

# GLOBAL POLLING DATA ON OPINION OF AMERICAN POLICIES, VALUES AND PEOPLE

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## HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND OVERSIGHT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ONE HUNDRED TENTH CONGRESS

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## GLOBAL POLLING DATA ON OPINION OF AMERICAN POLICIES, VALUES AND PEOPLE

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TUESDAY, MARCH 6, 2007

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,  
HUMAN RIGHTS, AND OVERSIGHT,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, DC.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:08 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Bill Delahunt (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. DELAHUNT. The subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights and Oversight will come to order. This is our inaugural hearing, and I really look forward to the active term. I look forward to working with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, and I am going to take this opportunity to introduce those members who are in attendance as well as acknowledge staff. I want to particularly thank Genell Brown of the full committee staff who is helping out until our staff associate arrives next week. Genell, thank you. If you are there, raise your hand, take a bow. We would be in trouble without you.

To my right is Dr. Rossiter, Caleb Rossiter, who will be my staff on this particular hearing, and to his right is the vice chair of this particular committee, a very valued member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the gentleman from Missouri, Russ Carnahan. Russ, it is good to have you here, and to his right is a friend and a colleague who has made multiple contributions to the work of not just simply this committee but to the full committee as well as to Congress during his many terms, and that is Don Payne from New Jersey.

I am going to introduce majority staff first. Some are sitting out there in the audience. Natalie Coburn. Natalie, would you please stand up so folks can recognize you? And Phil Herr, who was detailed with us from the Government Accountability Office (GAO), and where is Cliff? Cliff Stammerman is to my rear. And of course Raimer Rezende. How could I? Please stand up.

I am really looking forward to working with the former chairman of this committee, the now ranking member. We had a series of hearings during the course of the past term that hopefully prove to be of value. He and I have an outstanding personal relationship, although on occasion we do disagree on policy issues, and that is my friend and colleague from California, Dana Rohrabacher. Dana, why do you not introduce your side of the aisle along with staff?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Well thank you very much. I am actually looking forward to this session. The last time around there were so many words that we had, and I am now looking forward to your term, and I am anxious to work with you. Look, sometimes people mistake the fact that when there is a disagreement between people that we in some way reflect some division among Americans.

Let me just note that the division among Republicans and Democrats could be maybe 10 percent or 20 percent maybe. In other countries the divisions among people are such that they are at each other's throats, and it is life and death, and often it is not a 20 percent difference but it is like an 80 to 90 percent difference. There is only a 10 percent that ties people together.

In our country, we are very, very blessed that we have people who come at things differently in terms of Republicans and Democrats that we are all pledging allegiance to the same flag, and what is interesting about the pledge of allegiance to the flag, it is pledge of allegiance to the fundamental principles that unites all Americans, and that is what it is all about.

I mean where we have some disagreement I will be fascinated to see how that plays out here in this subcommittee, having heard those of you for 2 years now, now that you are in charge how that plays out. So anyway let me just note the chairman has my respect and friendship, and we are the Subcommittee on International Organization, Human Rights, and Oversight for the International—I guess it is not the International Relations Committee. It is the Foreign Affairs Committee now. See, there is a big difference, right? Right there. There you go back to the future.

All right. Pardon me. We have two other members of the minority here in this subcommittee and Jeff Flake from Arizona, and, Jeff would you like to take 30 seconds or a minute's worth of what you have in mind?

Mr. FLAKE. I am just glad to be here.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. All right. That is good. And Ron Paul from Texas. So we have actually two of our most moderate members here, Ron Paul and Jeff Flake.

Mr. DELAHUNT. That is duly noted, Mr. Ranking Member.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Along with your ranking member, of course I am noted for my moderation as well. But with that, we have a tremendous opportunity here, and so I am looking forward to meeting with you in this subcommittee and making sure we get some things done. Phaedra Dugan is our staff appointee here who will be our designated driver when we are not around, and who is our designated support staff when we are around. So I look forward to everything, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Mr. Rohrabacher. And if I can just outline some ideas in terms of the procedure to be followed by the committee. I requested the Democratic members to resist the temptation to make opening statements, and I believe that Mr. Flake just gave an excellent opening statement. I think the time can be of more value in terms of listening to our witnesses.

What I would suggest, Mr. Rohrabacher, is that you and I, as a matter of course, make opening statements. I will make every effort to limit my opening statement to just several minutes. I have a more lengthy one today because this is our inaugural effort but

I think the idea of a closing statement is something that could prove to be of some value, particularly after we listen to the witnesses.

It is also my intention to limit the number of witnesses. Today's hearing of course we just have a single witness. I would hope that we can accomplish our work by having only a single panel, and it is also the intention of the Chair to allow members to inquire as much as they want. I will be very light with the gavel. I think we can agree that the 5-minute rule on many occasions has proven to be a hindrance to a good discussion about issues of consequence.

So I would anticipate that this particular subcommittee will distinguish itself on procedure. I am sure that at times we will find ourselves in matters that are controversial, and I think out of fairness to both majority and minority members that they should be able to inquire of witnesses so that they can elicit evidence. They can provoke, if you will, on occasion good, healthy exchanges, and of course I also wanted to note that we will be very open to suggestions from the minority as to areas that we should explore as a committee.

And I would note for the record that you and I have had a conversation about a subject of particular interest to yourself, and in due course—and I mean sooner than later—we will schedule a hearing on that particular issue. But let me proceed with my opening statement, and then I will turn to you, Mr. Rohrabacher, and then we will hear from our single witness.

It was just about 2 years ago that the nonpartisan Government Accountability Office noted that anti-Americanism is spreading and deepening around the world. What I found particularly disturbing was the GAO's conclusion that such anti-Americanism can first increase foreign public support for terrorism directed at Americans. Secondly, it can impact the cost and effectiveness of military operations. Third, it can weaken the United States' ability to align with other nations in pursuit of common policy objectives, and lastly, it can dampen foreign public enthusiasm for U.S. business services and products. It can have an impact on our commercial relationships.

Now, there have been multiple polls taken that seem to confirm America's image is suffering and that this decline has the potential to harm our national interests. These surveys have been conducted in different countries, in different regions of the world, and at different times. Has there been an improvement since this GAO report was released in April or 2005 or as a recent headline proclaimed, "Has America's Image Gone from Bad to Worse?"

Well, today we are beginning a series of hearings to review the work product of highly regarded professional pollsters and organizations who were responsible for gathering this data. I would note that several of these researchers have worked for executive branch departments or have consulted with them on a regular basis, including our witness today, Dr. Kull. Some of the questions we will address include: What can these polls teach us? Are there lessons that can be learned from this data? Can we determine the causes of this anti-Americanism that is so dangerous to our national interest?

Do the factors provoking a negative image of the United States vary from region-to-region? Is this negative image because of what we are, our values if you will or is it because of what we do, our policies? Is anti-Americanism a single unitary phenomenon or are there nuances and varieties that we should be aware of? How can we improve America's image? Is it through public diplomacy?

Former Ambassador to the United Nations, Richard Holbrooke, noted last week—and these are his words—“The administration does not appear to have a public diplomacy plan in hand that works” because if that is the case how can we address those concerns? Does it require a reenergized public diplomacy initiative or if it is clearly demonstrable that it is in our national interest to do so are substantive policy changes appropriate? Do we need to amend existing policies or recommend new strategies to improve America's interest and thereby advance our own national interest? These are not rhetorical questions. I am actually asking them in the hope that we can get some answers today and over the course of the next several weeks.

Our purpose is to establish an empirical record, to stimulate debate, to identify problems, analyze causes, and craft solutions where necessary. The consequences in this area can be so profound that I believe it is important to begin with a baseline of how our policies are working in terms of global perception. A reality check if you will predicated on the facts, not on opinions or anecdotal accounts, and with that and before I call on Dr. Kull, I yield to my friend from California, the ranking member, for any comments he wishes to make.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman—there you go—let me note that I am not a lawyer which was of course one of my actually most effective campaign slogans when I first ran for office, and vote Dana, at least he is not a lawyer, and I am a journalist by profession. I am a writer by profession, and I think that communications are an essential part of any successful strategy, whether it is foreign policy or domestic policy.

