPLE CAN OPENLY CRITICIZE THE GOV'T.	THERE ARE HONEST, TWO-PARTY ELECTIONS	THE MEDIA CAN REPORT WITHOUT CENSORSHIP
REGIONAL MEDIANS	%	%	%
Latin America	71	66	67
Sub-Saharan Africa*	71	73	63
Eastern Europe	57	60	60
PREDOMINANTLY MUSLIM COUNTRIES			
Mali	79	82	68
Turkey	83	75	68
Bangladesh	81	71	64
Senegal	71	87	53
Lebanon	67	71	57
Pakistan	63	46	38
Indonesia	56	40	40
Uzbekistan	42	42	44
Jordan	32	28	35
SIGNIFICANT MUSLIM POPULATIONS			
Nigeria	68	75	69
Tanzania	56	62	42

* Includes African nations with relatively small Muslim populations: Angola, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, South Africa and Uganda. Questions not permitted in Egypt.

Source: Pew Global Attitudes, 2002

Note: Based on total national population. In nations with significant Muslim and non-Muslim populations (Lebanon, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Tanzania) an analysis of Muslim and non-Muslim responses shows no systematic differences by religion.

The World Likes American Popular Culture ...

	LIKE	DISLIKE	DK/REF.
NORTH AMERICA	%	%	%
Canada	77	17	6
WESTERN EUROPE			
Great Britain	76	19	5
Germany	66	29	5
France	66	32	3
Italy	63	29	9
EASTERN EUROPE			
Poland	70	22	8
Bulgaria	64	25	11
Czech Republic	59	37	4
Slovak Republic	58	39	3
Ukraine	55	42	3
Russia	42	50	9
CONFLICT AREA			
Lebanon	65	34	1
Uzbekistan	51	44	5
Turkey	44	46	10
Egypt	33	57	10
Jordan	30	67	3
Pakistan	4	79	17
LATIN AMERICA			
Venezuela	78	20	2
Honduras	71	25	4
Guatemala	70	26	5
Brazil	69	29	2
Mexico	60	30	10
Peru	46	43	11
Bolivia	39	54	7
Argentina	52	38	10

2002 Pew Global Attitudes Survey

And while most people around the world acknowledge they like American movies, music and television, they view the export of American ideas and customs as a bad thing. More than half of Canadians say it is unfortunate that American ideas and customs are spreading there. Europeans are even more adamant: 72% of French, 70% of Germans and 56% of Britons regard the spread of American culture negatively. In all of these countries, however, large majorities of respondents – especially young people – say they like American movies and other cultural exports.

... But Dislikes Spread of American Ideas and Customs

	GOOD	BAD	DK/REF.
NORTH AMERICA	%	%	%
Canada	37	54	8
WESTERN EUROPE			
Great Britain	39	50	11
Italy	29	58	12
Germany	28	67	6
France	25	71	4
EASTERN EUROPE			
Bulgaria	36	32	33
Ukraine	35	58	7
Slovak Republic	34	60	7
Czech Republic	34	61	6
Poland	31	55	14
Russia	16	68	15
CONFLICT AREA			
Uzbekistan	33	56	11
Lebanon	26	67	7
Jordan	13	82	5
Turkey	11	78	11
Egypt	6	84	10
Pakistan	2	81	17
LATIN AMERICA			
Venezuela	44	52	4
Honduras	44	53	4
Guatemala	40	53	7
Peru	37	50	13
Brazil	30	62	8
Mexico	22	65	13
Bolivia	22	73	5
Argentina	16	73	11
ASIA*			
Philippines	58	36	6
Japan	49	35	15
Vietnam	33	60	7
South Korea	30	62	8
India	24	54	22
Indonesia	20	73	7
Bangladesh	14	76	10
AFRICA			
Ivory Coast	69	31	0
Nigeria	64	31	6
Uganda	50	42	8
Ghana	47	40	13
South Africa	43	45	12
Kenya	40	55	5
Mali	35	61	4
Senegal	34	62	4
Angola	33	54	13
Tanzania	18	67	15

