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# Public Opinion on Global Issues

Chapter 1: World Opinion on General Principles of World Order

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December 16, 2011

## WORLD OPINION ON GLOBAL ISSUES

### CHAPTER 1: WORLD OPINION ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF WORLD ORDER

#### *International Law*

**Most people around the world support an international order based on international law and treaties. Majorities in most countries believe that international laws create normative obligations like domestic law, and believe that nations should feel obliged to abide by international law even when doing so is at odds with their national interest. However, people tend to underestimate how much their fellow citizens feel such an obligation. Europeans and Americans express readiness to contribute military force to uphold international law. Limited international data reveal strong support for participation in a variety of international treaties.**

Most people around the world believe that their nation is obliged to abide by international law. A 2009 WorldPublicOpinion.org (WPO) poll across twenty countries introduced the subject of international law, saying: “As you may know there are a number of international laws based on agreements between most nations, including our own. These govern a wide set of issues ranging from fishing rights to the use of military force.” They were then asked to choose between two positions on international law. Publics in sixteen nations chose the one that said: “Our nation should consistently follow international laws. It is wrong to violate international laws, just as it is wrong to violate laws within a country.” Publics in only two nations chose the position, “If our government thinks it is not in our nation’s interest, it should not feel obliged to abide by international laws,” while one was divided. On average, 57 percent believed that their nation should be bound by international laws, as opposed to 36 percent who believe that their country should not necessarily have to follow such laws.<sup>1</sup>

The countries with the largest majorities in favor of adhering to international law were in China (74 percent), Germany (70 percent), and the United States (69 percent). The only two countries to take the contrary position were Pakistan (56 percent) and Mexico (53 percent). Turkey was divided.

People tend to underestimate how much their fellow citizens feel obliged to abide by international law. The same poll asked a follow-on question in seventeen publics on whether, as compared to the average citizen of their country, the individual polled considered him or herself “more supportive or less supportive of consistently abiding by international laws.” In each case, if the public as a whole perceived itself correctly, there would be a balance between those saying more and those saying less. But this did not prove to be the case. On average, by a nearly two-to-one ratio (48 percent to 28 percent) those saying that they were more supportive outweighed those saying that they were less supportive. This indicates a skew in the public’s perception, whereby individuals underestimate societal support for abiding by international law.

This skew obtained to varying extents in fifteen of the seventeen publics surveyed. The two exceptions were Iraq and the Palestinian Territories, where more respondents thought that they were less supportive than the public average. Interestingly, one of the countries with the greatest skew in respondents saying that they were more supportive than average was Mexico (71 percent more supportive, 14 percent less), which was also one of the only two countries where a majority did not feel obliged to abide by international law.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Forcibly Upholding International Law**

Majorities in Europe and the United States have expressed a general readiness to use military force to uphold international law. A 2002 Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA)/German Marshall Fund (GMF) survey asked publics in six European countries and the United States whether they would approve the use of their country’s military troops “to uphold international law.” Large majorities in all six European countries and the United States approved of using force for this purpose. Among Europeans, an average of 80 percent favored sending troops to uphold international law, and 16 percent were opposed. The Dutch (at 86 percent) were the most supportive, followed by the British, French, and Polish. Only the Germans, at 68 percent, offered below 80-percent support. Seventy-six percent of Americans also approved of using force for the same purpose.<sup>3</sup>

The results of this poll are striking because the question did not seek to elicit support for intervention based on any other value, such as defending a victim from an aggressor country or advancing some humanitarian goal. Respondents saw upholding international law alone as sufficient cause for putting their country's troops at risk.

### **International Treaties**

While the polling is limited to a relatively small number of countries, the data reveal strong world public support for participation in a variety of international treaties.

One such treaty is the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In 2006, CCGA asked publics in the United States, China, India, and South Korea whether they favored their country participating in the treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide. Large majorities were supportive in every case, including 86 percent of Americans, 86 percent of South Koreans, 73 percent of Chinese, and 57 percent Indians.<sup>4</sup>

CCGA also asked the same countries if respondents believed their country should participate in an agreement under the Biological Weapons Convention that would allow for international inspections. Eighty-nine percent of Americans, 86 percent of South Koreans, 65 percent of Chinese, and 50 percent of Indians said their country should participate in such an agreement.<sup>5</sup>

The same poll surveyed people in the United States and South Korea on their feelings on becoming parties to the International Criminal Court. Eighty-seven percent of South Koreans and 71 percent of Americans said their country should take part.<sup>6</sup>

Americans and South Koreans were also asked if their country should participate in the Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming. Eighty-eight percent of South Koreans and 70 percent of Americans favored participation.<sup>7</sup>

### ***Multilateralism and the International Order***

**International polling reveals a strong consensus that world order should be based on a multilateral system led by the United Nations or a group of regional powers, rather than a system based on hegemony or bipolarity. Large majorities in countries around the world reject a hegemonic role for the United States, but do want the United States to participate in multilateral efforts to address international issues.**

People around the world strongly prefer a system of world order based on a multilateral approach over one based on hegemony or bipolarity. The Bertelsmann Foundation asked nine countries worldwide in 2005 to identify the best framework for ensuring peace and stability and offered four options. In each country, only a small minority chose "a system led by a single world power" (average 7 percent) or "a system led by two world powers" (average 5 percent). In five countries, the most popular model was "a system led by the United Nations" (Germany 68 percent, China 51 percent, Great Britain 47 percent, France 46 percent, and Japan 33 percent), with an overall average of 42 percent choosing this system. The second most popular was "a system led by a balance of regional powers," which was endorsed on average by 36 percent and was the most popular system in three countries (the United States 52 percent, Brazil 45 percent, India 37 percent, and Russia 33 percent).<sup>8</sup>

Large majorities in all countries reject a hegemonic role for the United States. In 2006, WPO and CCGA asked respondents in fifteen countries to choose the ideal role for the United States in world affairs. Presented three options, the least popular was, "As the sole remaining superpower, the United States should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems." On average, just 11 percent chose this option. Only in India did more than a quarter favor this idea (34 percent).

The position that "the United States should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems" also received low levels of support. On average, just 24 percent favored it, though in two nations it was a majority position: Argentina and the Palestinian Territories (both 55 percent).

By far the preferred option was a multilateral approach that said “the United States should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries.” On average, 56 percent endorsed this position, which was the preferred position in thirteen of the fifteen nations, including the United States itself.<sup>9</sup>

Several polls have shown a widespread view, including among Americans, that the United States plays an excessively dominant or hegemonic role. The 2006 WPO/CCGA poll found that majorities in thirteen of fifteen countries polled agreed with the statement that the United States is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be,” including 76 percent of Americans. On average among all fifteen countries, 68 percent of respondents agreed the United States was playing this role too much and 25 percent disagreed. The exceptions were Filipinos (57 percent disagreed), while Israelis were divided (48 percent agreed, 48 percent disagreed).<sup>10</sup>

Nine countries were also asked whether the “United States has the responsibility to play the role of ‘world policeman,’ that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur.” Majorities in eight of the nine countries said the United States does not have this responsibility, while a majority in one country (India, 53 percent) said it does. In the average of all nine countries, 65 percent of respondents said the United States does not have the responsibility to fight violations of international law, while 28 percent said it does.<sup>11</sup>

A 2003 GMF poll of seven European countries and the United States, at a time of great international controversy over the Iraq war, also found concern about the potential for U.S. unilateralism. Majorities or pluralities in all eight countries saw “U.S. unilateralism” as an “important threat.” Among European countries on average, 47 percent of respondents said it was an important threat, 31 percent said it was an extremely important threat, and 17 percent said it was not an important threat.<sup>12</sup>

### *Strengthening the United Nations*

**Large majorities around the world have endorsed having a stronger United Nations. Large majorities also support giving the UN a variety of expanded powers, including having a standing peacekeeping force, the power to investigate human rights violations, and the power to regulate the international arms trade. National publics are more divided when it comes to giving the United Nations the capacity to impose a tax. Support for working through the United Nations is somewhat tempered, especially among smaller countries, when poll questions highlight the prospect of subordinating national policies to collective decision-making processes.**

A number of international polls have found robust support for a stronger United Nations. A 2004 British Broadcasting Company (BBC)/GlobeScan/Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) poll asked people in twenty-three countries about the possibility of “the United Nations becoming significantly more powerful in world affairs.” Majorities or pluralities in all twenty-three countries replied that this development would be mainly positive. In the global average, 64 percent said the United Nations becoming more powerful would be mainly positive, and 19 percent said it would be mainly negative.<sup>13</sup> Publics were especially enthusiastic in Germany (87 percent), Spain (78 percent), Indonesia (77 percent), and the Philippines (77 percent). Six in ten Americans (59 percent) favored it, while 37 percent were opposed. The only two countries with a mere plurality in favor of a stronger United Nations were Turkey (40 percent to 24 percent) and Argentina (44 percent to 22 percent).

WPO asked this same question in January 2007 to Iranians and Americans. Seventy percent of Iranians and 66 percent of Americans expressed support for a stronger UN.<sup>14</sup>

Strengthening the UN is also rated as important. A 2006–2007 WPO/CCGA poll of eight countries asked respondents to rate the importance of a number of foreign policy goals. At least 79 percent in every country considered the goal of “strengthening the United Nations” important, with majorities in Australia (64 percent), Mexico (56 percent), and China (51 percent) considering it very important. Across the eight countries, only small numbers of respondents said strengthening the United Nations was “not important,” ranging from 4 percent in Thailand to 19 percent in the United States.<sup>15</sup>

Support for a stronger United Nations was bit lower—though remained a majority view—when respondents were presented the argument that strengthening the United Nations “would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies,” as well

as with the argument that “because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems.” After hearing these arguments in a 2003 GMF poll, 70 percent of Americans and 74 percent of Europeans across seven countries said the United Nations “needs to be strengthened.” European support ranged from 61 percent in Poland to 81 percent in Portugal.<sup>16</sup>

### Giving the United Nations Expanded Powers

Polling reveals strong support for giving the United Nations new powers. Between 2006 and 2008, WPO and CCGA polled twenty-two countries on four proposals for new powers for the United Nations. Three out of four received strong support and one received modest support.

On having a **standing UN peacekeeping force**, twenty-one countries favored the proposal, and one country was divided on it. Twenty countries had a majority of favorable views, and one had a plurality. In the average across all countries, 66 percent were in favor and 23 percent were opposed. Kenya (85 percent) had the highest level of support, closely followed by Nigeria (84 percent) and Great Britain (79 percent), and with the United States registering 72-percent support. Egypt had the highest level of negative views, with 47 percent opposed.<sup>17</sup>

On giving the United Nations the authority to **go into countries to investigate violations of human rights**, eighteen countries had majorities supporting the proposal, two had pluralities, and two were divided on the idea. On average, 65 percent were in favor and 22 percent were opposed. France had the highest support, with 92 percent positive views, followed by Great Britain (86 percent) and Nigeria (83 percent). Egypt had the highest number of negative viewpoints (49 percent) along with the Philippines (46 percent) and Israel (31 percent).<sup>18</sup>

On giving the United Nations **the power to regulate the international arms trade**, majorities or pluralities in nineteen countries expressed support and three expressed opposition. On average, 58 percent favored UN regulation and 30 percent opposed it. The highest support was found in Kenya (85 percent) and Nigeria (84 percent), followed by France (77 percent), South Korea (75 percent), and Britain (69 percent). Support was also high in Israel (60 percent) and the United States (60 percent). Only three publics tended to reject the idea: Filipinos (58 percent negative, 32 percent positive), Argentines (42 percent negative, 36 percent positive) and Turks (39 percent negative, 34 percent positive).<sup>19</sup>

On giving the UN the power to **impose a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil**, fifteen countries were in favor, five were opposed, and two were divided. On average, 48 percent favored the proposal and 36 percent were opposed. Kenya had the highest level of support (74 percent), followed by France (70 percent) and Great Britain (61 percent). Egypt had the highest level of disapproval (61 percent), followed by the Philippines (56 percent), Peru (55 percent), and the United States (50 percent).<sup>20</sup>

### Subordination to Collective Decision-Making

If the United Nations is going to play a stronger role in the world, nations may at times need to subordinate their preferences for the sake of collective decision-making. When poll questions highlight the prospect of subordinating national preferences, support for collective decision-making remains fairly strong, but becomes significantly lower than for the broad principle of having a stronger United Nations.

WPO asked respondents in twenty-three countries between 2006 and 2008 whether they agreed with the statement, “When dealing with international problems, [survey country] should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that [survey country] will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.” Majorities or pluralities in fifteen of the twenty-three nations agreed they should work through the United Nations more. These were led by China (78 percent), France (68 percent), Kenya (66 percent), the United States and Nigeria (both 60 percent), and Britain (58 percent). Interestingly, a majority of Israelis also agreed (54 percent). A majority or plurality disagreed in six states or territories, led by the Palestinian Territories (81 percent) and including Indonesia (50 percent), the Philippines (46 percent), and Russia (44 percent). South Korea and Ukraine were divided. In the global average, 46 percent favored making more decisions within the UN and 38 percent were opposed.<sup>21</sup>

Notably, four out of five countries most supportive of greater collective decision-making are also permanent members of the UN Security Council with the power to veto actions. The exception was Russia. Those most resistant tended to be smaller countries.