As many of you know, I actually worked as one of Ronald Reagan's speech writers for 7 years at the White House, and I had never written a speech. I had been a journalist before that but I had never written a speech for anyone prior to writing a speech for the President of the United States, and Ronald Reagan they called him the great communicator, and he sat down with us, and outlines how to write a speech that he would want and the prerequisites of what should be in the speech.

One of the prerequisites—interestingly enough—was to make sure that we got to the heart of the matter of course. The heart of the matter in any speech was—how do you say—was articulated in a way that would be, number one, very specific so people would understand what your position was but also that it would be easily translated. The President, when he sat down with the speech writers for the very first time, made sure these are there. Now look, there are people overseas who are not well-educated who have got to understand your words and what we are saying.

They not only have to be understood by the American people but you have got to actually—if I can say—well, Dana, you have got to make sure that we can translate it so average people overseas can

understand what we are trying to say as well. I think I did that okay. All right. And one wonders sometimes the problem is not the substance of policy, and sometimes it is the fact that what we do does not translate well or we do not take the time to translate well, and we have got to make sure that when we are advocating what we are advocating that it is put in terms that the people overseas—whether they agree with it or not—at least they fully understand where we are coming from.

I think that a certain amount of anti-Americanism and a certain amount of negative feelings toward the United States will always come due to the fact that we are in a leadership position. Great Britain had this same kind of animosity when it was the leading power of the western world. The United States being a leader in and of itself means that you are going to have to take people and force them to do things that they do not want to do or at least encourage them to do things that they do not want to do now in order to lead them to a situation where things will be better in the future, and it is always difficult to go through uncomfortable moments of changing the way you do things right now in order to have a better future.

That is the definition of a leader, however, is someone who actually encourages people to do that, and thus at the moment—whatever that moment is—the moment where change is happening that leader will not necessarily be a very popular leader. Perhaps the best example of that is Abraham Lincoln who we have the great monument to Abraham Lincoln in this city. He was the most hated President of the United States up until the last 6 months of his presidency, and there was no President more hated and vilified than Abraham Lincoln.

Well the United States is taking a leadership position as Abraham Lincoln did. Lincoln freed the slaves but he did so at a great disruption of the status quo. The United States now to be a leader if we are going to defeat evil forces in the world—which seems to be our job as leaders of the western world—we will have to create the changes of the status quo and all of the irritation that goes with that in order to make sure that we end up where we want the world to be.

I would suggest that realizing that people overseas are listening and that in listening then in our cause or at least giving them to be sympathetic with us, with what we have to do, what our country is trying to do should also be an admonition to those of us in public life and those of us who are debating the various issues of the day that we are mindful that what we say—even during political campaigns but especially during debate in Congress—that what we are saying is heard overseas, and that if we do not use prudent phraseology that that will cause much damage to our country when that may not be and it is obviously not the purpose of many Members of Congress who disagree with this policy or that policy.

So finally let me note that when we are talking about communication strategy we are not just talking about substance but substance is the most important issue, Mr. Chairman, whether or not the substance of American policy is right, is moral, that is the way we should go, and we need to focus on what the substance, how other people believe the substance but also the polls will indicate

whether or not we are effective at our communication strategy over and above whatever that substance is. So, Mr. Chairman, thank you for holding this hearing, and as a professional communicator instead of a lawyer, I will be very interested in hearing your witness. Thank you.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Dana. Well we are delighted to have Dr. Steven Kull with us today. He has for 15 years been the Director of the University of Maryland and the Center on Policy Attitudes globally recognized program on International Policy Attitudes or the acronym is PIPA. So, Dr. Kull, he has an extraordinary resume. Just let me mention that he has conducted briefings on public opinion for various government and international agencies, including the White House, the U.S. Congress, State Department, USAID, United Nations, NATO, the German Foreign Ministry, and the European Commission. The list goes on and on and on. It suffices to say that Dr. Kull is clearly one of America's premiere pollsters, and we look forward to your testimony. Dr. Kull.

**STATEMENT OF STEVEN KULL, PH.D., DIRECTOR, PROGRAM  
ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY ATTITUDES (PIPA)**

Mr. KULL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for inviting me here today to speak about world public opinion of the United States. I would like to request that my full testimony be entered into the record. For some years now at the Program on International Policy Attitude we have been studying world public opinion. We conduct focus groups in different countries. We do large multi-country polls as well as in-depth polls in specific countries, especially Muslim countries.

And as often happens in life, I have some bad news, and I have some good news, and it is often a good idea to start with the bad news which is what I am going to do. Now you probably heard that America's image is not particularly good these days. Our most recent evidence is a poll that we conducted for the BBC World Service, together with GlobeScan, in 26 countries around the world. The polling was done November through January, and the question asked is whether the United States is having a positive or negative influence in the world.

On average, 30 percent said that the U.S. is having a positive influence, 51 percent said that the U.S. is having a negative influence. In 20 of the 26 countries, the most common view is that the U.S. is having a negative influence, four countries were positive, two were divided. Views are consistently negative in Canada, Latin American and the Middle East.

They are mostly negative in Europe with the exception of Poland, which leans positive, and Hungary, which is divided. Africans in this poll and in general have the most positive attitudes toward the United States. In Asia, the views are more mixed. Filipinos are consistently quite positive. Indians are divided, and sometimes are positive but all others are clearly negative.

Now this reaction cannot be dismissed as something that is necessarily engendered by the fact that we are a powerful and rich country. During the 1990s, the views were predominantly positive. When we compare 1999 State Department data and more recent Pew data, we find that favorable views of the U.S. have dropped

sharply. In the UK positive views or favorable views were 83 percent and that has since dropped to 56 percent. In Germany from 78 to 37 percent. So you see this majority positive view in all these countries dropping: 77 percent in Morocco to 49, Indonesia from 75 to 30, and so on. Only Russia has held steady.

Now, these numbers are not simply a reaction to the United States decision to go to war in Iraq. The views of the U.S. did go down sharply in 2003 but now 4 years later they actually continue to move downward. Coming back to the BBC data, we have been doing this the last few years and we have 18 countries that have been constant, and the positive views of the U.S.—as you can see in that bottom line there—have drifted from 40 percent in 2005 to 36 percent in 2006 down to 29 in 2007, while that top line there in dark are the negative views that have risen from 46 to 52 percent.

Now, there are a few countries that do get lower ratings than the U.S. Just this morning we released a BBC poll that evaluated 11 different countries, and Israel, Iran and by some measures North Korea do receive lower ratings. But the United States is rated far lower than France, Japan, Canada, China, India and to some extent Russia.

Now these findings are consistent with other polls but polls that ask people to rate their feelings about the U.S. like on a temperature scale from 0 to 100—asking if you feel warm or cold toward the U.S.—do elicit positive ratings. For example, 62 percent of Australians say the United States is having a negative influence in the world but when asked how you feel about the United States, per say, they give a 60 degree response. So they have a warm feeling toward the U.S. per se even though they are critical of U.S. activities in the world or its performance in the world.

The views of the American people are somewhat more positive than for the country as a whole, and some countries are very positive. American movies and television get mixed reviews. American science and technology engender substantial respect around the world as well as the U.S. educational system. But the aspect of the U.S. that elicits the strongest negative feeling is U.S. foreign policy. How the U.S. is behaving in the world.

In a 14-country poll that we just did with the Chicago Council, large majorities in 12 of them said that the U.S. is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be. That is a theme that comes through in our focus groups quite a lot.

And when we looked in the BBC poll at six foreign policy areas, on average across the 26 countries, you find even larger majorities than the overall positive/negative number disapproving of how the U.S. is dealing with a number of areas: 73 percent disapprove of how the United States is handling the Iraq war; 67 percent disapprove of United States treatment of detainees in Guantanamo and other prisons; 65 percent disapprove of how the United States handled the war between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon; 60 percent disapprove of United States handling of Iran's nuclear program; 56 percent United States handling of global warming or climate change; and 54 percent disapprove of United States handling of North Korea's nuclear program.