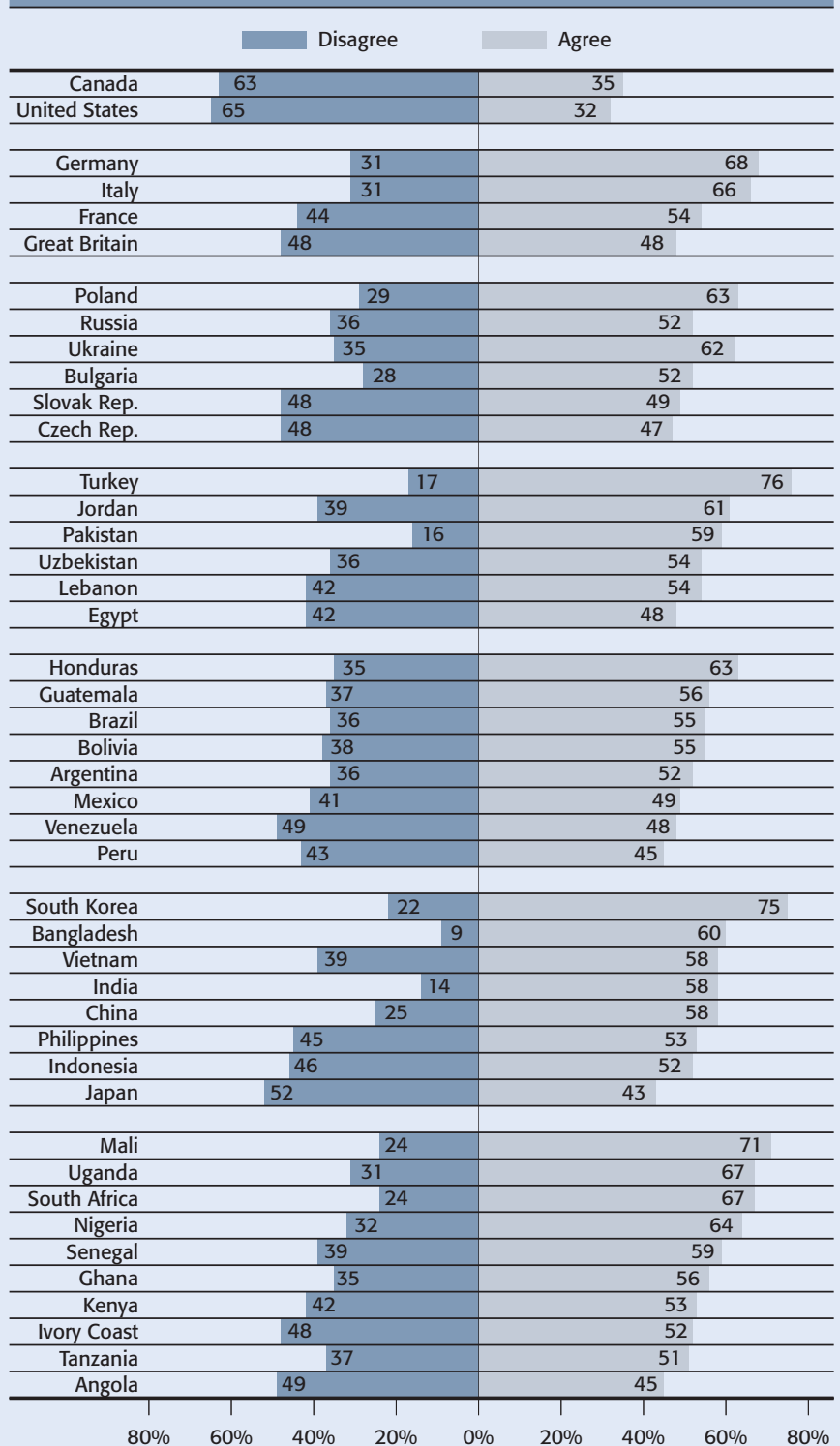
**This question was not permitted in China.
2002 Pew Global Attitudes Survey

Transatlantic Values Gap

During the 2004 presidential campaign, the European press devoted considerable attention to a seemingly vast and growing divide in values between America and its traditional allies in Europe. The Pew Global Attitudes Project has found that these differences, while substantial, are not new.

Americans prize individualism and personal empowerment more than do Europeans. For instance, Europeans generally agree that success is determined by forces that are outside an individual's control; Americans, along with Canadians, decisively reject that idea. In addition, there are profound disagreements between the United States and Europe over the role of government. For example, Europeans are much more supportive than Americans of a strong social safety net.

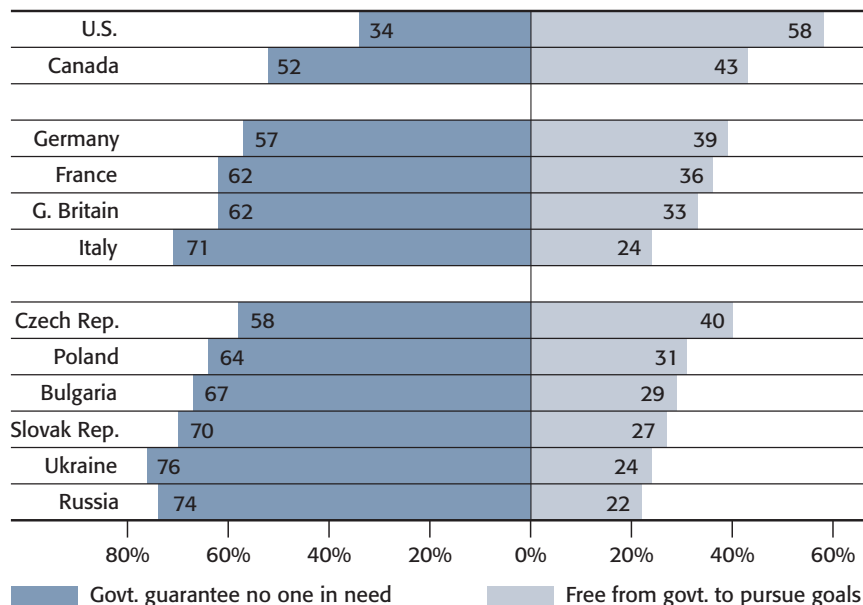
Success Is Determined by Forces Outside Our Control