### *Multilateralism and the Use of Military Force*

**In international polling, large majorities around the world favor the United Nations having the right to authorize the use of military force for a wide range of contingencies. The approval of the UN Security Council plays a powerful—and in many cases a necessary—role in conferring legitimacy on the use of military force. Among Europeans and Americans, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) does provide some legitimacy, but by much smaller margins than does the United Nations.**

### **The UN Security Council’s Right to Authorize Military Force**

The UN Charter’s Chapter 7 grants the UN Security Council the right to authorize military force in response to what it believes is a threat to international security. Consistent with this provision, publics around the world generally believe that the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize military force in response to a wide range of contingencies. Between 2006 and 2008, WPO and CCGA polled eighteen nations on whether the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize military force for a variety of purposes. Support was quite robust in nearly all cases.

The largest majorities said that the UN Security Council “should” have the right to authorize military force **“to defend a country that has been attacked.”** Overall, 76 percent of all respondents felt the UNSC should have this right, and only 16 percent felt it should not. Majorities ranged from 66 percent in India to 89 percent in Nigeria. Opposition nowhere exceeded 23 percent.<sup>22</sup>

Majorities in all nations polled favored giving the UN Security Council the right to authorize the use of military force in order **“to prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide.”** Overall, 76 percent of respondents agreed that the UN Security Council should have this right, while only 16 percent disagreed. The largest majorities were in Kenya (90 percent), Nigeria (88 percent), and France (85 percent). In no country was support below 62 percent.<sup>23</sup>

Majorities in all nations favored the UN having the right **“to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups.”** On average, 73 percent said the UN Security Council should have the right to intervene, and just 19 percent said it should not. Support was highest in Nigeria (87 percent), Israel (85 percent), and France (84 percent), and lowest in India (60 percent), the Palestinian Territories (61 percent), and South Korea (61 percent).<sup>24</sup>

Two options that did elicit some variance involved the UN Security Council authorizing force to prevent nuclear proliferation, a topic clearly relevant to ongoing concerns about Iran’s and North Korea’s nuclear programs. Asked whether the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize military force **“to prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them,”** majorities or pluralities in fourteen nations agreed that it should. Support was highest in Kenya (84 percent) and Nigeria (81 percent). Interestingly, Egyptians were among the strongest supporters, with 74 percent agreeing. Support was also strong in Russia (55 percent) and a plurality was in favor in China (47 percent to 40 percent), while the French were divided (50 percent to 48 percent). Americans were robustly in favor (62 percent). However, a majority of respondents in the Palestinian territories disagreed (59 percent), as in South Korea (55 percent). In the average of all nations polled, 59 percent favored the UN Security Council having such a right, while 31 percent were opposed. Majority support was solid in all Muslim nations except the Palestinian Territories.<sup>25</sup>

Raising the bar even higher, respondents were asked about using force **“to stop a country that does not have nuclear weapons from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons.”** Globally, support was only a bit lower—56 percent on average, 32 percent opposed. Responses followed the same pattern as described above, though support was a bit more subdued. Permanent members of the UN Security Council were largely supportive (United States 57 percent, Russia 53 percent, China 47 percent to 34 percent, France divided 50 percent to 48 percent). The Palestinian Territories and South Korea were the only dissenters (by 57 percent and 56 percent, respectively). Egyptian support, though, dropped to a divided position.<sup>26</sup>

The lowest level of support was for the United Nations having the right to authorize military action **“to restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown.”** On average, 53 percent thought the UN Security Council should have this right; 35 percent did not. Out of sixteen nations polled, majorities in ten and pluralities in three publics believed the UN Security Council should have this right. In one country, a majority (South Korea, 65 percent) and in another a plurality (China, 45 percent) were opposed. The largest majorities in favor were in Kenya and Nigeria (both 76 percent), the Palestinian Territories (67 percent), and Egypt (64 percent). Interestingly, no public in any Islamic country opposed this principle: 51 percent supported it in Indonesia, as did pluralities in Azerbaijan (43 percent to 38 percent) and Turkey (43 percent to 32 percent).<sup>27</sup>

### **United Nations Approval as Legitimizing Military Force**

A variety of polls have found that UN Security Council approval provides powerful legitimacy for the use of military force. A 2005 GMF poll asked in Europe and the United States if respondents agreed that “the use of military force is more legitimate when the United Nations approves it.” Majorities in the United States and all ten European countries agreed. In the average of ten European countries, 64 percent agreed and 30 percent disagreed. Interestingly, an even larger percentage of Americans (69 percent) also agreed. In Europe, agreement was especially strong in Portugal (78 percent), the United Kingdom (76 percent), and France (74 percent). Turkey was the only country to not have a robust majority agreeing (49 percent agreed, 37 percent disagreed).<sup>28</sup> A 2006 WPO poll asked the same question in Iran and the United States. Roughly seven in ten Iranians (69 percent) and Americans (72 percent) agreed.<sup>29</sup>

In 2003, the GMF’s transatlantic poll conducted an experiment in the United States and seven European countries to test the importance of multilateralism in decisions to use military force. In each of the eight countries polled, the sample was divided into small subgroups. All were asked a hypothetical question about contributing troops to attacking Iran or North Korea to get these countries to give up their weapons of mass destruction. The scenarios varied according to the actor authorizing and leading the response, ranging from unilateral action by the United States to a coalition of the United States and its allies, a NATO intervention, and a UN Security Council-authorized intervention. International support was the lowest when the United States was acting alone (31 percent against North Korea, 38 percent against Iran). Support rose by 4 – 6 points when the actor was “the United States and its allies,” by 10 points when it was NATO, and by 12 points when it was the UN Security Council.<sup>30</sup>

### **Whether United Nations Approval is Necessary**

A variety of polls reveal that not only does the United Nations provide greater legitimacy for military action, but in many instances UN approval is regarded as essential. A strikingly large number even say that UN approval is necessary to use military force to deal with international threats in general—something that goes well beyond the strictures of Article 51 of the UN Charter, which does allow for unilateral or collective self-defense without Security Council approval.

In 2004, Pew asked nine countries from around the world whether their country “should have UN approval before it uses military force to deal with an international threat,” or whether “that would make it too difficult for our country to deal with international threats.” Views were mixed. Majorities endorsed the view that UN approval was necessary in Germany (80 percent), Britain (64 percent), and France (63 percent), and pluralities did so in Jordan (47 percent to 38 percent) and Pakistan (38 percent to 34 percent). Pluralities said UN approval was unnecessary in both the United States (48 percent to 41 percent) and Russia (41 percent to 37 percent). Views were divided in Morocco and Turkey.<sup>31</sup>

In 2004 the GMF asked a series of questions in Europe and the United States that explored this issue in some depth. The poll asked, “If a situation like Iraq arose in the future, do you think it is essential to secure the approval of the UN before using military force, or don’t you think it is essential?” Large majorities in all ten European nations (on average 78 percent) said that it was essential. Fifty-eight percent of Americans agreed.<sup>32</sup>

The pollsters then developed a small experiment. First they asked, “If there was UN approval, would you be willing to use the [country’s] armed forces to intervene in a foreign country in order to eliminate the threat of a terrorist attack?” Majorities in nine of the ten European countries said that they would (Turkey was the exception). On average, 65 percent said they would, as did 78 percent of Americans.<sup>33</sup> They also asked, “If there was UN approval, would you be willing to

use the [country's] armed forces to establish peace in a civil war in an African country?" Majorities in six of the ten European countries said they would favor it. On average, 55 percent said they would, as did 66 percent of Americans.<sup>34</sup>

The pollsters then asked those who said they would favor use of troops under either of these circumstances if they would still support the use of their country's armed forces if the UN did not approve it. Support dropped precipitously among this subsample, with majorities in all ten European countries now disapproving of the use of force. In the United States, the subsample became divided on this question, but here too only a small number of the whole sample were ready to act without UN approval.<sup>35</sup>

### **NATO Approval as Legitimizing Military Force**

Polls of Europeans and Americans indicate that NATO approval also provides some legitimacy for the use of military force, but the percentages holding this view are substantially smaller than for UN approval.

In 2005, GMF asked publics in ten European countries and the United States if NATO approval makes military action legitimate. Americans leaned to the view that it does (53 percent to 39 percent). On average, 51 percent of the Europeans said that it did, while 41 percent said it did not. Countries varied widely, with majorities saying that it did in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Holland, Portugal, and Serbia; a majority of Italians disagreed. The Spanish were divided.<sup>36</sup>

When asked about contributing troops to a NATO-approved operation, publics expressed fairly strong support, a bit lower than for UN-approved operations. The 2004 GMF poll found substantial readiness to contribute to a NATO-approved military action to prevent a terrorist attack (Europeans 61 percent, Americans 79 percent), or to establish peace in a civil war in Africa (Europeans 50 percent, Americans 60 percent). Support was generally about five points lower than when UN approval was specified.<sup>37</sup>

### ***Intervention in Internal Affairs***

**Robust majorities approve of the United Nations intervening in the internal affairs of states to investigate human rights abuses and to promote human rights in member states. Perhaps most dramatic, equally large majorities approve of the United Nations using military force to forcibly deliver urgent humanitarian aid if the government tries to block the aid, and to protect people from severe human rights abuses even against the will of the government.**

While governments regularly invoke the principle of national sovereignty and resist UN intervention in their internal affairs, publics appear ready to give the United Nations such powers. This is a strong indication that people around the world believe that international norms should be applied in a global—not just national—context.

As discussed above, large majorities in nearly all nations polled approve of giving the United Nations the authority to go into countries to investigate violations of human rights. In a 2006–2008 WPO/CCGA poll, twenty out of twenty-two publics polled supported the idea, while two were divided on it. In the average of all twenty-two countries, 65 percent were in favor and 22 percent were opposed.<sup>38</sup>

More generally, there is strong support for the United Nations taking an active role in promoting human rights in member states. Most people (on average 70 percent) in twenty-one countries polled by WPO in 2008 said that the United Nations should “actively promote human rights in member states,” rejecting the argument that “this is improper interference in a country's internal affairs and human rights should be left to each country.”<sup>39</sup> Sixty-five percent on average favored the United Nations doing more than it does to “promote human rights principles.”<sup>40</sup> Likewise, sixty-seven percent said “the UN should make efforts to further the rights of women,” rejecting the argument that “this is improper interference in a country's internal affairs.”<sup>41</sup>

### **Forcible Humanitarian Intervention**

Perhaps most dramatic, robust majorities approve of the United Nations using military force against the will of governments when their populations are at risk.



A 2008 WPO poll posed the question of whether the United Nations should forcibly deliver urgent humanitarian aid if a government refused to allow entry. The question was posed in terms of the recent events in Myanmar, as follows:

“In May 2008, Burma, [also known as Myanmar] had a major cyclone that left over a million people without food and water. Though the Burmese government was not effectively delivering aid, it refused to let in relief organizations. As a general rule, in such circumstances, should the UN bring in shipments of aid, escorted by military protection if necessary, even against the will of the government—OR do you think this would be too much of a violation of a country’s sovereignty?”