The United States military presence in the Middle East is also quite unpopular. On average, 68 percent believe that U.S. military presence there provokes more conflict than it prevents, while on average only 17 percent see it as a stabilizing force.

Okay. So what is the good news? Well the good news is there is an abundance of evidence that the unhappiness with the U.S. is not about U.S. values. People around the world say that the problem that they have with the U.S. is about its policies not its values.

Even large majorities of Muslims say this in polls that we conducted for the University of Maryland START Center. Most Muslims reject the idea that there is a fundamental clash of civilizations between Islam and the west. Values of democracy and international law are more popular than al-Qaeda. In the focus groups that we have done around the world, the complaint we hear again and again is not about U.S. values. It is that the U.S. is hypocritical, that it is not living up to its values.

Now complaining that the U.S. is hypocritical is a kind of back-handed compliment because implicitly what they are saying is that if the U.S. were to live up to its values that would be something positive. The support for American values has deep roots. It goes back at least to the post World War II period. At that time the U.S. was so overwhelmingly powerful relative to the rest of the world that it really had the option of imposing an American empire. But it did not do that.

Instead it championed a world order based on international law and said that it too would be constrained by the system. It endorsed a system built around the United Nations that prohibited the unilateral use of force except in self-defense. The U.S. promoted democracy and human rights. It promoted a fair and open system of trade and free enterprise that did not favor the strong over the weak. And through its aid programs it also sought to integrate poor countries into the international economy.

And there is substantial evidence that the values and ideas for world order that the U.S. has promoted have been widely accepted. Here are just a few quick examples. In 72 countries polled for the World Values Survey nearly all agreed that democracy may have its problems but it is still better than any other form of government. In 30 out of 32 countries polled for BBC, most said that the United Nations is having a positive influence in the world, and in 19 out of 20 countries polled by GlobeScan a majority agreed that the free enterprise system and the free market economy is the best system on which to base the future of the world. The Chinese, by the way, were the most positive.

And there is no indication that support for these principles is in decline. The problem is this growing perception that the U.S. is not living up to the principles. In a recent poll that we conducted there were widespread perceptions that the U.S. is actually violating international law in its treatment of detainees at Guantanamo. The U.S. image as a promoter of human rights has diminished, as you can see in this slide. In 1998, the U.S. Information Agency found that 59 percent of the British and 61 percent of the Germans said that the United States was doing a good job of promoting human rights. Now 56 percent of the British and 78 percent of the Germans say the United States is doing a bad job. In a recent Pew

poll, 38 out of 43 countries felt that U.S. policies are worsening the gap between rich and poor.

But probably the most fundamental factor is that there is concern about whether the United States is constrained in its use of military force, and that is why there is so much concern about the invasion of Iraq. The complaint is not really that Saddam Hussein was removed. The complaint is that the U.S. did not play by the rules, that the U.S. did not get U.N. approval. That has left many countries uneasy about whether U.S. military power is constrained by the international system.

Now it might sound strange to Americans but in many countries around the world they perceive the U.S. as a military threat. They see it as a significant possibility that the U.S. will use military force against them, and we need to understand that this military power that the U.S. has is really overwhelming to people around the world, and they worry about it.

So in summary, the challenge we face is not convincing people of the principles that the U.S. has tried to promote to the world. The world is pretty much convinced, and the fact that this is so is a tremendous asset for the U.S. and something to really think about.

What the world is looking for is reassurance that the U.S. is constrained by the rules that the U.S. itself has promoted. And were people around the world to gain more confidence in U.S. intentions and perceive the U.S. as having a kind of renewed commitment to the values and principles that we have promoted, there are strong reasons to believe that attitudes toward the U.S. could shift rather quickly in a positive direction. Thank you for your attention.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kull follows:]

Testimony of Dr. Steven Kull

Director, Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA)  
Editor, WorldPublicOpinion.org

March 6, 2007 – 10:00 AM

House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International  
Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight

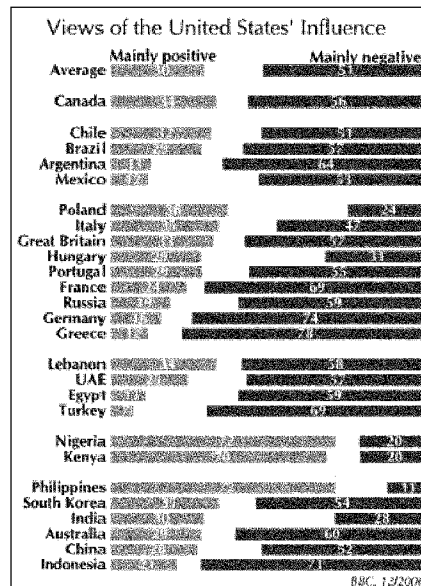
I would like to thank the chairman for inviting me speak today on world public opinion on the United States. For some years now, the Program on International Policy Attitudes has been studying world public opinion. We conduct focus groups and carry out large multi-country polls as well as in-depth polls in specific countries, especially Muslim countries.

As often happens in life I have some bad news and some good news. And as is often a good idea, I will start with the bad news.

You have probably heard that America's image in the world is not particularly good these days. The most recent evidence of this was a poll that we conducted for BBC World Service together with GlobeScan in 26 countries around the world. Polling was conducted last November through January. The question asked was whether the United States is having a positive or negative influence in the world.

On average across the 26 countries polled, 30 percent say the US is having a mostly positive influence in the world while 51 percent say the US is having a mostly negative influence.

In 20 of the 26 countries polled, the most common view is that the US is having a mostly negative influence in the world. In four countries, the most common view is that the US is having a mostly positive influence and in two of them, views are evenly divided.



Views of US influence are consistently negative in Canada, Latin America and the Middle East. They are mostly negative in Europe, with the exception of Poland, which leans positive, and Hungary, which is divided. Africans in this poll and in others have the most consistently positive views of the US. Asian views are more mixed, but lean negative. Filipinos are very positive and Indians are divided, but all others are clearly negative.

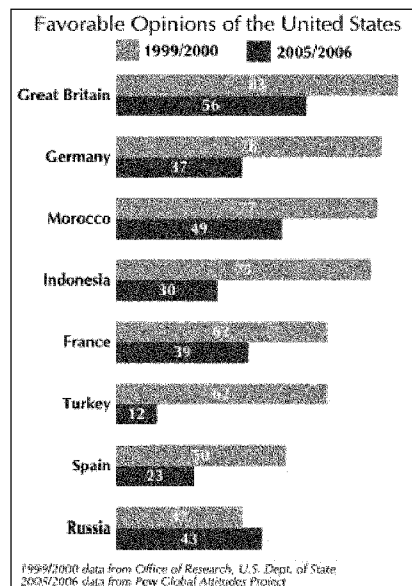
It should be noted that this reaction cannot simply be dismissed as something necessarily engendered by a powerful and rich country. The numbers we are seeing today are the lowest numbers that have ever been recorded.

During the 1990s, views of the US were predominantly positive. Comparing 1999 State Department data and recent Pew data, favorable views of the United States have dropped in the UK from 83 percent to 56 percent, in Germany from 78 percent to 37 percent, in Morocco from 77 percent to 49 percent, in Indonesia from 75 to 30 percent, in France from 62 to 39 percent, from Turkey from 62 to 12 percent and in Spain from 50 to 23 percent. Only Russia has held steady.

These numbers are also not simply a reaction to the US decision to go to war in Iraq. Views of the US did go down sharply after the beginning of the Iraq war in 2003. But now, nearly four years later, they continue to move downward.

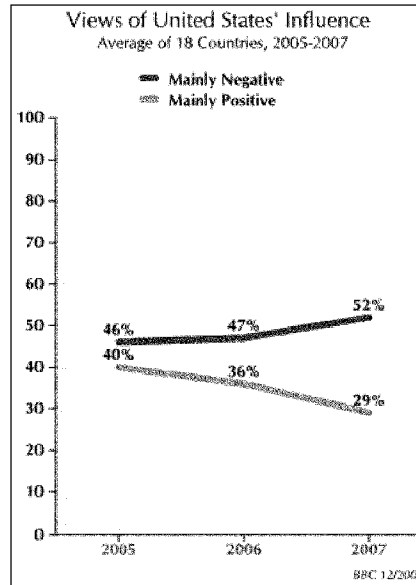
As part of the BBC poll, we have asked the same question about US influence over the last three years to a set of 18 major countries and have found that evaluations continue to move downward. On average, across the 18 countries, positive views of the US have slipped from 40 percent in 2005 to 36 percent in 2006 to 29 percent in 2007. Negative views have risen from 46 percent in 2005 to 52 percent in 2007.