Source: Pew Global Attitudes, 2004

How Much Should the Government Be a Safety Net?

WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT ...

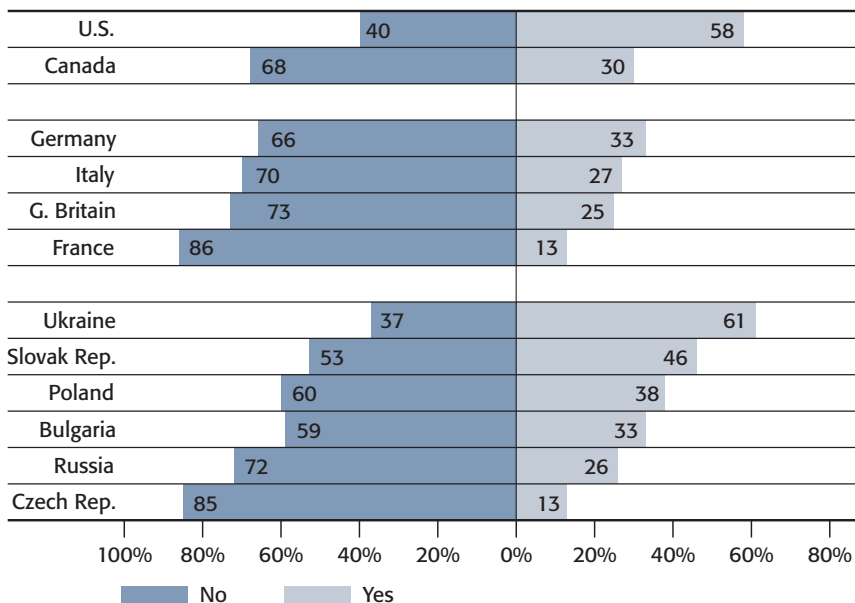


Source: Pew Global Attitudes, 2004

As much as any other single issue, religion has come to define the transatlantic values gap. Among wealthy nations, the United States has by far the most religious population – and it stands in sharp contrast to mostly secular Western Europe. In a 2002 survey, we found that a 58% majority in the U.S. viewed belief in God as a prerequisite to morality. Just a third of Germans and even fewer Italians, British and French agreed.

Yet it is also the case that these differences have been present for some time. The values gap is no larger than it was in the early 1990s, when the Times-Mirror Center conducted a “Pulse of Europe” survey. Moreover, when we asked global publics if tensions with the U.S. were based mostly on differences in policies or values, majorities in three of four Western European countries surveyed pointed to policies, not values, as the source of friction.

Necessary to Believe in God to be Moral?



Source: Pew Global Attitudes, 2002

Looking Ahead

As President Bush begins his second term, he faces a slew of foreign policy issues that have been a source of conflict between his administration and much of the rest of the world — from Iraq to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to a range of issues involving trade, globalization and the weakening of the U.S. dollar.

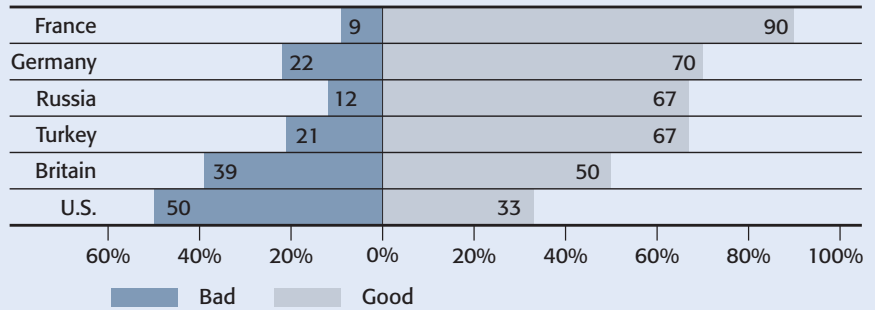
On many of these issues, the United States will be seeking cooperation and common ground with its European allies. But it was clear even before the presidential election that the populations of these countries favored a more distant relationship with the U.S. — and a more powerful counterweight to the U.S. in Europe.