Publics in nineteen out of twenty-one nations and territories polled said that, as a general rule, the United Nations should bring in shipments of aid even against the will of the government, escorted by military protection if necessary. Support was especially high in Argentina (86 percent), Kenya (81 percent), Germany (74 percent), and France (70 percent). Two countries were divided: Russia and Egypt. And in two countries support was just a plurality: Jordan (46 percent to 37 percent), and Ukraine (42 percent to 29 percent). On average, 60 percent of respondents were in favor, while 28 percent said that this would be too much of a violation of the country’s sovereignty. Interestingly, support for forcible intervention was also quite strong in China (59 percent). Support was even higher in Taiwan (78 percent).<sup>42</sup>

In 2009, a WPO poll of seven majority-Muslim nations and territories also found strong support for intervening in Sudan for humanitarian purposes against the will of the Sudanese government. Respondents were told that in response to charges made by the International Criminal Court, Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir “has expelled humanitarian groups that have been providing food and other aid to the displaced civilians living in refugee camps.” They were then asked, “If, as a result, many people in these camps start dying from hunger and exposure, do you think the UN should bring in food and other aid, escorted by military protection if necessary, even against the will of the government or do you think this would be too much of a violation of Sudan’s sovereignty?” Large majorities approved of such an intervention in Kenya (82 percent), Nigeria (68 percent), Egypt (61 percent), the Palestinian Territories (60 percent), and Turkey (58 percent). A plurality of Iraqis also approved (46 percent to 29 percent). Only Pakistanis leaned against the idea (37 percent to 42 percent). On average across the seven publics, 59 percent approved.<sup>43</sup>

Large majorities in most countries polled endorse the principle that the United Nations not only has the right but the responsibility to authorize military intervention “to protect people from severe human rights violations such as genocide, even against the will of their own government.” In a 2006–2008 WPO poll of twenty nations, an average of 61 percent said that the UN has such a responsibility.<sup>44</sup>

### *UN Monitoring of Elections*

**Publics in most nations say that when there are concerns about the fairness of elections, countries should be willing to have UN observers monitor the elections. Most countries polled, including developed democracies, say that their own country would benefit from such monitoring.**

There is strong support for the idea of the United Nations monitoring elections. In 2009, WPO asked respondents in eighteen countries, “Do you think that when there are concerns about the fairness of elections, countries should or should not be willing to have international observers from the United Nations monitor their elections?” Publics in fifteen nations said countries should be willing to have international observers from the UN monitor elections in these cases, while a majority in only one nation said countries should not be willing to have international observers come in to monitor (two nations were divided). On average, 63 percent of respondents across all seventeen countries said countries should be willing to have UN international observers monitor their elections when there are concerns, as opposed to 31 percent who opposed this step.<sup>45</sup>

Publics in Azerbaijan (83 percent), Kenya (82 percent), and Great Britain (81 percent) were the most supportive of international observers monitoring when there are election concerns. Indonesia was the one country with a majority (74 percent) unsupportive. Views were divided in Turkey and India.

Interestingly, respondents expressed surprisingly high levels of support for having such monitoring in their own countries. Asked whether they thought their own country would “benefit from having international observers monitor elections,” publics in eleven of the eighteen nations said that their country would benefit. A majority in five nations said that their country would not benefit, and two nations were divided. On average, 55 percent of respondents said that their countries would benefit from having international observers monitor their elections, as opposed to 36 percent who said that their countries would not.

Majorities in Kenya (85 percent), Nigeria (74 percent), and Azerbaijan (71 percent) were the most supportive of having international observers monitor their own country’s elections. The four nations with majorities unsupportive were Indonesia (62 percent), India (51 percent), Great Britain (51 percent), and the United States (51 percent). Interestingly, substantial numbers in advanced democracies were supportive of such monitoring, including in the United States (46 percent), France (45 percent), Germany (49 percent), and Britain (46 percent). Large majorities also liked the idea in Iraq (67 percent), Egypt (63 percent), Macau (66 percent), Chile (59 percent), and Taiwan (59 percent).<sup>46</sup>

### *When the United Nations Should Take the Lead*

**Asked whether the United Nations, national governments, or regional organizations should take the lead in dealing with various issues, responses vary according to the issue. The most common view is that the United Nations should take the leading role in addressing aid for economic development, dealing with refugees, and international peacekeeping. The most common view is that national governments should take the leading role on protection of the environment. Views are more mixed on human rights, but most say either the United Nations or a regional organization should take the lead.**

From 2005 to 2008, the World Values Survey asked a series of questions in forty-six countries on which entity would be best to make decisions on a variety of international issues. The options presented were: national governments, a regional organization, or the United Nations.

On **aid to developing countries**, an average of 48 percent identified the United Nations as best placed to lead, with 22 percent saying national governments, and 19 percent a regional organization. The United Nations was the most common response in forty countries while two nations were divided between the United Nations and a regional organization and another between the United Nations and national governments. In only two countries did respondents identify a regional organization as their predominant choice for leading on development aid, and only one public preferred national governments. Ethiopia (68 percent), Andorra (62 percent), Vietnam (61 percent), and Poland (61 percent) had the largest percent of respondents naming the United Nations, while Slovenia (45 percent), Malaysia (43 percent), and Bulgaria (40 percent) were the top supporters of a regional organization. Public support for national governments taking the lead on aid to developing countries was strongest in Thailand (65 percent), Canada (34 percent), South Korea (32 percent), and Australia (32 percent).<sup>47</sup>

On **refugees**, an average of 43 percent of respondents across the forty-six countries identified the United Nations as the natural lead, with 29 percent identifying national governments, and another 17 percent a regional organization. The United Nations was the top choice of publics in thirty-one countries, while five countries were divided between the United Nations and national governments. Respondents in another nine countries preferred to look first to national governments, with opinion in one country favoring a regional organization. Rwanda (72 percent), Ghana (64 percent), and Zambia (62 percent) had the largest percentage of respondents choosing the United Nations, while Georgia (67 percent), Canada (46 percent), Poland (45 percent), and Thailand (45 percent) most frequently said national governments.<sup>48</sup>

On **international peacekeeping**, an average of 45 percent of poll respondents identified the United Nations as the natural lead, 34 percent said national governments, and 11 percent said a regional organization. The United Nations was the leading choice in twenty-seven countries and national governments in another fourteen. In four countries, opinion was divided on whether the United Nations and national governments offered the more natural lead, and in one country, opinion was divided between the UN and regional organizations. Support for the United Nations carrying out this mission was most common in Indonesia (74 percent), Japan (72 percent), and Sweden (70 percent) while national governments received the largest support from Georgia (79 percent), Thailand (77 percent), and Malaysia (51 percent). While no

national public identified a regional organization as its preferred leader, support for this option was strongest in Rwanda (41 percent).<sup>49</sup>

On **protection of the environment**, 47 percent of poll respondents said that national governments should take the lead; 25 percent said regional organization; and 18 percent said the United Nations. In thirty-nine countries, the highest number of respondents preferred to look at national governments first, while in two countries respondents preferred the United Nations, and in another one, regional organizations. Respondents in the remaining four countries were divided. Support for a lead role for national governments was strongest in Indonesia (79 percent), Georgia (72 percent), and Ghana (62 percent). Spain (40 percent), Ethiopia (36 percent), and Mexico (32 percent) showed the highest public support for a lead UN role in this arena, while Malaysia (43 percent), Rwanda (43 percent), and Turkey (41 percent) showed highest support for a regional organization.<sup>50</sup>

The area of **human rights** produced the most mixed responses. On average, 40 percent of respondents across all countries said national governments should have the lead, but a clear majority—on average 50 percent—chose a more multilateral approach, with 38 percent identifying the United Nations and 12 percent a regional organization as the preferred lead. Georgia (79 percent), Ghana (67 percent), and South Africa (60 percent) had the largest percentage of respondents select national governments, whereas the United Nations received its highest levels of support from Iran (75 percent), Sweden (72 percent), and Switzerland (63 percent). At 37 percent, a regional organization was preferred most frequently by respondents in Rwanda, followed by Cyprus (36 percent) and Slovenia (30 percent).<sup>51</sup>

### *National and International Identity*

**Large majorities in publics around the world perceive themselves as citizens of the world as well as of their nation, but in all nations national identity is still stronger than global identity.**

World Values Survey asked respondents in forty-six countries from 2005 to 2008 if they saw themselves as world citizens. Majorities in forty-three of the countries said they did. On average, 72 percent said they saw themselves as world citizens, compared to 21 percent who did not. The three exceptions—where less than a majority saw themselves as world citizens—were Bulgaria (42 percent), Georgia (44 percent), and Morocco (40 percent). The countries with the largest numbers saying they felt *strongly* that they were world citizens were Rwanda (98 percent), Colombia (94 percent), and Mali (91 percent).<sup>52</sup>

However, when publics are asked which identity is stronger, the pull of national identity proves more powerful. A September 2008 WPO poll surveyed twenty-one nations on whether respondents consider themselves more of a citizen of their country, more a citizen of the world, or both equally. Majorities in seventeen nations considered themselves mostly a citizen of their own country. On average, 66 percent said they see themselves as mostly a citizen of their country, 10 percent said mostly a citizen of the world, and 20 percent said both equally. The most nationally identified were in Azerbaijan (89 percent), Kenya (88 percent), South Korea (83 percent), Ukraine (81 percent), Turkey (80 percent), and Jordan (80 percent).

There were, however, four exceptions. China had the lowest number who identified themselves nationally (35 percent), while half either said they were a citizen of the world (6 percent) or both equally (44 percent). France had a slight majority (51 percent) saying they were either a citizen of the world (14 percent) or both equally (37 percent). India had more saying they were citizens of the world (14 percent) or both equally (32 percent) than said they were primarily national citizens (40 percent), and Italy had nearly as many respondents (48 percent) identifying themselves as “world citizens” (21 percent) or both equally (27 percent). Fewer than half of respondents in Thailand described themselves foremost as “national citizens” (48 percent). Overall, the Taiwanese had the highest number (62 percent) saying they were citizens of the world (8 percent) or both equally (54 percent).<sup>53</sup>

### *International Cooperation*

**Internationally, more publics think their government should be more cooperative than it is than think that their government tends to be too ready to compromise. Large majorities of Europeans and Americans favor a cooperation relationship with each other: majorities believe that they have enough common values for transatlantic cooperation on international problems and that it is critical for their own nation to act together with**

**its closest allies on national security issues. Europeans have mixed views about whether Europe and America should work more closely than they do, while Americans lean toward favoring a closer relationship. On cooperation with China, Americans believe this is possible, while most Europeans think Europe and China have different values and are unable to cooperate.**

Internationally, publics tend to think that their governments should be more cooperative than they are. A poll across twenty-one countries (WPO 2009) asked respondents whether their government “should be more ready to act cooperatively to achieve mutual gains when their country negotiates with other countries” or their government “tends to be too willing to compromise and is often taken advantage of.” Publics in fourteen nations said that their government should be more ready to act cooperatively, while publics in six nations said that their government tends to be too willing to compromise (one nation was divided). On average, 55 percent of respondents said their country’s government should be more ready to act cooperatively, as opposed to 39 percent who said their government tends to be too willing to compromise already.

Majorities in Turkey (81 percent), Egypt (76 percent), and Nigeria (73 percent) were the most supportive of their government acting cooperatively when negotiating with other countries. Fifty-four percent of Americans also thought their government should be more cooperative. Majorities in South Korea (71 percent), Great Britain (65 percent), and Mexico (63 percent) were the most adamant that their government tends to be too willing to compromise.<sup>54</sup>

### **European-American Cooperation**

Europeans and Americans strongly believe that cooperation between them is possible and favor cooperation especially in regard to security.

The GMF in 2011 presented respondents in twelve European countries, Turkey, and the United States with two competing statements on cooperation between the United States and Europe. Majorities in twelve European countries and the United States agreed that there were enough common values for cooperation on international problems. Turks were the one exception, as they were divided: 37 percent said there were enough common values and 40 percent said there were not. Among Americans, a large majority (71 percent) said there were enough common values for transatlantic cooperation. In the average of the twelve European countries, 68 percent said cooperation was possible and 26 percent said it was not possible. This marks an increase from 2008, when eleven European countries and the United States agreed (Turkey again being the exception) and the European average saying cooperation was possible was only 55 percent.<sup>55</sup>

A 2007 GMF survey asked twelve European countries and the United States if they agreed with the following statement: “When our country acts on a national security issue, it is critical we do so together with our closest allies.” All twelve European countries and the United States agreed with the statement. In the European average, 80 percent were in agreement and 15 percent were in disagreement.<sup>56</sup>

In 2005, GMF asked ten European countries if a more powerful European Union should compete or cooperate with the United States. Nine countries said the European Union should cooperate and not compete with the United States, while Turkey was divided. In the European average, 74 percent thought the European Union should cooperate and 17 percent thought it should compete.<sup>57</sup>

On whether to make the European-American relationship closer or less close, there is some transatlantic division. Asked by GMF in 2011 whether “the partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between the United States and the European Union should become closer, should remain the same, or should [EU/US] take a more independent approach...” respondents in Europe were evenly divided: on average, 39 percent favored the United States and EU working together more closely, 38 percent favored a more independent approach. Just 21 percent favored relations remaining about the same. Views in the United States were also divided between favoring both closer relations and more independence (33 percent for both). In Turkey, views were split in a different way, with 34 percent calling for the EU and the United States be more independent from each other and 33 percent calling for relations to remain about the same. Among European publics, only two pluralities—50 percent in both Italy and Romania—favored closer relations between the EU and the

United States. Those most in favor of a more independent role were France (44 percent), the Netherlands (44 percent), and Portugal (44 percent).<sup>58</sup>

### Europeans and Americans on Cooperation with China

The German Marshall Fund found different feelings about cooperation with China in the United States and Europe in a June 2010 poll. Asked whether China and the United States had “enough common values to be able to cooperate on international problems” or “have such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible”, 53 percent of Americans agreed that the two countries were able to cooperate.