There are a few countries that get lower ratings than the US. In a BBC poll that we just released this morning, Israel, Iran, and by some measures, North Korea, received lower ratings. However the US is rated far lower than France, Japan, Canada, China, India and Russia.



Overall these findings are largely consistent with other polls that have asked different questions. Some polls suggest more positive attitudes toward the United States per se. Polls that have asked respondents to rate their feelings toward the US as warm or cold on a 0-100 thermometer-like scale, find relatively more positive ratings. For example, 62 percent of Australians say the US is having a negative influence in the world, but their average thermometer rating is a relatively warm 60 degrees.

Views of the American people are also somewhat more positive than for the country as a whole. Europeans, Russians, Indians and Japanese all express quite positive feelings toward the American people. Views in Muslim countries are mixed but still noticeably warmer toward the American people than toward the US itself.



American movies and television programs get mixed reviews while American science and technology engender substantial respect around the world.

The aspect of US behavior that elicits the strongest negative feeling is how the US government deals with other countries. In a recent 14-country poll that we did with the Chicago Council, large majorities in 12 of them said that "the US is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be." In a recent Pew poll of 16 countries, 12 said that the US does not take the interests of their country into account when making foreign policy decisions.

The BBC poll asked about six specific areas and found that majorities or pluralities in most countries disapprove of US foreign policy in all of them.

On average:

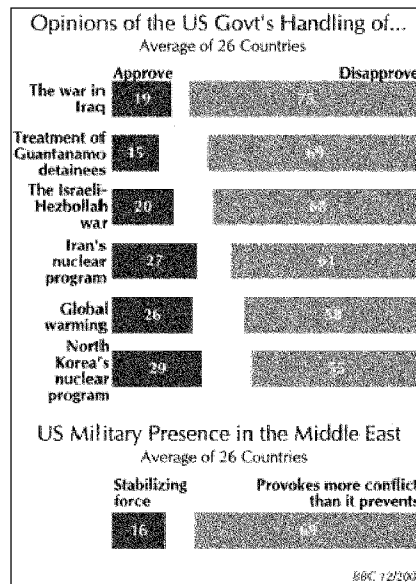
- 75% disapprove of the how the US is handling the Iraq war,
- 69% disapprove of US treatment of detainees in Guantanamo and other prisons,
- 68% disapprove of how the US handled the war between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon,
- 61% disapprove of US handling of Iran's nuclear program,

- 58% disapprove of US handling of global warming or climate change
- 55% disapprove of US handling of North Korea's nuclear program

The US military presence in the Middle East is exceedingly unpopular in virtually all countries. On average 69 percent believe the US military presence there "provokes more conflict than it prevents" while just 16 percent see it as a stabilizing force.

So what is the good news?

The good news is that there is an abundance of evidence that the unhappiness with the US is not a rejection of US values. People around the world say that the problems they have with the US concern its policies, not its values.



Large majorities of Muslims also say this in polls that we conducted for the University of Maryland's START center. Most Muslims reject the idea that there is a fundamental clash of civilizations between Islam and the West. Values such as democracy and international law are more popular than the ideas of al Qaeda.

In focus groups that I have conducted throughout the world, the most common complaint I hear is not about American values but that the US is being hypocritical; that it is not living up to its values. Complaining that the US is hypocritical is a backhanded compliment. The implicit statement is that if the US were to live up to its values this would be something positive.

This support for American values has deep roots that go back to the period immediately after World War II. At that time US was so overwhelmingly powerful relative to the rest of the world that it would have been able to impose an American empire.

But it did not do that. Instead the US championed a world order based on international law and said that it too would be constrained by this system. It endorsed a system built around the United Nations that prohibited the unilateral use of force except in self defense, and respected national sovereignty. It promoted democracy. It promoted respect for human rights within countries and in dealings between countries. It promoted an equitable and open system of trade and free enterprise that did not favor the strong over

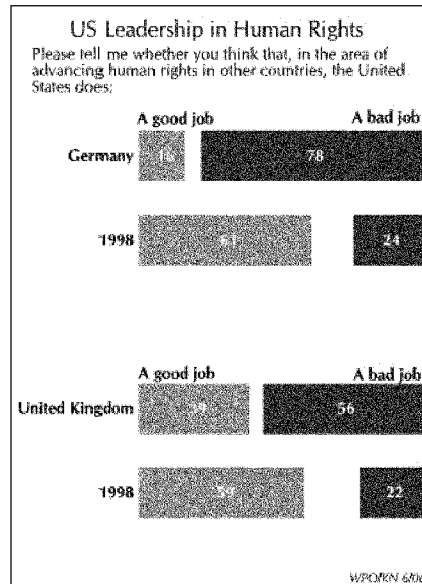
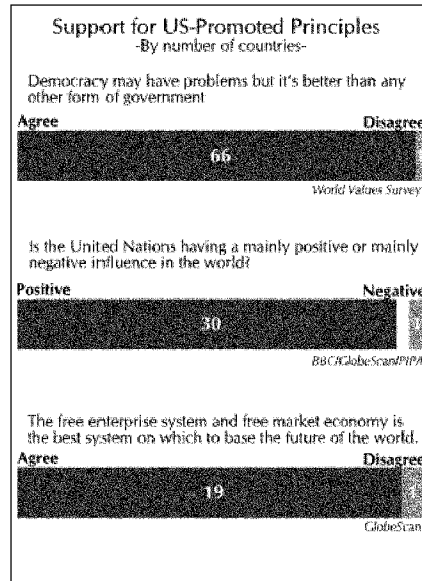
the weak. And through its aid programs it sought to integrate poor countries into the international economy.

There is substantial evidence that the values and the ideas for world order that the US promoted have become widely accepted. In 66 out of 67 countries polled for the World Values Survey, most agreed that "Democracy may have its problems but it is still better than any other form of government." In 30 out of 32 countries polled for BBC, most people said that the UN is having a positive influence in the world. In 19 out of 20 countries polled by GlobeScan, a majority agreed that "the free enterprise system and free market economy is the best system on which to base the future of the world." And there is no significant indication that support for these principles is in decline.

The problem is that of late there has been a growing perception that the US is not living up to its principles. In a recent poll we conducted we found widespread perceptions that the US is violating international law in its treatment of detainees at Guantanamo.

The US image as a promoter of human rights has diminished. In 1998, USIA found that 59 percent of the British and 61 percent of Germans said the United States was doing a good job promoting human rights. Today, 56 percent of the British and 78 percent of Germans say the US is doing a bad job.

Contrary to the United States' history of largesse, a Pew poll found that in 38 out of 43 countries most felt that US



policies were worsening the gap between rich and poor, .

But perhaps the most fundamental issue is whether the US is constrained in its use of force. This is why there is so much concern about the US invasion of Iraq. The complaint about Iraq is not so much that US forces removed Saddam Hussein. Rather it is that the US did so without getting UN approval; that it did not follow the international rules that the US is perceived as originally promoting.

This has left many countries uneasy about whether the potential use of US military power is constrained by the international system. While it may sound strange to Americans, in many countries around the world people express strong fears that the US will use military force against them. This included Pakistan, Lebanon, Jordan, Indonesia, Russia, Nigeria and Morocco where majorities perceived the US as a military threat to their country according to polls done by Pew in 2003 and 2005. This was even true of Turkey—our NATO ally—and Kuwait—a country the US has defended. It may be hard for us to understand how overwhelming US military power appears to other countries and how easily they worry that the US might use it.

So in summary, the challenge we face in dealing with the recent upsurge in negative feelings about US foreign policy, is not that we need to convince people of the value of the principles the US has tried to promote in the world. The world is already pretty much convinced. This is a tremendous asset for the US.