Last year, just 40% of the British favored keeping the partnership between the U.S. and Western Europe as close as in the past, down from 51% a year earlier. In Germany, France, Russia and Turkey, there is even less support for maintaining close ties with the U.S. A majority of Americans, by contrast, want relations with Western Europe to remain as close as in the past.

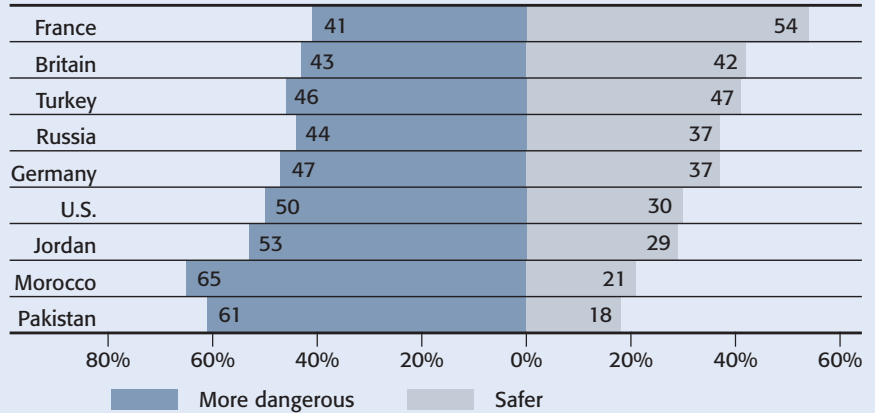
Moreover, half or more of the public in each of the five European nations surveyed in 2004 said it would be a good thing if the European Union becomes as powerful as the United States. The only saving grace for the U.S. in this regard is that there was much less support, in Western Europe and elsewhere, for another country emerging as a rival for the United States.

Checking America

WOULD IT BE A GOOD THING IF EUROPEAN UNION WERE AS POWERFUL AS THE U.S.?

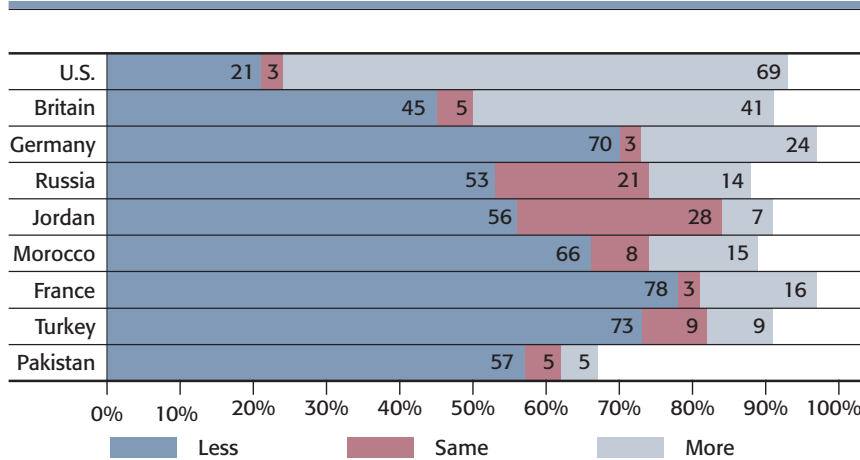


WOULD THE WORLD BE SAFER IF ANOTHER COUNTRY WERE AS POWERFUL AS U.S.?



Source: Pew Global Attitudes, 2004

Postwar Confidence that the U.S. Wants to Promote Democracy



Source: Pew Global Attitudes, 2004

Beyond Europe, the United States continues to face a dangerous deficit of credibility and goodwill. While populations of predominantly Muslim countries are not averse to democracy, they are skeptical of the administration's goal of promoting democracy in the Middle East. The war in Iraq has only intensified these doubts; in March 2004, majorities in Turkey, Jordan, Morocco and Pakistan said the war made them less confident that the U.S. wants to promote democracy.

Can these trends be reversed? Much will depend on the policy choices made in Washington and other global capitals. But much also will depend on the opinions and attitudes of people across an increasingly interconnected world. In the coming years, the Pew Global Attitudes Project will continue to provide a portrait of public opinion around the world. Our goal is to enable policymakers to better understand both the sources of tension between nations and the areas where common ground may foster increased international cooperation and security.

These findings are drawn from polls conducted by the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, a series of worldwide public opinion surveys. The project has issued two major reports, "What the World Thinks in 2002," based on 38,000 interviews in 44 nations, and "Views of a Changing World, June 2003," based on 16,000 interviews in 20 nations and the Palestinian Authority. The project also conducted a nine-nation poll in March 2004. Surveys were conducted by local organizations under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Full details about the surveys, and the project more generally, are available at www.pewglobal.org.