However, when the same question was asked of twelve European countries about the European Union, majorities in eight and pluralities in three said cooperation between Europe and China was impossible (one country was divided). On average across the European countries polled, 61 percent of respondents believed the EU and China’s values were too different and 27 percent believed there were enough common values. The publics that were staunchest in thinking the EU and China were too different to cooperate were Germany (78 percent), Poland (66 percent), and France (65 percent). Only in Romania was opinion divided.<sup>59</sup>

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#### <sup>1</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009

As you may know there are a number of international laws based on agreements between most nations, including our own. These govern a wide set of issues ranging from fishing rights to the use of military force. Which of these two views is closer to yours?

	<b>A. Our nation should consistently follow international laws. It is wrong to violate international laws, just as it is wrong to violate laws within a country.</b>	<b>B. If our government thinks it is not in our nation’s interest, it should not feel obliged to abide by international laws.</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
Chile	58	27	15
Mexico	44	53	3
United States	69	29	2
France	61	35	4
Germany	70	26	4
Great Britain	54	43	3
Poland	62	29	10
Russia	54	34	13
Ukraine	67	19	14
Azerbaijan	60	31	10
Egypt	63	37	0
Iraq	46	31	24
Pakistan	38	56	6
Palestinian Territories	50	46	4
Turkey	46	46	8
Kenya	65	34	1
Nigeria	65	34	2
China	74	18	8
Hong Kong*	47	38	15
Macao	51	37	12
India	49	42	9
Indonesia	53	34	13

<b>South Korea</b>	56	44	1
<b>Taiwan*</b>	68	24	8
<b>Average</b>	57	36	7

\*Not included in the Global average

## <sup>2</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009

As compared to the average [Country citizen] would you say you are more supportive or less supportive of consistently abiding by international laws?

	More supportive	Less supportive	About the same (vol.)	Depends (vol.)	DK/NR
<b>Chile</b>	45	21	11	5	18
<b>Mexico</b>	71	14	5	5	5
<b>United States</b>	66	30	-	-	4
<b>France</b>	64	21	4	5	6
<b>Great Britain</b>	57	29	5	1	8
<b>Poland</b>	55	17	17	3	7
<b>Russia</b>	28	15	29	11	18
<b>Ukraine</b>	47	12	16	8	17
<b>Egypt</b>	49	38	7	6	
<b>Iraq</b>	21	41	19	9	11
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	18	62	11	7	1
<b>Turkey</b>	43	27	14	6	11
<b>Kenya</b>	62	26	8	3	1
<b>Nigeria</b>	57	38	1	4	
<b>Hong Kong*</b>	70	5	10	7	8
<b>Macao*</b>	73	5	1	2	18
<b>India</b>	35	27	14	14	10
<b>Indonesia</b>	54	29	6	5	6
<b>Taiwan*</b>	83	8	0	4	5
	49	28	11	6	8

\*Not included in Global Average

## <sup>3</sup> Chicago Council on Global Affairs/German Marshall Fund Worldviews 2002

For each of the following reasons, would you approve or disapprove the use of (own country) military troops?

To uphold international law

	Approve	Disapprove	DK/Other
<b>Great Britain</b>	84	12	4
<b>France</b>	84	13	3
<b>Germany</b>	68	26	7
<b>The Netherlands</b>	86	12	2
<b>Italy</b>	83	14	2
<b>Poland</b>	84	11	6
<b>European Average</b>	80	16	4
<b>United States</b>	76	21	3

## <sup>4</sup> Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

Based on what you know, do you think [survey country] should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

The treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

	<b>Should participate</b>	<b>Should not participate</b>	<b>Not sure/Decline</b>
<b>United States</b>	86	10	4
<b>China</b>	73	17	10
<b>India</b>	57	31	12
<b>South Korea</b>	86	13	2

<sup>5</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006**

Based on what you know, do you think [survey country] should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

An agreement under the treaty banning biological weapons that would allow international inspectors to examine biological research laboratories to ensure that countries are not producing biological weapons

	<b>Should participate</b>	<b>Should not participate</b>	<b>Not sure/Decline</b>
<b>United States</b>	89	8	3
<b>China</b>	65	19	16
<b>India</b>	50	32	19
<b>South Korea</b>	86	12	2

<sup>6</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006**

Based on what you know, do you think [survey country] should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

The agreement on the International Criminal Court that can try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them

	<b>Should participate</b>	<b>Should not participate</b>	<b>Not sure/Decline</b>
<b>United States</b>	71	25	5
<b>South Korea</b>	87	11	2

<sup>7</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006**

Based on what you know, do you think [survey country] should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

The Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming

	<b>Should participate</b>	<b>Should not participate</b>	<b>Not sure/Decline</b>
<b>United States</b>	70	23	7
<b>South Korea</b>	88	11	2

<sup>8</sup> **Bertelsmann Foundation of Germany 2005**

What is the best framework for ensuring peace and stability?

	<b>A System Led by the United Nations</b>	<b>A System Led by a Balance of Regional Powers</b>	<b>A System Led by a Single World Power</b>	<b>A System Led by Two World Powers</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>Brazil</b>	36	45	9	6	4

<b>China</b>	51	36	6	3	4
<b>France</b>	46	34	5	4	11
<b>Germany</b>	68	21	4	3	4
<b>Great Britain</b>	47	40	3	2	8
<b>India</b>	33	37	16	12	2
<b>Japan</b>	33	29	1	1	36
<b>Russia</b>	28	33	15	10	14
<b>United States</b>	33	52	6	4	5
<b>Average</b>	42	36	7	5	10

<sup>9</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2007

Which statement comes closest to your position?

	<b>As the sole remaining superpower, the United States should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems.</b>	<b>The United States should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries.</b>	<b>The United States should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems.</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>United States</b>	10	75	12	3
<b>Argentina</b>	1	34	55	10
<b>Armenia</b>	7	58	27	8
<b>China</b>	9	68	14	9
<b>France</b>	3	75	21	1
<b>India</b>	34	42	10	13
<b>Israel</b>	24	62	10	5
<b>Mexico</b>	12	59	22	8
<b>Palestine</b>	5	36	55	4
<b>Peru</b>	10	61	22	7
<b>Philippines</b>	20	55	16	9
<b>Russia</b>	8	42	38	12
<b>South Korea</b>	14	79	6	0
<b>Thailand</b>	8	47	18	27
<b>Ukraine</b>	3	52	34	11
<b>Average</b>	11	56	24	8

<sup>10</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2007

Please select if you agree or disagree with the following statement: The US is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be.

	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>United States</b>	76	21	3
<b>Argentina</b>	62	27	10
<b>Armenia</b>	63	27	10



<b>Australia</b>	80	18	2
<b>China</b>	77	14	9
<b>France</b>	89	11	*
<b>India</b>	53	33	14
<b>Indonesia</b>	68	23	9
<b>Israel</b>	48	48	4
<b>Palestine</b>	74	23	3
<b>Peru</b>	76	21	3
<b>Philippines</b>	31	57	12
<b>Russia</b>	76	12	12
<b>South Korea</b>	73	24	3
<b>Ukraine</b>	67	18	15
<b>Average</b>	68	25	8

<sup>11</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2007**

Do you think that the United States has the responsibility to play the role of ‘world policeman,’ that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur?

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>United States</b>	22	75	3
<b>Armenia</b>	21	70	9
<b>Australia</b>	27	70	3
<b>China</b>	30	61	9
<b>India</b>	53	35	13
<b>Indonesia</b>	20	69	11
<b>Palestine</b>	20	76	4
<b>South Korea</b>	39	60	1
<b>Ukraine</b>	17	69	14
<b>Average</b>	28	65	8

<sup>12</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2003**

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

U.S. unilateralism (If needed: The tendency of the United States to “go it alone”)

	<b>Extremely important threat</b>	<b>Important threat</b>	<b>Not important threat</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	25	43	26	6

<b>France</b>	34	54	11	1
<b>Germany</b>	40	48	11	1
<b>The Netherlands</b>	24	53	19	4
<b>Italy</b>	29	46	21	4
<b>Poland</b>	24	43	18	15
<b>Portugal</b>	28	44	17	11
<b>European Average</b>	31	47	17	5
<b>United States</b>	21	46	24	9

<sup>13</sup> **BBC December 2004**

For each of the following possible future trends, please tell me if you would see it as mainly positive or mainly negative...The United Nations becomes significantly more powerful in world affairs.

	Mainly positive	Mainly negative	Depends (vol)	DK/NA (vol)
<b>Argentina</b>	44	22	4	30
<b>Australia</b>	74	17	4	5
<b>Brazil</b>	61	22	6	12
<b>Canada</b>	72	22	1	5
<b>China</b>	54	17	5	23
<b>Chile</b>	69	18	5	8
<b>France</b>	54	37	1	8
<b>Germany</b>	87	7	3	3
<b>Great Britain</b>	75	20	1	4
<b>India</b>	55	23	9	13
<b>Indonesia</b>	77	9	8	6
<b>Italy</b>	58	33	3	7
<b>Japan</b>	65	3	0	32
<b>Lebanon</b>	58	18	10	13
<b>Mexico</b>	71	5	12	12
<b>Russia</b>	57	11	10	22
<b>Philippines</b>	77	18	3	3
<b>Poland</b>	61	11	3	25
<b>South Africa</b>	64	26	2	8
<b>South Korea</b>	56	38	4	3
<b>Spain</b>	78	10	2	10
<b>Turkey</b>	40	24	17	19
<b>United States</b>	59	37	1	3
<b>Average</b>	64	19	5	12

<sup>14</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org January 2007**

For each of the following possible future trends, please tell me if you would see it as mainly positive or mainly negative...

The United Nations becomes significantly more powerful in world affairs

	Mainly positive	Mainly negative	Refused/DK
<b>Iran</b>	70	14	16
<b>United States</b>	66	32	3

<sup>15</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2007**

Strengthening the United Nations

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important	Not sure/ Decline	Total
<b>United States</b>	40	39	19	2	100
<b>Armenia</b>	41	39	12	8	100
<b>Australia</b>	64	27	9	1	101
<b>China</b>	51	35	8	6	100
<b>India</b>	49	35	10	7	101
<b>Mexico</b>	56	26	14	4	100
<b>South Korea</b>	32	58	9	1	100
<b>Thailand</b>	45	34	4	17	100

<sup>16</sup> **German Marshall Fund TransatlanticTrends - June 2003**

Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies.

For the United Nations, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

	Yes, needs to be strengthened	No, does not need to be strengthened	DK/Refusal
<b>Great Britain</b>	78	18	4
<b>France</b>	71	25	4
<b>Germany</b>	80	18	2
<b>The Netherlands</b>	69	26	5
<b>Italy</b>	72	22	6
<b>Poland</b>	61	23	16
<b>Portugal</b>	81	14	5
<b>European Average</b>	74	21	5
<b>United States</b>	70	26	4

<sup>17</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the United Nations, here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step.

Having a standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained and commanded by the United Nations

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline
<b>Argentina</b>	48	30	22
<b>Peru</b>	77	19	4
<b>United States</b>	72	24	5

<b>Armenia</b>	75	15	10
<b>France</b>	74	25	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	79	17	4
<b>Poland</b>	63	11	26
<b>Russia</b>	58	22	20
<b>Ukraine</b>	54	19	28
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	64	21	14
<b>Egypt</b>	53	47	0
<b>Iran</b>	62	13	25
<b>Israel</b>	64	31	6
<b>Turkey</b>	51	24	25
<b>Kenya</b>	85	14	1
<b>Nigeria</b>	84	15	1
<b>China</b>	62	25	13
<b>India</b>	58	30	12
<b>Indonesia</b>	74	14	12
<b>Philippines</b>	46	44	9
<b>South Korea</b>	68	30	1
<b>Thailand</b>	73	12	15
<b>Average</b>	66	23	12

<sup>18</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the United Nations, here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step.

Giving the UN the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights

	<b>Favor</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	46	29	24
<b>Peru</b>	75	23	3
<b>United States</b>	75	22	3
<b>Armenia</b>	67	16	18
<b>France</b>	92	8	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	86	11	3
<b>Poland</b>	58	14	28
<b>Russia</b>	64	17	19
<b>Ukraine</b>	66	13	21
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	77	11	12
<b>Egypt</b>	51	49	0
<b>Iran</b>	54	22	25
<b>Israel</b>	64	31	5
<b>Turkey</b>	47	25	28
<b>Kenya</b>	81	17	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	83	15	3
<b>China</b>	57	28	16
<b>India</b>	54	29	17
<b>Indonesia</b>	71	14	15
<b>Philippines</b>	46	46	9
<b>South Korea</b>	74	25	2
<b>Thailand</b>	52	26	22
<b>Average</b>	65	22	13

<sup>19</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the United Nations, here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step.