What the world is looking for is reassurance that the US is constrained by the rules that the US itself has promoted; that it is still committed to the rule of international law, to limits on the use of military force, to respect for human rights, and to fairness in the world economic system.

Were people around the world to gain more confidence in US intentions and perceive the US as having a renewed commitment to the values we have successfully cultivated in the world, there are strong reasons to believe that attitudes toward the US could shift rather quickly in a positive direction.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well thank you, Dr. Kull, for some fascinating testimony. I am going to reserve my time, and yield to the vice chairman of the committee for his questions, the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Carnahan.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and welcome again. To the ranking member, I am going to try to use my communications skills and my lawyer skills here today. So I hope you will not hold that against me. I also was hoping that the Doctor would tell us that we had hit rock bottom, and part of the good news was that we had nowhere to go but up. But when you look at these trend lines, it certainly looks like we could continue to slide if things do not turn around.

I guess I wanted to ask your thoughts. When I look at these opinion questionnaires from around the world, if you look by region you look at our immediate neighbors—Canada and Mexico—large negative numbers. You look at our traditional allies in Europe, again complete flip-flop in a decade and large negative numbers, and the region where our military action has taken us in recent years that we are supposedly helping has large negative numbers. I guess is there any other historical context—you mentioned post World War II where we saw a similar phenomenon—or is where we are today unique in history?

Mr. KULL. It is definitely unique. We have never seen numbers this low, and as far as our neighbors and our allies, you know it is the ones you love who can disappoint you the most, right? And our allies in Europe are particularly those who embrace this model of world order, these principles that the United States was promoting. Because of that, there is a more distinct sense of disappointment. Those who were less involved in that process of developing and promoting that order do not have as distinct expectations.

Mr. CARNAHAN. And so what is different about where we are today versus say where we were after World War II? What are the differences that you see or that this data shows you?

Mr. KULL. Well I think there are just stronger doubts about whether the U.S. is constrained, whether the U.S. has basically abandoned the system that the U.S. established in the post World War II period. The U.S. garnered quite a lot of goodwill for the kind of order that it promoted in that period, and now there are questions about whether the U.S. is not just not living up to it but whether it is effectively abandoning it, and people are looking for reassurance that the U.S. is still with the program that it was originally promoting.

Mr. CARNAHAN. What I am hearing you describe is really in the area of our engagement in the international community and the very values that we promoted after World War II. You are saying there seems to be a disconnect.

Mr. KULL. Yes.

Mr. CARNAHAN. In where we are today.

Mr. KULL. Right. The problem is not really anti-Americanism. It is not a rejection of what America traditionally has stood for. If anything, it is disappointment that the U.S. is not living up to that image as much as the people around the world have come to expect.

Mr. CARNAHAN. And the particular American principles that you referenced in your chart in terms of democracy, in terms of the United Nations and free enterprise system, were there other traditional principles that were discussed beyond that?

Mr. KULL. Well a sense of fairness, about the U.S. including other countries in a singular trading system, encouraging other countries, helping them develop, trying to bring them in, and there are some perceptions the U.S. is not playing fair as much as it did in the past.

Mr. CARNAHAN. The other thing I would like to follow up on; you mentioned there seemed to be a very clear difference between the attitude toward Americans versus the attitude toward U.S. policies. Is that unique as well?

Mr. KULL. In terms of history, in the past it was more consonant, and Americans and what America represented were more of a singularity. Now it is something you hear very often in focus group that we like the people but we do not like what the government is doing. This distinction is something they really underscore, and it does come through in quite a few polls. It is not that in polls large majorities say they like the American people. But it is overall a more mixed picture and definitely more positive.

Mr. CARNAHAN. Is your polling also indicating a personification of this in our President or the Bush administration?

Mr. KULL. Yes. A lot of it is directed toward the President, the image of the President, which is not real popular.

Mr. CARNAHAN. I thank you. I yield back.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I call on the ranking member, Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much. During the 1980s, let us say mid 1980s, 1983 to 1985, I just noticed there is a poll here that suggests, a *Newsweek* poll showed that 25 percent of the French approved us. It may not be the best country to use the example. Was that reflected in other people's disapproval as well?

Mr. KULL. There has really been no time for which we have data that shows the broad level of dissatisfaction with U.S. foreign policy that we find today. Certainly there are going to be specific countries in specific cases that—

Mr. ROHRABACHER. It is just that I do remember that during the height of the Cold War—I was working at the White House at the time—that there were demonstrators, and every time we tried to counter any move by the Soviet Union whatsoever, public opinion in Europe, in particular western Europe, was being manipulated, and a huge effort by—as we all remember that the Communists really understood communications. If they knew anything, they knew about propaganda.

And you had America being portrayed as the war monger during the 1980s—I remember that very well—at a time when we were simply trying to counterbalance the intermediate range missiles that the Soviet Union had just put in place in eastern Europe, and everybody remembers the nuclear freeze movement which was what? The Soviets dramatically increased their intermediate range weapons, and then called for a freeze which would have of course put them at a dominant position.

However, public opinion I do not believe—and I think this is what this *Newsweek* poll is all about—public opinion in Europe did

not recognize that at all. So again does not leadership in some way—and the tougher the moment—does it not lead to at that moment in history a very negative view of what history in the end might consider it to be a very important leader and an important stand?

Mr. KULL. Yes. There have definitely been times when people around the world have been frustrated with certain aspects of U.S. foreign policy. However, throughout those periods when you actually looked at all the polling data and got the general public's point of view, it tended to produce a response of, Oh gee, it is not as bad as I expected, when you took the world public as a whole. But that has changed. Before it was really more focalized in certain critical subgroups that may have resonated more broadly but now you have something that is more broad based.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Let me note that during the Reagan years when he decided that we were going to push to defeat Communism rather than just try to get by while he was in office—which all our other Presidents had done—during that time period President Reagan was vilified and his poll numbers were extraordinarily low in western Europe until of course the Berlin wall came down, and Ronald Reagan became deified, and now he probably has one of the highest levels of approval of any of the Presidents we have had except for John Kennedy who of course was cut short but was able to remain an ideal in people's mind.

So maybe is it possible that if we are successful in this war against radical Islam—which again is creating all sorts of uncomfortable feelings because you are having to go through a crisis that you did not necessarily want to go through. That is what leaders do. They put you in a crisis moment to make sure the future is better. Do you not think that perhaps our poll numbers might go up if for example radical Islam is defeated or if after 5 years from now we see a shift in Islamic countries toward a more democratic process rather than toward radical Islam?

Mr. KULL. Nothing succeeds like success. No question about it. There is though a persisting question that people have about whether the U.S. is constrained. So even if the U.S. uses its force effectively, people can still have nervousness about who is next, and whether that could lead to action that might produce instability in the region and that kind of thing.

So there is a kind of ongoing question about what is the modus operandi in the U.S., not just the outcome of its efforts. But certainly if the U.S. succeeds in any way, that is going to have a positive impact.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes. In terms of a negative view in some countries of course—or not just some countries—but many countries do not have a free press, and do you think it is really possible for us to impact on public opinion in countries where the news media is controlled by the government, and the government may be hostile to American objectives?

Mr. KULL. Yes, that certainly makes it considerably more difficult, though people in many countries know how to interpret their press to some extent. Certainly North Korea would be an example of one where that control is rather complete. But with the Internet now, information flows considerably more freely.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Which is interesting again back to a historical analysis. While during that time period Ronald Reagan was very unpopular in Western Europe, I might add that in Poland and in Czechoslovakia and in Hungary and all of these eastern European countries that had a controlled press by the Communists, the public opinion was actually more positive for the United States.

Mr. KULL. And it continues to be the case. Poland consistently leans positive toward the United States. That has drifted downward recently but they are still on the positive side and Hungary is divided.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Let me note I think your polling data is fascinating, and I think it is accurate of course. You have done a good, professional job at this, and we appreciate you stimulating the discussion.

Mr. KULL. Thank you.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. A couple things like historically what happens during times of change and crisis leaders do get blamed. Abraham Lincoln got blamed. But also what do you think is the possibility that a lot of public opinion overseas is based on what I call the perfect and ideal spouse concept? You know when you live with someone every day and you love your wife or your husband, after awhile you begin just focusing on maybe some of their bad parts and forget some of their good parts, and then you begin comparing them. I do not know if that ever happens in your family.