Giving the UN the power to regulate the international arms trade

	<b>Favor</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	36	42	22
<b>Peru</b>	52	43	5
<b>United States</b>	60	34	6
<b>Armenia</b>	58	27	15
<b>France</b>	77	22	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	69	26	5
<b>Poland</b>	44	28	28
<b>Russia</b>	55	28	17
<b>Ukraine</b>	57	22	21
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	63	27	10
<b>Egypt</b>	53	47	0
<b>Iran</b>	59	16	26
<b>Israel</b>	60	34	6
<b>Turkey</b>	34	39	27
<b>Kenya</b>	85	13	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	84	15	2
<b>China</b>	59	28	13
<b>India</b>	57	31	12
<b>Indonesia</b>	64	22	15
<b>Philippines</b>	32	58	10
<b>South Korea</b>	75	23	2
<b>Thailand</b>	44	37	19
<b>Average</b>	58	30	12

<sup>20</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the United Nations, here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step.

Giving the UN the power to fund its activities by imposing a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil

	<b>Favor</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	32	42	27
<b>Peru</b>	38	55	7
<b>United States</b>	45	50	5
<b>Armenia</b>	46	28	26
<b>France</b>	70	30	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	61	33	6
<b>Poland</b>	40	27	33
<b>Russia</b>	39	36	25

<b>Ukraine</b>	44	20	36
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	47	30	24
<b>Egypt</b>	39	61	0
<b>Iran</b>	39	31	30
<b>Israel</b>	52	39	9
<b>Turkey</b>	33	36	31
<b>Kenya</b>	74	23	3
<b>Nigeria</b>	65	31	5
<b>China</b>	55	27	17
<b>India</b>	47	37	17
<b>Indonesia</b>	50	33	17
<b>Philippines</b>	33	56	11
<b>South Korea</b>	53	44	3
<b>Thailand</b>	48	29	23
<b>Average</b>	48	36	16

<sup>21</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Please select whether you agree or disagree with the following statement. When dealing with international problems, [survey country] should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that [survey country] will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.

	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	41	32	27
<b>Mexico</b>	46	27	27
<b>Peru</b>	50	42	8
<b>United States</b>	60	37	4
<b>Armenia</b>	36	45	19
<b>France</b>	68	29	3
<b>Great Britain</b>	58	32	10
<b>Poland</b>	35	31	34
<b>Russia</b>	33	44	23
<b>Ukraine</b>	30	32	38
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	36	44	20
<b>Egypt</b>	57	43	0
<b>Indonesia</b>	33	50	17
<b>Israel</b>	54	38	8
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	15	81	4
<b>Turkey</b>	39	29	32
<b>Kenya</b>	66	31	4
<b>Nigeria</b>	60	37	3
<b>China</b>	78	12	10
<b>India</b>	44	35	21
<b>Philippines</b>	26	46	28
<b>South Korea</b>	48	49	3
<b>Thailand</b>	48	25	27
<b>Average</b>	46	38	16

<sup>22</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force for each of the following purposes: to defend a country that has been attacked

	<b>Should</b>	<b>Should not</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	65	21	13
<b>United States</b>	83	14	4
<b>France</b>	84	13	3
<b>Russia</b>	70	14	17
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	82	11	7
<b>Egypt</b>	78	22	0
<b>Israel</b>	77	17	6
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	81	17	2
<b>Turkey</b>	68	15	18
<b>Kenya</b>	88	11	1
<b>Nigeria</b>	89	10	1
<b>China</b>	70	18	11
<b>India</b>	66	22	12
<b>Indonesia</b>	71	15	14
<b>South Korea</b>	76	23	1
<b>Thailand</b>	67	14	19
<b>Average</b>	76	16	8

<sup>23</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force for each of the following purposes: to prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide.

	<b>Should</b>	<b>Should not</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	73	17	9
<b>United States</b>	83	13	4
<b>France</b>	85	14	1
<b>Russia</b>	64	20	17
<b>Ukraine</b>	69	11	21
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	79	10	11
<b>Egypt</b>	83	17	0
<b>Iran</b>	69	20	12
<b>Israel</b>	83	15	2
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	78	20	2
<b>Turkey</b>	64	16	20
<b>Kenya</b>	90	10	1
<b>Nigeria</b>	88	10	2
<b>China</b>	72	18	9
<b>India</b>	63	28	9
<b>Indonesia</b>	83	7	10
<b>South Korea</b>	74	25	1
<b>Thailand</b>	62	23	15
<b>Average</b>	76	16	8

<sup>24</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force for each of the following purposes: To stop a country from supporting terrorist groups

	<b>Should</b>	<b>Should not</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	71	20	9
<b>United States</b>	76	20	3
<b>France</b>	84	16	1
<b>Russia</b>	65	18	17
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	80	10	10
<b>Egypt</b>	81	19	0
<b>Israel</b>	85	12	3
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	61	36	3
<b>Turkey</b>	69	13	17
<b>Kenya</b>	76	22	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	87	11	2
<b>China</b>	67	23	10
<b>India</b>	60	28	11
<b>Indonesia</b>	81	7	13
<b>South Korea</b>	61	38	1
<b>Thailand</b>	71	16	13
<b>Average</b>	73	19	7

<sup>25</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force for each of the following purposes: preventing a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them.

	<b>Should</b>	<b>Should not</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	70	21	10
<b>United States</b>	62	33	5
<b>France</b>	50	48	2
<b>Russia</b>	55	27	19
<b>Ukraine</b>	51	22	26
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	59	26	16
<b>Egypt</b>	74	26	0
<b>Israel</b>	62	33	5
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	38	59	3
<b>Turkey</b>	58	23	19
<b>Kenya</b>	84	15	1
<b>Nigeria</b>	81	17	2
<b>China</b>	47	40	14
<b>India</b>	53	34	13
<b>Indonesia</b>	68	19	14
<b>South Korea</b>	43	55	1
<b>Thailand</b>	52	31	18
<b>Average</b>	59	31	10

<sup>26</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**



Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force for each of the following purposes: To prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons

	<b>Should</b>	<b>Should not</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>United States</b>	57	39	5
<b>France</b>	50	48	2
<b>Russia</b>	53	22	25
<b>Ukraine</b>	52	20	27
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	59	20	21
<b>Egypt</b>	51	49	0
<b>Israel</b>	54	39	7
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	39	57	4
<b>Turkey</b>	58	20	23
<b>Kenya</b>	84	15	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	75	21	4
<b>China</b>	47	34	19
<b>India</b>	50	32	18
<b>Indonesia</b>	62	25	14
<b>South Korea</b>	42	56	2
<b>Thailand</b>	59	21	20
<b>Average</b>	56	32	12

<sup>27</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force for each of the following purposes: To restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown

	<b>Should</b>	<b>Should not</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	54	30	15
<b>United States</b>	57	38	5
<b>France</b>	52	45	3
<b>Russia</b>	35	37	28
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	43	38	19
<b>Egypt</b>	64	36	0
<b>Israel</b>	58	34	7
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	67	30	3
<b>Turkey</b>	43	32	26
<b>Kenya</b>	76	22	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	76	22	3
<b>China</b>	37	45	18
<b>India</b>	51	34	16
<b>Indonesia</b>	51	28	21
<b>South Korea</b>	32	65	2
<b>Thailand</b>	46	29	25
<b>Average</b>	53	35	12

<sup>28</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005**

And, do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following:  
The use of military force is more legitimate when the United Nations (UN) approves it

	<b>Agree strongly</b>	<b>Agree somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree strongly</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	28	36	17	13	6
<b>United States</b>	35	34	34	15	2
<b>France</b>	34	40	40	11	1
<b>Germany</b>	23	37	37	15	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	41	35	35	7	5
<b>Italy</b>	23	38	38	15	3
<b>Netherlands</b>	31	43	43	8	1
<b>Poland</b>	18	39	39	9	16
<b>Portugal</b>	45	33	8	8	7
<b>Spain</b>	24	43	15	11	7
<b>Slovakia</b>	31	36	13	10	10
<b>Turkey</b>	24	25	18	19	14

<sup>29</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org December 2006**

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following: The use of military force is more legitimate when the United Nations (UN) approves it.

	<b>Agree strongly</b>	<b>Agree somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree strongly</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>Iran</b>	31	38	16	6	9
<b>United States</b>	26	46	16	11	2

<sup>30</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2003**

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

	<b>Support</b>	<b>Not support</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	37	57	6
<b>France</b>	41	53	6
<b>Germany</b>	20	76	4
<b>The Netherlands</b>	33	61	6
<b>Italy</b>	24	70	6
<b>Poland</b>	37	52	11
<b>Portugal</b>	25	72	3
<b>EU Average</b>	31	63	6
<b>United States</b>	58	31	11

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

	<b>Support</b>	<b>Not support</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	55	41	4
<b>France</b>	47	48	5
<b>Germany</b>	34	64	2
<b>The Netherlands</b>	44	51	5
<b>Italy</b>	32	63	5

<b>Poland</b>	38	55	7
<b>Portugal</b>	39	56	5
<b>EU Average</b>	41	54	5
<b>United States</b>	68	24	8

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

	<b>Support</b>	<b>Not support</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	56	37	7
<b>France</b>	45	50	5
<b>Germany</b>	33	66	1
<b>The Netherlands</b>	52	46	2
<b>Italy</b>	37	59	4
<b>Poland</b>	31	58	11
<b>Portugal</b>	44	54	2
<b>EU Average</b>	43	53	5
<b>United States</b>	72	24	4

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

	<b>Support</b>	<b>Not support</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	49	48	3
<b>France</b>	43	49	8
<b>Germany</b>	30	63	7
<b>The Netherlands</b>	40	56	4
<b>Italy</b>	24	71	5
<b>Poland</b>	41	47	12
<b>Portugal</b>	34	61	5
<b>EU Average</b>	37	56	6
<b>United States</b>	53	38	9

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

	<b>Support</b>	<b>Not support</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	66	31	3
<b>France</b>	54	44	2
<b>Germany</b>	29	67	4
<b>The Netherlands</b>	54	43	3
<b>Italy</b>	34	62	4
<b>Poland</b>	51	40	9
<b>Portugal</b>	47	49	4
<b>EU Average</b>	48	48	4
<b>United States</b>	78	17	5

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

	<b>Support</b>	<b>Not support</b>	<b>DK / Refused</b>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	51	43	6
<b>France</b>	44	52	4
<b>Germany</b>	32	66	2
<b>The Netherlands</b>	45	49	6
<b>Italy</b>	26	68	6
<b>Poland</b>	38	49	13
<b>Portugal</b>	28	66	6
<b>EU Average</b>	38	56	6
<b>United States</b>	67	23	10

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

	<b>Support</b>	<b>Not support</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	70	27	3
<b>France</b>	56	39	5
<b>Germany</b>	46	51	3
<b>The Netherlands</b>	48	46	6
<b>Italy</b>	44	52	4
<b>Poland</b>	38	45	17
<b>Portugal</b>	48	50	2
<b>EU Average</b>	50	44	6
<b>United States</b>	75	16	9

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

	<b>Support</b>	<b>Not support</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	58	40	2
<b>France</b>	47	49	4
<b>Germany</b>	33	63	4
<b>The Netherlands</b>	40	55	5
<b>Italy</b>	38	60	2
<b>Poland</b>	40	47	13
<b>Portugal</b>	38	54	8
<b>EU Average</b>	42	53	5
<b>United States</b>	73	20	7

<sup>31</sup> **Pew Global Attitudes Project 2004**

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

	<b>U.N. approval</b>	<b>Too difficult</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
<b>United States</b>	41	48	10
<b>Great Britain</b>	64	30	6
<b>France</b>	63	35	2
<b>Germany</b>	80	15	6
<b>Russia</b>	37	41	21

<b>Turkey</b>	45	44	11
<b>Pakistan</b>	38	34	28
<b>Jordan</b>	47	38	15
<b>Morocco</b>	42	42	16

<sup>32</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004**

If a situation like Iraq arose in the future, do you think it is essential to secure the approval of the UN before using military force, or don't you think it is essential?

	<b>Essential</b>	<b>Not essential</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	78	15	7
<b>United States</b>	58	38	4
<b>France</b>	86	10	5
<b>Germany</b>	78	18	5
<b>United Kingdom</b>	83	15	3
<b>Italy</b>	87	10	3
<b>Netherlands</b>	85	13	1
<b>Poland</b>	73	12	15
<b>Portugal</b>	69	16	15
<b>Spain</b>	86	9	5
<b>Slovakia</b>	78	11	11
<b>Turkey</b>	59	26	15

<sup>33</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004**

If there was UN approval, would you be willing to use the [COUNTRY'S] armed forces to intervene in a foreign country in order to eliminate the threat of a terrorist attack?

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	65	29	6
<b>United States</b>	78	15	7
<b>France</b>	82	16	2
<b>Germany</b>	56	42	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	77	18	6
<b>Italy</b>	77	20	3
<b>Netherlands</b>	76	21	2
<b>Poland</b>	53	36	11
<b>Portugal</b>	57	30	14
<b>Spain</b>	77	18	5
<b>Slovakia</b>	61	24	15
<b>Turkey</b>	30	52	18

<sup>34</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004**

If there was UN approval, would you be willing to use the [COUNTRY'S] armed forces to establish peace in a civil war in an African country?

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	55	38	7

<b>United States</b>	66	27	6
<b>France</b>	70	25	5
<b>Germany</b>	40	55	5
<b>United Kingdom</b>	65	25	9
<b>Italy</b>	68	27	4
<b>Netherlands</b>	67	29	5
<b>Poland</b>	27	64	9
<b>Portugal</b>	52	28	20
<b>Spain</b>	68	24	8
<b>Slovakia</b>	26	57	17
<b>Turkey</b>	4	48	8

<sup>35</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004**

Would you still support the use of the [COUNTRY'S] armed forces if the UN does not approve it?

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	27	68	5
<b>United States</b>	49	46	5
<b>France</b>	29	67	4
<b>Germany</b>	16	83	1
<b>United Kingdom</b>	31	66	3
<b>Italy</b>	25	69	6
<b>Netherlands</b>	26	71	3
<b>Poland</b>	24	63	13
<b>Portugal</b>	37	56	7
<b>Spain</b>	28	67	6
<b>Slovakia</b>	24	66	10
<b>Turkey</b>	41	53	6

<sup>36</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005**

Here is a list of statements about NATO. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them:  
NATO approval makes military action legitimate

	<b>Agree strongly</b>	<b>Agree somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree strongly</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	15	36	25	16	7
<b>United States</b>	18	35	22	17	9
<b>France</b>	15	41	25	14	5
<b>Germany</b>	15	40	29	15	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	20	39	21	11	9
<b>Italy</b>	8	32	30	26	4
<b>Netherlands</b>	14	48	23	12	3
<b>Poland</b>	11	36	23	10	20
<b>Portugal</b>	26	37	14	9	14
<b>Spain</b>	13	31	27	19	10
<b>Slovakia</b>	21	38	14	16	11
<b>Turkey</b>	23	25	20	18	13

<sup>37</sup> **GMF Transatlantic Trends 2004**

If there was NATO approval, would you be willing to use the [COUNTRY'S] armed forces to intervene in a foreign country in order to eliminate the threat of a terrorist attack?

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	61	32	7
<b>United States</b>	79	16	5
<b>France</b>	76	21	3
<b>Germany</b>	51	47	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	74	20	7
<b>Italy</b>	65	29	6
<b>Netherlands</b>	78	21	1
<b>Poland</b>	56	29	15
<b>Portugal</b>	58	30	12
<b>Spain</b>	76	20	4
<b>Slovakia</b>	50	31	19
<b>Turkey</b>	34	52	14

**GMF Transatlantic Trends 2004**

If there was NATO approval, would you be willing to use the [COUNTRY'S] armed forces to establish peace in a civil war in an African country?

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	50	42	8
<b>United States</b>	60	34	6
<b>France</b>	58	35	7
<b>Germany</b>	34	63	4
<b>United Kingdom</b>	64	28	7
<b>Italy</b>	64	29	7
<b>Netherlands</b>	63	34	3
<b>Poland</b>	26	64	10
<b>Portugal</b>	54	29	17
<b>Spain</b>	61	29	10
<b>Slovakia</b>	19	59	23
<b>Turkey</b>	42	45	13

<sup>38</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Giving the UN the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights

	<b>Favor</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	46	29	24
<b>Peru</b>	75	23	3

<b>United States</b>	75	22	3
<b>Armenia</b>	67	16	18
<b>France</b>	92	8	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	86	11	3
<b>Poland</b>	58	14	28
<b>Russia</b>	64	17	19
<b>Ukraine</b>	66	13	21
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	77	11	12
<b>Egypt</b>	51	49	0
<b>Iran</b>	54	22	25
<b>Israel</b>	64	31	5
<b>Turkey</b>	47	25	28
<b>Kenya</b>	81	17	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	83	15	3
<b>China</b>	57	28	16
<b>India</b>	54	29	17
<b>Indonesia</b>	71	14	15
<b>Philippines</b>	46	46	9
<b>South Korea</b>	74	25	2
<b>Thailand</b>	52	26	22
<b>Average</b>	65	22	13

<sup>39</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008**

As you may know, the members of the UN General Assembly have agreed on a set of principles called the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Some people say the United Nations should actively promote such human rights principles in member states. Others say this is improper interference in a country's internal affairs and human rights should be left to each country. Do you think the UN SHOULD or SHOULD NOT actively promote human rights in member states?

	<b>Should</b>	<b>Should not</b>	<b>DK / NS</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	91	4	5
<b>Mexico</b>	85	12	3
<b>United States</b>	70	25	5
<b>France</b>	76	20	4
<b>Germany</b>	91	8	2
<b>Britain</b>	68	24	8
<b>Italy</b>	81	14	5
<b>Russia</b>	55	29	16
<b>Ukraine</b>	73	9	18
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	89	8	4
<b>Egypt</b>	64	33	3
<b>Jordan</b>	50	33	17
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	54	41	5
<b>Turkey</b>	60	19	20
<b>Kenya</b>	94	4	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	87	12	1
<b>China</b>	62	16	22
<b>Hong Kong*</b>	73	16	12
<b>Macau*</b>	68	15	17



<b>India</b>	55	26	19
<b>Indonesia</b>	70	13	17
<b>South Korea</b>	62	35	4
<b>Taiwan*</b>	78	12	10
<b>Thailand</b>	44	25	31
<b>Average</b>	70	19	10

<sup>40</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008

Would you like to see the UN do more, do less, or do about the same as it has been doing to promote human rights principles?

	<b>Do more</b>	<b>Do less</b>	<b>Do about the same as it has been doing</b>	<b>DK / NS</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	85	2	8	5
<b>Mexico</b>	88	2	8	2
<b>United States</b>	59	7	28	5
<b>France</b>	64	6	26	4
<b>Germany</b>	58	7	34	2
<b>Britain</b>	64	6	22	8
<b>Italy</b>	83	6	8	3
<b>Russia</b>	45	8	23	24
<b>Ukraine</b>	57	4	18	22
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	58	9	29	4
<b>Egypt</b>	55	22	22	1
<b>Jordan</b>	62	17	8	13
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	48	23	26	3
<b>Turkey</b>	69	7	8	16
<b>Kenya</b>	91	5	3	1
<b>Nigeria</b>	88	7	4	1
<b>China</b>	51	5	15	29
<b>Hong Kong*</b>	65	2	26	7
<b>Macau*</b>	65	1	22	12
<b>India</b>	54	14	16	17
<b>Indonesia</b>	66	6	12	17
<b>South Korea</b>	69	3	25	3
<b>Taiwan*</b>	62	2	25	11
<b>Thailand</b>	60	7	13	20
<b>Average</b>	65	8	17	10

<sup>41</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008

Do you think the UN should make efforts to further the rights of women or do you think this is improper interference in a country's internal affairs?

	<b>Make efforts to further the rights of women</b>	<b>Improper interference in a country's internal affairs</b>	<b>DK / NS</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	78	18	4
<b>Mexico</b>	88	9	3

United States	59	38	2
France	74	19	7
Britain	70	26	5
Russia	52	30	18
Ukraine	69	16	16
Azerbaijan	66	23	11
Egypt	30	70	
Iran	52	36	12
Palestinian Territories	49	48	3
Turkey	70	20	11
Kenya	91	8	1
Nigeria	66	32	2
China	86	10	4
Hong Kong*	67	23	10
India	48	28	24
Indonesia	74	16	10
South Korea	78	21	1
Thailand	64	21	15
Average	67	26	8

<sup>42</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008

In May 2008, Burma, [if you feel it is necessary, Add: “also known as Myanmar”] had a major cyclone that left over a million people without food and water. Though the Burmese government was not effectively delivering aid, it refused to let in relief organizations. As a general rule, in such circumstances, should the UN bring in shipments of aid, escorted by military protection if necessary, even against the will of the government OR do you think this would be too much of a violation of a country’s sovereignty?

	UN should bring in shipments of aid, escorted by military protection if necessary	This would be too much of a violation of a country’s sovereignty	DK / NS
Argentina	86	8	7
Mexico	69	27	4
United States	53	43	5
France	70	26	4
Germany	74	23	3
Great Britain	68	26	7
Italy	66	24	10
Russia	40	40	20
Ukraine	42	29	29
Azerbaijan	55	38	7
Egypt	48	48	4
Jordan	46	37	17
Palestinian Territories	65	31	4
Turkey	61	19	20
Kenya	81	14	5
Nigeria	57	32	10
China	59	28	12
Hong Kong	63	28	9
Macau	63	26	11

<b>India</b>	51	24	26
<b>Indonesia</b>	55	17	28
<b>South Korea</b>	58	37	4
<b>Taiwan</b>	78	15	6
<b>Thailand</b>	52	14	33
<b>Average</b>	60	28	12

<sup>43</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009**

In response to the charges made by the International Criminal Court, President Bashir has expelled humanitarian groups that have been providing food and other aid to the displaced civilians living in refugee camps. If, as a result, many people in these camps start dying from hunger and exposure, do you think the UN should bring in food and other aid, escorted by military protection if necessary, even against the will of the government OR do you think this would be too much of a violation of Sudan's sovereignty?

	<b>UN should bring in shipments of aid, escorted by military protection if necessary</b>	<b>This would be too much of a violation of a country's sovereignty</b>	<b>DK / Ref</b>
<b>Egypt</b>	61	38	1
<b>Iraq</b>	46	29	24
<b>Pakistan</b>	37	42	21
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	60	38	2
<b>Turkey</b>	58	17	25
<b>Kenya</b>	82	16	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	68	27	5
<b>Average</b>	59	30	11

<sup>44</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008**

Some people say that the UN Security Council has the responsibility to authorize the use of military force to protect people from severe human rights violations such as genocide, even against the will of their own government. Others say that the UN Security Council does not have such a responsibility. Do you think that the UN Security Council does or does not have this responsibility?

	<b>Has this responsibility</b>	<b>Does not have this responsibility</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	48	27	25
<b>United States</b>	74	22	4
<b>Armenia</b>	66	19	16
<b>France</b>	54	39	7
<b>Great Britain</b>	70	22	8
<b>Poland</b>	54	15	31
<b>Russia</b>	48	31	21
<b>Ukraine</b>	40	16	44
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	42	23	35
<b>Egypt</b>	80	20	0
<b>Iran</b>	59	25	16
<b>Israel</b>	64	28	8
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	69	27	4
<b>Turkey</b>	39	20	40
<b>Kenya</b>	89	8	3
<b>Nigeria</b>	78	18	5
<b>China</b>	76	13	11
<b>India</b>	51	25	25
<b>Indonesia</b>	82	5	14

<b>Thailand</b>	44	22	33
<b>Average</b>	61	21	18

<sup>45</sup> **World PublicOpinion.org 2009**

Do you think that when there are concerns about the fairness of elections countries should or should not be willing to have international observers from the United Nations monitor their elections?

	<b>Should</b>	<b>Should not</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>Chile</b>	63	14	23
<b>Mexico</b>	68	30	3
<b>United States</b>	67	31	2
<b>France</b>	71	25	4
<b>Germany</b>	78	18	4
<b>Great Britain</b>	81	15	4
<b>Russia</b>	45	40	15
<b>Ukraine</b>	63	25	12
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	83	8	9
<b>Egypt</b>	61	39	0
<b>Iraq</b>	65	23	12
<b>Pakistan</b>	55	38	7
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	57	41	2
<b>Turkey</b>	46	45	9
<b>Kenya</b>	82	17	1
<b>Nigeria</b>	78	22	1
<b>China – Hong Kong*</b>	55	36	9
<b>China – Macau*</b>	63	23	14
<b>India</b>	45	48	7
<b>Indonesia</b>	20	74	6
<b>Taiwan*</b>	61	33	6
<b>Average</b>	63	31	7

\* Not included in Global Average

<sup>46</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009**

Do you think that [Country] would or would not benefit from having international observers monitor elections here?