Mr. KULL. Yes, I can imagine.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. But what about the fact that America now is so much part of everybody's life around the world that they are comparing us to an ideal rather than what may be a real alternative, and what someone you know ends up with is not going to be an ideal spouse anyway?

Mr. KULL. Right. This kind of complaint about the U.S. is a perennial that has been going for decades. The U.S. holds out such high ideals that yes, it always to some extent falls short but that has been a constant for some decades.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I see.

Mr. KULL. And something has happened more recently that is sharper where people are showing more genuine nervousness about again whether the U.S. is not just living up to its ideals but whether it has actually begun to depart from them, and is actually following some new model of its role in the world.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Well thank you very much. I appreciate this. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Yes, and now I will yield to Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. It is amazing to find out that other countries will fear the United States and all the other countries in the world including China and Israel and all the rest maybe and maybe 10 or 15 all put together so that the tremendous amount of money that we are spending, \$600 billion annually on defenses is something that is kind of surprising me.

Back in 1967, I traveled through Russia in the back parts down the Don River and Volga River and way back in the rural parts on a boat, and every place we were able to find kind of literature. The Russian people had this—the people, the government evidently forced it on them—that this imperialistic group was going to come,

and it was so surprising to me because you know being a good American citizen I had this very positive image of us, and those poor Russian people were scared to death of the United States coming in because they had lost so many people in World War II.

And that was the first time I saw the other side of how people feared us because we were always the ones that are uplifting the world and helping everybody, and we are truth and so forth. I just have a couple of questions. I wondered do the average person—evidently they do know something about Kyoto and climate change and our refusal to have shared sacrifice and that kind of thing. You know we still have got to have the air condition. Do not care what about the ozone layer.

But do they know also about agricultural subsidies, for example? It really does a job on say farmers in other countries with the \$300 billion that is subsidized annually by United States and Europe so that countries in developing worlds they cannot sell anything because our subsidies keep our prices at a level where they cannot compete. Does that kind of get into it too or do they know much about the Doha rounds and the Uruguay rounds and that?

Mr. KULL. We do not really know. I wish we did but we do find evidence that there is a perception that the U.S. policies increase the gap between rich and poor. That there is some kind of lack of fairness, and I would imagine that some of that feeling is related to the agricultural subsidies because that has been one of the most high profile complaints about U.S. trade policy.

Mr. PAYNE. The other things that—

Mr. KULL. On the climate change too I might add when we did an analysis attitudes about climate change in terms of U.S. foreign policy were a powerful driver in affecting the overall attitude about U.S. role in the world. To an extent that surprised us. I do not know how many people know about Kyoto, but there is some kind of perception that the U.S. is not doing its part in addressing the climate change issue.

Mr. PAYNE. There is also you know some of these international positions that we want just for America for example, and I wonder if that has a way of working itself down. For example, the International Criminal Court we say no, it should not be only because you know we do not want to fall under ICC indictment for example or even in more particular Article 98 which is the article of Rome where United States wants our military to be excluded from the rest of the world, and if you do not sign a waiver to Article 98 in countries you cannot have U.S. training or military or other kinds of assistance.

And so a number of our best friends like the Barbados and Jamaica and South American countries, even Kenya which has the most positive policies to the United States than any country in the world, American military planes can land in Kenya. Just say we are coming in. No place in the world you can do that.

Yet and still Kenya is restricted under this Article 98 where they cannot get parts to planes that they bought from the United States, and the U.S. is really hampering their ability to defend themselves even in the area where you have so-called rising of Islamic fundamentalism. Somalia is right next to Sudan. We want Kenya. I mean Somalia is right next to Kenya. We want Kenya to keep an

eye on them but we will not sell them the parts because they will not sign Article 98.

Now some of these policies are just you know create one last one like that is in the Caribbean now. You know you could go to Bermuda and those places with just showing you know a driver's license or whatever. Now the U.S. is requiring a passport to go to their country because they want you to have a passport to come back. These are U.S. citizens.

So they are saying you know we have got all these regulations now. Our ports and we have got to spend all this money building up the ports. We have no terrorists. So we are the recipient of the hatred of the United States, and it is costing us tourists now. They got to have a passport to come. We do not care if you have a passport or not. Just come and go back where you came from. Just leave you know some money.

But now it is hampering all those things. So I guess collectively these little things kind of a little thing over here, a little thing over there, the United States sued Britain on bananas because they said that Chiquita banana, an American company, did not want the Lome treaties. They gave a preference to these little teeny islands that all they do is sell bananas. So Britain said, well we will buy them at the same price that we buy Chiquita you know even though they are not as pretty.

The United States sued the Caribbean countries. So now they have got no more banana trade because Chiquita just wants to sell them all. They are in South America you know. So I just wonder if a little bit here and a little bit there I guess is the question because these policies really when a low guy who used to grow some bananas, that is all they can do in that country, and now they do nothing, and now drugs are coming in, and you know they are losing out. I guess these kinds of the things you are talking about rather than the values of American people.

Mr. KULL. Right. I do not know what the specific attitudes are on the banana issue, but, again, we find this perception that the U.S. plays a kind of hardball, that the U.S. does not always take into account the needs of other countries that may not be as strong as the U.S. The U.S. not participating in the International Criminal Court goes along with this image that the U.S. is not willing to be subordinate to the rules that it has promoted for others to be subordinate to.

And so this theme of a lack of reciprocity comes up in polls and in focus groups, a perception that the U.S. sees itself as a kind of special case that the rules do not apply to it the same as to other countries. This bothers people. And it is the kind of thing that just spontaneously comes out of them in focus groups.

Mr. PAYNE. Okay. I have just got two quick questions. It is only going to take a half a second. One, the age bracket, do you find more anti-Americanism in the younger people or the older people like in Korea the old people know we saved Korea from the Communists? Younger people are saying well you know we are Koreans, North and South, why can we not all get together. Have they been able to find a divide?

Mr. KULL. The short answer is no that there are not really distinct differences. The younger people are more responsive to Amer-

ican culture and outside influences in general but there is not a real sharp difference in terms of attitude or general U.S. foreign policy.

Mr. PAYNE. And just finally the places where you have the most positive attitudes toward the United States is really the places that we really ignore the most like Africa. You know I have been trying to get you know the United States to look at Africa, its potential and all that, and still people love America. They really wish we would pay some attention. I mean we have not built a school in Africa in I do not know when. So the Saudis go in, and they will build them, and they will put their teachers in, and then we wonder.

And even in spite of all that stuff that is being done by some of the people who are anti-U.S., we still cannot get you know two wooden nickels rubbed together. I have to agree that in HIV and AIDS I have to commend President Bush and the PEPFAR program that we pushed him to do but he could have resisted it. So that helping HIV and AIDS is helpful, and we are certainly far from enough but it is much more than what we saw before the PEPFAR program.

Mr. KULL. Well these numbers in Africa do show how much foreign aid can be helpful because that is a significant part of how Africans perceive the United States. Also corporations coming in and setting up companies and stimulating the economy. All that has a positive association in Africans and polls say that they have these positive views, and it seems that is their image of the United States more than how it uses military force or what its trade policies are at a more abstract level, and they know about some jobs that have been created by some efforts by the U.S., and that is definitely a positive.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Mr. Payne, and I now go to the distinguished gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Flake.

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I wanted to follow-up on the African question. Have you seen other polling—I know this only includes Kenya and Nigeria—but is this shared common wide in the sub-Saharan?

Mr. KULL. Yes. We have done some polls of 8 to 10 African countries, and this general sentiment does come through throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

Mr. FLAKE. You mentioned that trade is more abstract. That people do not see that as much as foreign aid but—

Mr. KULL. And investment.

Mr. FLAKE. In this case though we through AGOA and AGOA II have created more of an atmosphere where trade and investment can take place. I mean I am not suggesting—

Mr. KULL. Yes. And I think that probably contributes to the positive view.