	<b>Would</b>	<b>Would not</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>Chile</b>	59	16	25
<b>Mexico</b>	66	30	4
<b>United States</b>	46	51	3
<b>France</b>	45	50	6
<b>Germany</b>	49	36	14
<b>Great Britain</b>	46	51	3
<b>Russia</b>	43	42	15
<b>Ukraine</b>	63	25	12
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	71	16	14
<b>Egypt</b>	63	37	0
<b>Iraq</b>	67	21	12
<b>Pakistan</b>	49	43	8
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	57	40	3

Turkey	46	45	9
Kenya	85	14	1
Nigeria	74	24	3
China – Hong Kong*	55	36	10
China – Macau*	66	23	11
India	38	51	11
Indonesia	25	62	14
Taiwan*	59	32	10
Average	55	36	9

\*Not included in the Global Average

#### <sup>47</sup> World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. I'm going to mention some problems. For each one, would you tell me whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the national governments, by regional organizations, or by the United Nations? Aid to developing countries

	National govts	Regional orgs	UN	National govts, w/ UN coordination	Non profit/ NGO	DK	No answer	N/A
Italy	19	19	56	0	0	5	1	0
Spain	15	18	54	0	0	13	1	0
United States	31	22	41	0	0	3	3	0
Canada	34	9	51	0	0	6	0	0
Japan	14	14	42	0	17	0	8	0
Mexico	23	11	58	6	0	1	0	0
South Africa	29	17	47	0	0	0	8	0
Australia	32	14	49	0	0	0	5	0
Sweden	14	31	51	0	0	4	0	0
Argentina	18	7	50	0	0	23	1	0
Finland	26	15	55	0	0	2	1	0
South Korea	32	11	56	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	21	16	61	0	0	3	0	0
Switzerland	28	16	52	0	0	3	1	0
Brazil	26	15	50	0	0	6	3	0
Chile	23	12	54	0	0	9	1	0
India	23	12	24	0	0	40	0	0
Slovenia	10	45	33	0	0	10	2	0
Bulgaria	7	40	40	0	0	12	0	0
Romania	19	26	36	0	0	17	2	0
China	17	6	29	0	0	47	1	0
Taiwan	22	31	44	0	0	3	0	0
Turkey	31	16	44	0	0	8	1	0
Ukraine	19	17	50	0	0	11	3	0
Ghana	24	16	55	0	0	4	2	0
Moldova	20	36	39	0	0	4	0	0
Georgia	22	12	58	0	0	8	0	0
Thailand	65	25	9	0	0	0	1	0

<b>Indonesia</b>	13	25	51	0	0	8	2	1
<b>Vietnam</b>	13	15	61	0	0	9	1	0
<b>Serbia</b>	20	18	52	0	0	8	2	0
<b>New Zealand</b>	17	0	23	48	0	7	5	0
<b>Egypt</b>	26	21	50	0	0	4	0	0
<b>Morocco</b>	19	13	42	0	0	0	26	0
<b>Iran</b>	19	20	56	0	0	4	1	0
<b>Jordan</b>	16	17	54	0	0	12	0	0
<b>Cyprus</b>	24	39	37	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Trinidad and Tobago</b>	20	20	57	0	0	3	1	0
<b>Andorra</b>	25	11	62	0	0	2	1	0
<b>Malaysia</b>	18	43	38	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	12	11	59	0	0	13	3	2
<b>Ethiopia</b>	11	11	68	0	0	5	4	1
<b>Mali</b>	21	12	55	0	0	7	5	1
<b>Rwanda</b>	17	19	61	0	0	3	0	0
<b>Zambia</b>	15	29	48	0	0	4	3	0
<b>Germany</b>	23	26	46	0	0	4	1	0
<b>Average</b>	22	19	48	1	0	7	2	0

<sup>48</sup> World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. I'm going to mention some problems. For each one, would you tell me whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the national governments, by regional organizations, or by the United Nations? Refugees

	<b>National govts</b>	<b>Regional orgs</b>	<b>UN</b>	<b>National govts, w/ UN coordination</b>	<b>Non profit / NGO</b>	<b>DK</b>	<b>No answer</b>	<b>N/A</b>
<b>Italy</b>	32	22	37	0	0	8	1	0
<b>Spain</b>	13	20	54	0	0	14	0	0
<b>United States</b>	34	27	32	0	0	3	3	0
<b>Canada</b>	46	11	33	0	0	9	1	0
<b>Japan</b>	17	15	46	0	15	0	7	0
<b>Mexico</b>	36	14	42	8	0	2	0	0
<b>South Africa</b>	31	15	45	0	0	0	10	0
<b>Australia</b>	38	14	43	0	0	0	5	0
<b>Sweden</b>	33	23	41	0	0	3	0	0
<b>Argentina</b>	22	5	48	0	0	24	2	0
<b>Finland</b>	42	17	37	0	0	3	1	0
<b>South Korea</b>	31	9	60	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Poland</b>	45	15	36	0	0	4	0	0
<b>Switzerland</b>	32	16	48	0	0	4	1	0
<b>Brazil</b>	30	15	45	0	0	7	3	0
<b>Chile</b>	29	9	51	0	0	10	1	0
<b>India</b>	30	16	12	0	0	43	0	0
<b>Slovenia</b>	20	44	24	0	0	11	1	0
<b>Bulgaria</b>	15	27	44	0	0	14	0	0
<b>Romania</b>	31	19	28	0	0	19	2	0

China	22	6	27	0	0	45	1	0
Taiwan	24	23	50	0	0	3	0	0
Turkey	37	19	35	0	0	9	1	0
Ukraine	29	18	39	0	0	11	3	0
Ghana	18	13	64	0	0	3	2	0
Moldova	39	29	26	0	0	6	0	0
Georgia	67	8	21	0	0	4	0	0
Thailand	45	25	29	0	0	0	1	0
Indonesia	42	9	40	0	0	7	2	0
Vietnam	22	15	52	0	0	10	1	0
Serbia	36	16	38	0	0	8	2	0
New Zealand	25	0	20	41	0	9	5	0
Egypt	30	23	43	0	0	4	0	0
Morocco	14	17	44	0	0	0	26	0
Iran	22	15	58	0	0	4	1	0
Jordan	15	16	57	0	0	13	0	0
Cyprus	42	20	38	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	31	16	48	0	0	5	1	0
Andorra	30	12	55	0	0	2	1	0
Malaysia	25	36	39	0	0	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	15	13	51	0	0	15	3	3
Ethiopia	13	13	61	0	0	7	6	2
Mali	27	13	41	0	0	11	7	2
Rwanda	10	17	72	0	0	2	0	0
Zambia	13	20	62	0	0	3	2	0
Germany	25	25	45	0	0	5	1	0
Average	29	17	43	1	0	8	2	0

<sup>49</sup> World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. I'm going to mention some problems. For each one, would you tell me whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the national governments, by regional organizations, or by the United Nations? International peacekeeping

	National govts	Regional orgs	UN	National govts, w/ UN coordination	Non profit/ NGO	DK	No answer	N/A
Italy	22	12	60	0	0	6	1	0
Spain	15	13	59	0	0	12	0	0
United States	28	16	50	0	0	4	3	0
Canada	22	7	66	0	0	5	0	0
Japan	11	8	72	0	2	0	6	0
Mexico	22	5	65	0	0	6	1	0
South Africa	47	14	32	0	0	0	7	0
Australia	21	9	66	0	0	0	4	0
Sweden	19	8	70	0	0	3	0	0
Argentina	22	5	52	0	0	21	1	0
Finland	29	10	58	0	0	2	1	0

South Korea	47	6	47	0	0	0	1	0
Poland	28	6	64	0	0	2	0	0
Switzerland	27	9	60	0	0	3	1	0
Brazil	22	5	66	0	0	6	2	0
Chile	40	6	44	0	0	9	1	0
India	44	10	14	0	0	32	0	0
Slovenia	26	30	33	0	0	10	1	0
Bulgaria	22	17	50	0	0	11	0	0
Romania	38	11	34	0	0	14	2	0
China	18	2	36	0	0	44	1	0
Taiwan	25	16	55	0	0	3	0	0
Turkey	46	9	37	0	0	8	1	0
Ukraine	52	8	29	0	0	8	3	0
Ghana	23	9	64	0	0	3	1	0
Moldova	37	19	39	0	0	5	0	0
Georgia	79	2	15	0	0	3	0	0
Thailand	77	21	2	0	0	0	0	0
Indonesia	14	4	74	0	0	7	1	0
Vietnam	50	7	35	0	0	8	1	0
Serbia	51	9	32	0	0	7	2	0
New Zealand	6	0	33	49	0	8	5	0
Egypt	36	17	44	0	0	3	*	0
Morocco	50	4	29	0	0	0	18	0
Iran	41	12	42	0	0	4	1	0
Jordan	24	19	44	0	0	13	0	0
Cyprus	30	22	47	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	32	12	53	0	0	2	1	0
Andorra	26	8	64	0	0	2	1	0
Malaysia	51	21	28	0	0	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	47	6	34	0	0	9	2	2
Ethiopia	41	10	40	0	0	5	3	1
Mali	46	5	38	0	0	6	3	1
Rwanda	50	41	8	0	0	1	0	0
Zambia	29	19	47	0	0	4	1	0
Germany	20	20	54	0	0	6	1	0
Average	34	11	45	1	0	7	2	0

<sup>50</sup> World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. I'm going to mention some problems. For each one, would you tell me whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the national governments, by regional organizations, or by the United Nations? Protection of the environment

	National govts	Regional orgs	UN	National govts, w/ UN coordination	Non profit / NGO	DK	No answer	N/A
Italy	45	29	19	0	0	6	1	0
Spain	28	20	40	0	0	13	0	0
United States	42	33	18	0	0	3	3	0



<b>Canada</b>	52	23	20	0	0	4	0	0
<b>Japan</b>	17	26	31	0	16	0	7	0
<b>Mexico</b>	41	19	32	6	0	1	0	0
<b>South Africa</b>	48	32	15	0	0	0	6	0
<b>Australia</b>	46	29	20	0	0	0	6	0
<b>Sweden</b>	39	34	25	0	0	2	0	0
<b>Argentina</b>	40	11	30	0	0	18	1	0
<b>Finland</b>	40	40	18	0	0	2	1	0
<b>South Korea</b>	54	27	20	0	0	0	*	0
<b>Poland</b>	59	21	18	0	0	2	0	0
<b>Switzerland</b>	46	19	32	0	0	3	1	0
<b>Brazil</b>	51	25	18	0	0	5	2	0
<b>Chile</b>	51	21	19	0	0	7	1	0
<b>India</b>	37	21	8	0	0	33	0	0
<b>Slovenia</b>	39	36	13	0	0	10	2	0
<b>Bulgaria</b>	48	28	14	0	0	10	0	0
<b>Romania</b>	51	24	8	0	0	15	2	0
<b>China</b>	34	9	16	0	0	40	1	0
<b>Taiwan</b>	66	17	15	0	0	2	0	0
<b>Turkey</b>	33	41	18	0	0	8	1	0
<b>Ukraine</b>	49	30	9	0	0	8	3	0
<b>Ghana</b>	62	28	7	0	0	2	1	0
<b>Moldova</b>	51	37	7	0	0	4	0	0
<b>Georgia</b>	72	15	9	0	0	4	0	0
<b>Thailand</b>	61	33	6	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Indonesia</b>	79	4	5	0	0	5	2	6
<b>Vietnam</b>	48	20	24	0	0	7	1	0
<b>Serbia</b>	41	34	16	0	0	7	2	0
<b>New Zealand</b>	43	0	8	37	0	7	5	0
<b>Egypt</b>	57	17	24	0	0	2	0	0
<b>Morocco</b>	36	22	22	0	0	0	20	0
<b>Iran</b>	39	35	22	0	0	4	1	0
<b>Jordan</b>	44	19	26	0	0	12	0	0
<b>Cyprus</b>	46	40	15	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Trinidad and Tobago</b>	62	19	18	0	0	2	1	0
<b>Andorra</b>	54	22	22	0	0	2	1	0
<b>Malaysia</b>	45	43	12	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	50	16	19	0	0	10	3	2
<b>Ethiopia</b>	36	18	36	0	0	6	3	1
<b>Mali</b>	49	28	12	0	0	6	4	1
<b>Rwanda</b>	48	43	7	0	0	1	0	0
<b>Zambia</b>	55	26	13	0	0	5	2	0
<b>Germany</b>	36	29	31	0	0	4	1	0
<b>Average</b>	47	25	18	1	0	6	2	0

<sup>51</sup> World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. I'm

going to mention some problems. For each one, would you tell me whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the national governments, by regional organizations, or by the United Nations? Human Rights