Mr. FLAKE. Let me just move briefly to we do have some programs over at State, some of which are authorized. Authorization has gone out. Boards and commissions to help the U.S. craft a better image across the world. What is your opinion on commissions like these, on advisory boards and others from the private sector to come in and advise our Government agencies on what in terms of both policy and style I guess to better our image?

Mr. KULL. Well I think probably any reflection on the problem is helpful. I would just encourage those commissions to include some information about general public opinion as well because the information that passes through governments or the kinds of elites that many American leaders, corporations and so on deal with may or may not be truly representative.

Mr. FLAKE. But is all of this so much on the margin basically trying to put a better face on policies that countries may not like or they do like already or can that make a substantive difference?

Mr. KULL. Well I think the key thing is to include that information about the public diplomacy implications in the policy making process. It is not something that you do public diplomacy over here and you do policy over here. I think you need to take into account the cost and benefits of particular policies to public diplomacy as part of the general calculation of the pluses and minuses of any specific policy.

Mr. FLAKE. With regard to our refusal in some areas to meet and even have dialogue in the past it has been with North Korea, Iran, Syria, Cuba, how much does this—in what you have done and studied—how much does this weigh on these numbers? Does the world see that as simply arrogance on our part or do they see that as values that we hold that we are not compromising by meeting with governments that do not share our views that way? How does that go?

Mr. KULL. The theme that comes through repeatedly is that the U.S. does not regard itself as like another country. That the U.S. dictates. That the U.S. imposes, and so any effort to enter into dialogue would presumably have a positive affect and offset that perception, and the refusal to have a kind of unilateral you know directional stance contributes more to the negative image.

It comes back to again the world order model that the U.S. promoted in the post-World War II period with the development of the United Nations and so on. The idea that countries get together and work out their differences and do not use military force and so on. That is an ideal that was well embraced by the world, and when the U.S. refuses to enter into dialogue or use diplomacy and then implicitly is perceived as implicitly using military threats, then that contributes more to this negative image.

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DELAHUNT. And now I yield as much time as you may consume to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Paul.

Mr. PAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My first question deals with the way you did the polling only to help me understand it better. On page 3 you have that chart that shows an average of 18 countries. Would that be the same 18 countries in the BBC poll?

Mr. KULL. Yes. That is the BBC poll. We have 18 countries that we do every year, year after year, and then we change out some of the other ones to get—

Mr. PAUL. And they are widespread? That is just not Arab countries?

Mr. KULL. No, no. It is very much worldwide.

Mr. PAUL. Okay. So at the bottom of that page when on average 75 percent disapprove of how the United States is handling the Iraq war, that is part of that?

Mr. KULL. No. That is 26 countries.

Mr. PAUL. That is 26.

Mr. KULL. Right. It is only for that trend line that we have to limit it to the countries that we asked both in 2005, 2006 and 2007.

Mr. PAUL. Okay. Was the trend line only started in 2005? We do not know what is—

Mr. KULL. Yes, that is right.

Mr. PAUL. Would you—

Mr. KULL. For this series of questions. But like the favorable/unfavorable question that was asked by the State Department in the 1990s and that has since been asked by PEW, we have that as a trend line that goes back even further. That goes back even decades.

Mr. PAUL. Could you give me a rough idea what it was like in 2000 versus like right before the war started and right after the war? Was it pretty flat or did it change dramatically from 2000 up to 2005?

Mr. KULL. Well in 1999 it was really pretty positive, and there was some downward movement in the run-up to the Iraq war but it was really after the Iraq war that it was—

Mr. PAUL. So it got much more negative?

Mr. KULL. There was a sharp downward movement, and that has since continued downward.

Mr. PAUL. You know it is generally understood by many—and especially if you look at what Osama bin Laden actually said—one of the motivations you know behind the attack on 9/11 had to do with our policies over there. Was that a policy held by a very narrow number of radicals or was that a consensus of the Arab people, and you know he was annoyed because our bases were there, and we were propping up secular governments, that sort of thing?

Mr. KULL. To the extent that we have data on it, those critiques do resonate with people in the region. There is a negative view of U.S. military presence there. Views of U.S. support for regimes in the region, we have found, is more mixed. It is not quite as negative as the perceptions or attitudes about the general military presence. That is more divided in different countries.

Mr. PAUL. So if the real cause and the real motivation behind Osama bin Laden was you know our policies there, it would not have necessarily reflected the large majority view of Arabs of those countries?

Mr. KULL. Well Osama bin Laden is not popular. Now shortly after 9/11 he was sort of a popular figure as somebody who sort of stands up to America but the more people found out about him the less they like him, and there is right now no country that has a majority that has a positive view of him.

Now there are some people who do and so it is important to remember that, and you do not need all that many people to have a positive view to create an important movement but his general orientation in terms of the use of the terrorism or attacks on civilians, that combination of that method in conjunction with those points of view are not popular. But a fair number of the things that Osama bin Laden says do resonate and the opposition to U.S. military presence is probably one of the strongest. The Israeli/Palestinian issue, support for Israel of course is very big as well.

There is also a resonance with the general view that the U.S. is in some way trying to weaken and divide Islam, even that the United States is trying to promote Christianity in the Middle East. These arguments do resonate, and the U.S. really does have work to do to counter some of these perceptions.

Mr. PAUL. Now the polling shows that 75 percent disapprove of how the U.S. is handling the war which sounds more like a tactical problem rather than a strategic or overall policy problem. Does it ever show up that people even think about the fact that we got engaged in Iraq as a preemptive war rather than a defensive war? I think it shows up that they do not like our inconsistencies. That you know we are hypocritical. But does the subject of preemption ever come up or is that sort of too vague for the general population to understand that?

Mr. KULL. There was polling before in the run-up to the Iraq war that found that majority saying that if the United States got U.N. approval that would make it all right, but not without U.N. approval. The perception was that the U.S. did not have the right to do it. The United States did not have the right to act preemptively relative to Iraq.

Mr. PAUL. So it seems like that large number of people, the majority are very interested in the rule of law. Today it seemed like the rule of law would be satisfied worldwide more if we followed international law and U.N. law. Of course to me sometimes that is disappointing that we look for the authority at the United Nations rather than the proper authority here where Congress is supposed to make those decisions. But that I think is beyond the scope of this particular discussion but in many ways I think that gets to the heart of the problem about how we go to war, and it is interesting that they did want the rule of law to work.

At the same time now they seem to be concentrating if we had only won it we would not have worried too much but I do think eventually that we as a country and as a Congress have to concern ourselves more with our process. Just as the general population we are concerned about the process in the use of the United Nations, I would like to emphasize that some day we emphasize that here in the Congress as well, and I yield back. Thank you.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Let me just inquire of the members. Does anyone have any additional questions that they would like to pose to Dr. Kull? Seeing none, with the concurrence of Mr. Rohrabacher, the ranking member, I am going to permit staff to ask a few questions. Again this is a divergence somewhat from the normal practice but I think it can be very productive.

But before I turn first to Dr. Rossiter, and then if minority staff wishes to inquire, then clearly we welcome that. Dr. Kull, I read a recent product I think of PIPA that was released back in September regarding attitudes of Iraqis, vis-à-vis the United States, and I found it fascinating. Number one, at some point maybe within the next several months I would extend an invitation to you to return to this hearing room and focus specifically on Iraq.

Mr. KULL. I would be happy to do that.

Mr. DELAHUNT. With reference to al-Qaeda, can you just give us a snapshot of the Iraqi people's attitude about al-Qaeda?

Mr. KULL. Yes. That is an encouraging bit of data. Their views of bin Laden are exceedingly negative in every group, Kurds, Shias, Sunnis. It is almost universally very negative. The only group for which that it is not nearly universal is the Sunnis. But even among the Sunnis three out of four have a negative view.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I would like to just touch on some news accounts that occurred within the course of the past several months, and if you could comment in terms of the impact on public opinion in other nations. Recently the Italian Government indicted a number of CIA agents for these so-called extraordinary renditions, and if my memory serves me correctly, Germany is considering doing likewise. Have the actions of the United States related to these so-called extraordinary renditions, have they had an impact in terms of foreign public opinion?

Mr. KULL. We have done some polling in Europe and a few other countries on the subject, and the answer—at least in regard to those countries—is yes. That the extraordinary renditions are negatively perceived, and there is a negative attitude to the extent that their own governments have in any way cooperated with that. When those governments do charge Americans that is probably a popular move.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I do not know if this is a question that you are capable of responding to but earlier in my opening statement I referenced the concerns by the GAO in terms of our national interests. There were four items that they indicated could impair not just simply our status in the world but our foreign policy concerns. Any comment?

Mr. KULL. Well I think it is really clear that when this situation exists it makes it more difficult for other governments to cooperate with us, even if they want to. It just increases the political cost for them to work more closely with the U.S., and obviously that consideration is not going to dictate policy but it is a fact that needs to be considered.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Can you provide us specific examples if any come to mind?

Mr. KULL. Well in general right now throughout the Middle East governments are uneasy about the situation in Iraq, and Iran, Syria. They are uneasy about that situation, and it is probably in their interest to in some way work with the United States, and they may be willing to do so. We do not know really how far they are willing to go but they do have some limits or it becomes to some extent a problem for them if they are perceived as being too cooperative.

Saudi Arabia would probably be a key example. So that they have to in some way keep some distance from the U.S., and that does not necessarily make it impossible to move forward but it makes it more difficult. It is just a factor that just keeps entering into the equation, and in periods where the U.S. is perceived more favorably it is less of a hindrance.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Dr. Kull, and with that I turn to Counsel Rossiter.

Mr. ROSSITER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Mr. Rohrabacher for allowing this practice of counsel being involved. I worked very closely with Mr. Rohrabacher back in the 1990s on the

Arms Trade Code of Conduct bill with our colleague, Senator Hatfield and Ms. McKinney. It is great to see him again. When I was running for Congress in 1998 I always wanted to sit up here, but not in this role. What can you do?

I would like to start with some of your polling techniques. How sure are you about your findings? Let us take, for example: You have got 72 percent of Nigerians saying mainly positive influence. How large a sample do you typically take? How sure can you be that you are representing overall opinion in a country like Nigeria where the government cannot even count how many people they have? How do you do a random poll to let us know whether this number comports with reality?

Mr. KULL. Right. The sample size is generally 1,000 which gives a margin of error plus or minus 3 percent. In some of the developing countries, we are limited to polling in the urban areas. I cannot remember particularly about Nigeria. What we find is when we do have urban and rural that the rural are not fundamentally different from the urban but the views are not as strong. The majorities are smaller. You have more do not knows, that kind of thing.

So with polling in general try to always think of it that it is a fuzzy image you are dealing with. It is not a sharp image, and in developing countries because of some of the limits of our capacity to get to all parts of the country assume that it is even a little fuzzier. But if you have got a clear majority in one direction or another, you can be quite confident that that is representative of the general population. It is just a question of what your margin of error is.

If it is 50–50 then maybe you should not; or 52–48 then maybe it is possible it could swing in a different direction if you had more accuracy or precision. In the developed countries the precision is higher.

Mr. ROSSITER. Now your plus or minus 3 percent is a band around any of these numbers up here of 6 percent.

Mr. KULL. Right.

Mr. ROSSITER. Total.

Mr. KULL. And with the developing countries you should probably add a little more in your thinking.

Mr. ROSSITER. Okay. So we have to keep that in mind.

Mr. KULL. Right.

Mr. ROSSITER. Is that the classic 95 percent certainty that you found the proper opinion in there?

Mr. KULL. That is right.

Mr. ROSSITER. Now the beauty of polls is that they shake our perceptions that we see on the television. I am stunned, frankly, having lived in Africa just a year ago, for a year, to see those high numbers, since walking in slums you would see children run up and make the symbol of the Abu Ghraib prisoner with his hands spread out as soon as they knew you were an American. It was quite common, and yet you find tremendous positives here. Does this relate do you think—

Mr. KULL. But I might add that on the numbers in dealing with Abu Ghraib you get a larger majority saying that they feel dissatisfied with how the U.S. has dealt with prisoners at Guantanamo

than the numbers that say that the U.S. is having a negative influence in the world.

Mr. ROSSITER. Okay.

Mr. KULL. So some people say we disapprove of how the U.S. is dealing with that situation but still say on balance probably the U.S. is having a more positive than negative influence in the world. There is a kind of underlying positive feeling there that has some historical roots but it is when you get into the specific policies that you get the really big numbers where people are saying that they disapprove.

Mr. ROSSITER. Okay. So Mr. Payne's point is well taken that there may be individual policies, Iraq, Abu Ghraib, renditions, lack of foreign aid funding that Africans may disagree with the United States on, and Europeans may, but the Africans have a much deeper store of a positive attitude nonetheless, while the Europeans more quickly jump into the negative on these things?

Mr. KULL. The Europeans are more disappointed, more surprised that the United States is not doing what they have expected it to do.

Mr. ROSSITER. Okay. Now like Mr. Paul, I would like to go back to the chart that shows the trend lines separating, if we could. I know you can only guess at these numbers but I am concerned that we may be misled here just a little bit, and want to make sure we understand this. The numbers in 2001, the level that you are at there for 2002, was that a bit of an artifact of sympathy?

Mr. KULL. Are you looking at the one on the right here?

Mr. ROSSITER. Yes.

Mr. KULL. That is 2005, 2006, and 2007.

Mr. ROSSITER. Right. Well, what I am saying is you are at a certain level. You are at about 46 percent, well, let us say the favorable, 40 percent unfavorable. What I am asking is, is it just a long steady decline since after the bump up that I am sure we received after the attacks of 9/11? That is, did the number go up to a high point in about 2001 with a sort of rallying around America, and really what we are just seeing is a long general decline? How would it look going back, just guessing, that gray line, to 2000 year-by-year?

Mr. KULL. Well as I was showing in the 1999 numbers, those numbers would cross if you went back to 1999 or 2000.

Mr. ROSSITER. But the 1999 was a different poll.

Mr. KULL. Right.

Mr. ROSSITER. So my question is I am wondering—

Mr. KULL. We do not have this on a long-term trend line.

Mr. ROSSITER. But just the way that you feel about it you think they would cross somewhere around 2002, 2003?

Mr. KULL. Yes.

Mr. ROSSITER. But had they been quite high artificially—not artificially—driven up by the events of 9/11, and so we are just coming down from that?

Mr. KULL. It was a blip upward, and it was not long lasting.

Mr. ROSSITER. My last question has to do with phenomenon that I also perceived living in Africa. I was stunned always to find people from all walks of life agreeing that the United States might invade them, and it was a reason for their military budgets. The

South African Government would say, "We need to buy these new modern weapons because you never can tell," and I would say, "Are you crazy?" But what do you see about that? Are there real perceptions around the world that we could be perceived as a threat even to allied countries, particularly in the former colonial world?

Mr. KULL. Yes. Again, I find that a surprising finding as well that even in Kuwait, even in Turkey majorities say that they perceive the United States as a military threat to their country, and in a way this is just a kind of existential reality that the U.S. is so powerful militarily but looking at all the numbers and what I hear in focus groups, it is more than that. There is just an uneasy feeling.

Now it is like if we are in a restaurant and somebody walks into a restaurant and they are carrying an AK-47, we all get nervous. There is no reason why they should necessarily use the AK-47 against us but we still get nervous, and that is I think to some extent how it is for people around the world that the U.S. is just so powerful it makes people uneasy. Thus, they need to hear reassurance.

Mr. ROSSITER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well thank you, Dr. Rossiter. Mr. Paul, do you have any desire for any closing remarks? Well this was a very informative hearing. Dr. Kull, your testimony had tremendous insights that I know that I appreciate and for the committee let me say we look forward to seeing you again.

As I indicated, I have read your work as it relates to Iraq and maybe in a matter of weeks we will ask you to come back with I think some very interesting observations about attitudes on the part of the Iraqi people, vis-à-vis the United States. I think it is very, very critical to understand those so that we can take that information, form our own opinions and possibly make adjustments.

Mr. KULL. Thank you for having me. It would be a pleasure to return.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Sure. If you would just bear with us for a moment. We are adjourned. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