	National govts	Regional orgs	UN	National govts, w/ UN coordination	Non profit / NGO	DK	No answer	N/A
Italy	27	15	51	0	0	6	2	0
Spain	16	14	56	0	0	13	1	0
United States	42	18	33	0	0	3	3	0
Canada	45	10	40	0	0	4	1	0
Japan	27	11	47	0	9	0	7	0
Mexico	41	9	41	0	0	7	2	0
South Africa	60	16	20	0	0	0	5	0
Australia	30	9	56	0	0	0	5	0
Sweden	17	9	72	0	0	2	0	0
Argentina	39	4	38	0	0	19	1	0
Finland	33	8	56	0	0	2	1	0
South Korea	49	9	41	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	49	7	41	0	0	3	0	0
Switzerland	26	8	63	0	0	3	1	0
Brazil	44	11	39	0	0	5	2	0
Chile	51	7	32	0	0	9	1	0
India	36	10	13	0	0	41	0	0
Slovenia	39	30	20	0	0	9	1	0
Bulgaria	34	26	30	0	0	10	0	0
Romania	43	10	30	0	0	15	2	0
China	32	4	17	0	0	48	1	0
Taiwan	56	10	31	0	0	3	0	0
Turkey	40	12	39	0	0	8	1	0
Ukraine	57	13	20	0	0	8	3	0
Ghana	67	9	22	0	0	1	1	0
Moldova	55	17	24	0	0	4	0	0
Georgia	79	7	11	0	0	4	0	0
Thailand	50	24	26	0	0	0	0	0
Indonesia	55	3	34	0	0	6	2	1
Vietnam	59	5	27	0	0	7	1	0
Serbia	50	8	34	0	0	6	2	0
New Zealand	25	0	19	43	0	8	5	0
Egypt	45	15	37	0	0	2	*	0
Morocco	34	6	42	0	0	0	18	0
Iran	16	5	75	0	0	4	1	0
Jordan	21	16	50	0	0	13	0	0
Cyprus	29	36	35	0	0	0	1	0
Trinidad and Tobago	45	11	41	0	0	2	1	0
Andorra	28	8	61	0	0	2	1	0
Malaysia	38	29	34	0	0	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	32	6	45	0	0	12	3	3
Ethiopia	20	12	54	0	0	7	6	2
Mali	35	7	44	0	0	7	5	2

<b>Rwanda</b>	29	37	32	0	0	2	1	0
<b>Zambia</b>	54	13	26	0	0	3	3	0
<b>Germany</b>	20	19	55	0	0	4	1	0
<b>Average</b>	40	12	38	1	0	7	2	0

<sup>52</sup> **World Values Survey 2005-2008**

People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself? ((Read out and code one answer for each statement): I see myself as a world citizen

	<b>Strongly agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Don't know</b>	<b>No answer</b>
<b>Italy</b>	20	40	29	8	2	1
<b>Spain</b>	20	48	14	4	13	1
<b>United States</b>	20	45	24	5	2	4
<b>Canada</b>	29	55	12	2	2	1
<b>Japan</b>	11	61	4	1	22	-
<b>Mexico</b>	35	55	7	2	1	0
<b>South Africa</b>	42	41	10	3	4	-
<b>Australia</b>	21	56	18	1	-	3
<b>Sweden</b>	18	65	15	1	2	-
<b>Argentina</b>	15	48	24	5	7	1
<b>Finland</b>	18	45	28	7	2	0
<b>South Korea</b>	14	66	16	3	-	-
<b>Poland</b>	21	48	20	4	7	0
<b>Switzerland</b>	32	46	18	5	0	-
<b>Brazil</b>	27	51	19	2	1	0
<b>Chile</b>	26	41	19	9	5	0
<b>India</b>	27	31	13	3	25	0
<b>Slovenia</b>	17	52	17	7	6	1
<b>Bulgaria</b>	17	25	30	20	8	-
<b>Romania</b>	15	33	26	14	11	2
<b>China</b>	10	51	10	1	27	1
<b>Turkey</b>	37	43	11	3	5	1
<b>Ukraine</b>	25	29	23	13	8	2
<b>Ghana</b>	45	39	12	1	1	1
<b>Moldova</b>	26	36	28	6	3	0
<b>Georgia</b>	22	22	32	16	9	1
<b>Thailand</b>	33	63	4	0	-	0
<b>Indonesia</b>	29	58	7	1	3	1
<b>Vietnam</b>	31	52	6	-	8	3
<b>Colombia</b>	40	54	3	1	2	-
<b>Serbia</b>	30	44	17	4	3	2

<b>Egypt</b>	28	28	24	19	1	0
<b>Morocco</b>	14	26	26	20	-	14
<b>Iran</b>	30	51	16	2	0	0
<b>Jordan</b>	34	33	14	13	6	-
<b>Cyprus</b>	28	45	23	3	-	1
<b>Trinidad and Tobago</b>	25	47	24	3	1	1
<b>Andorra</b>	25	62	11	2	0	0
<b>Malaysia</b>	41	49	9	1	-	0
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	42	37	10	3	6	2
<b>Ethiopia</b>	41	49	7	1	2	1
<b>Mali</b>	59	32	4	1	2	2
<b>Rwanda</b>	43	55	1	1	1	0
<b>Zambia</b>	32	37	21	5	4	1
<b>Germany</b>	16	32	28	15	7	1
<b>Average</b>	27	45	16	5	6	1

<sup>53</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org September 2008

Do you consider yourself more a citizen of [country], more a citizen of the world, or both equally?

	<b>Citizen of [country]</b>	<b>Citizen of the world</b>	<b>Both equally</b>	<b>Neither/None of the above</b>	<b>DK/NS</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	64	10	24	0	1
<b>Mexico</b>	56	9	35	1	0
<b>United States</b>	72	5	22		1
<b>France</b>	48	14	37	2	0
<b>Germany</b>	59	19	18	3	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	59	9	29	2	1
<b>Italy</b>	51	21	27		1
<b>Russia</b>	79	5	13	2	1
<b>Ukraine</b>	81	6	10	2	1
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	89	4	5	1	1
<b>Egypt</b>	73	13	13	1	0
<b>Jordan</b>	80	8	7	2	3
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	70	14	13	2	1
<b>Turkey</b>	80	9	10	1	0
<b>Kenya</b>	88	9	3		0
<b>Nigeria</b>	69	11	19	0	1
<b>China - Mainland</b>	35	6	44		15
<b>China - Hong Kong</b>	62	5	29	2	2
<b>China - Macao</b>	61	6	27	2	4
<b>India</b>	40	14	32	6	9
<b>Indonesia</b>	68	2	27	0	4
<b>South Korea</b>	83	5	11	1	0
<b>Taiwan</b>	36	8	54	1	2
<b>Thailand</b>	48	15	23	3	11
<b>Average</b>	66	10	20	1	3

<sup>54</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009

In general, when [Country] government negotiates with other countries do you think that the government:

	<b>A. Should be more ready to act cooperatively to achieve mutual gains</b>	<b>B. Tends to be too willing to compromise and is often taken advantage of.</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
Chile	60	26	15
Mexico	35	63	2
United States	54	44	2
France	43	48	9
Germany	47	46	8
Great Britain	31	65	4
Poland	34	53	14
Russia	54	34	12
Ukraine	49	35	16
Azerbaijan	67	29	4
Egypt	76	23	1
Iraq	60	24	16
Pakistan	42	54	5
Palestinian Territories	69	29	2
Turkey	81	14	5
Kenya	71	28	1
Nigeria	73	26	1
China	63	30	7
China – Hong Kong	72	18	10
China - Macao	60	29	11
India	59	34	7
Indonesia	52	40	8
South Korea	28	71	1
Taiwan	42	49	9
Average	55	39	7

<sup>55</sup> German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2011

Some people say that the United States and the European Union have enough common values to be able to cooperate on international problems. Others say that the US and the EU have such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

	<b>Enough common values to cooperate on international problems</b>	<b>Such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
European Average	68	26	5
United States	71	23	6
Turkey	37	40	23
Bulgaria	70	18	12
France	68	31	2
Germany	66	31	3
Italy	74	22	4
Netherlands	72	23	5

<b>Poland</b>	63	23	15
<b>Portugal</b>	73	23	3
<b>Romania</b>	69	17	14
<b>Slovakia</b>	59	26	15
<b>Spain</b>	72	25	3
<b>Sweden</b>	68	27	5
<b>United Kingdom</b>	64	30	6

### German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2010

Some people say that the United States and the European Union have enough common values to be able to cooperate on international problems. Other say that the United States and the European Union have such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

	<b>Enough common values to cooperate on international problems</b>	<b>Such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	67	25	8
<b>United States</b>	77	23	0
<b>France</b>	67	31	2
<b>Germany</b>	74	24	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	64	34	3
<b>Italy</b>	78	19	3
<b>Netherlands</b>	76	21	2
<b>Poland</b>	65	24	11
<b>Portugal</b>	77	22	1
<b>Spain</b>	76	22	2
<b>Slovakia</b>	66	23	11
<b>Turkey</b>	39	31	30
<b>Bulgaria</b>	71	11	18
<b>Romania</b>	71	14	14

### German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008

Some people say that the United States and the European Union have enough common values to be able to cooperate on international problems. Other say that the United States and the European Union have such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

	<b>Enough common values to cooperate on international problems</b>	<b>Such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	55	35	10
<b>United States</b>	67	23	10
<b>France</b>	60	38	2
<b>Germany</b>	54	43	3
<b>United Kingdom</b>	52	41	7
<b>Italy</b>	63	35	3
<b>Netherlands</b>	59	37	4
<b>Poland</b>	56	28	16
<b>Portugal</b>	57	36	8
<b>Spain</b>	59	36	4

<b>Slovakia</b>	59	25	16
<b>Turkey</b>	27	33	39
<b>Bulgaria</b>	57	24	19
<b>Romania</b>	72	12	15

<sup>56</sup> German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following.

When our country acts on a national security issue, it is critical that we do so together with our closest allies

	<b>Agree strongly</b>	<b>Agree somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree strongly</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>
<b>European Average</b>	42	38	8	7	4	80	15
<b>United States</b>	61	28	5	5	2	89	9
<b>France</b>	52	38	5	4	1	90	9
<b>Germany</b>	48	37	8	6	1	86	14
<b>United Kingdom</b>	50	35	8	4	3	85	12
<b>Italy</b>	35	46	12	7	1	81	19
<b>Netherlands</b>	60	31	4	4	1	91	8
<b>Poland</b>	40	45	7	3	6	85	9
<b>Portugal</b>	45	31	9	9	7	76	17
<b>Spain</b>	41	47	7	4	2	88	11
<b>Slovakia</b>	32	39	12	5	12	71	17
<b>Turkey</b>	21	26	12	23	18	47	35
<b>Bulgaria</b>	35	43	7	4	10	78	11
<b>Romania</b>	37	39	7	5	12	76	12

<sup>57</sup> German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005

[Europe] Do you think a more powerful European Union *should* compete or cooperate with the United States?

[United States] Do you think a more powerful European Union *would* compete or cooperate with the United States?

	<b>Compete with the United States</b>	<b>Cooperate with the United States</b>	<b>Both - Spontaneous</b>	<b>Neither - Spontaneous</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	17	74	4	3	3
<b>United States</b>	41	45	7	1	6
<b>France</b>	16	81	1	1	1
<b>Germany</b>	13	84	2	1	1
<b>United Kingdom</b>	17	72	2	5	5
<b>Italy</b>	12	80	6	1	1
<b>Netherlands</b>	9	87	2	1	1
<b>Poland</b>	7	85	3	2	3
<b>Portugal</b>	27	62	4	2	5
<b>Spain</b>	12	80	3	4	2
<b>Slovakia</b>	17	67	8	4	4
<b>Turkey</b>	37	35	10	8	10

<sup>58</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2011**

Do you think that the partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between the United States and the European Union should become closer, should remain about the same, or should the [European Union/United States] take a more independent approach from the [United States/European Union]?

	<b>Become closer</b>	<b>Remain about the same</b>	<b>Take a more independent approach</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	39	21	38	3
<b>United States</b>	33	31	33	3
<b>Turkey</b>	12	33	34	22
<b>Bulgaria</b>	32	31	33	4
<b>France</b>	42	14	44	1
<b>Germany</b>	33	25	41	1
<b>Italy</b>	50	10	36	3
<b>Netherlands</b>	30	25	44	1
<b>Poland</b>	40	26	27	8
<b>Portugal</b>	29	25	44	2
<b>Romania</b>	50	31	15	4
<b>Slovakia</b>	28	34	32	6
<b>Spain</b>	47	8	43	2
<b>Sweden</b>	25	35	36	4
<b>United Kingdom</b>	26	29	39	4

**German Marshall Fund June 2010**

Do you think that the partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between the United States and the European Union should become closer, should remain about the same, or should the [European Union/United States] take a more independent approach from the [United States/European Union]?

	<b>Become closer</b>	<b>Remain about the same</b>	<b>Take a more independent approach</b>	<b>DK</b>
<b>European Average</b>	38	19	37	6
<b>United States</b>	45	25	30	1
<b>France</b>	42	11	45	2
<b>Germany</b>	35	26	39	1
<b>United Kingdom</b>	30	23	45	2
<b>Italy</b>	53	8	38	1
<b>Netherlands</b>	32	20	47	2
<b>Poland</b>	45	20	30	5
<b>Portugal</b>	33	22	45	1
<b>Spain</b>	52	9	38	2
<b>Slovakia</b>	31	32	33	4
<b>Turkey</b>	10	30	30	31
<b>Bulgaria</b>	38	25	30	7
<b>Romania</b>	56	23	17	5



<sup>59</sup> **German Marshall Fund June 2010**

Some people say that China and [ASK IN THE US] the US/[ASK IN EUROPE] the EU have enough common values to be able to cooperate on international problems. Other people say that China and [ASK IN THE US] the US/[ASK IN EUROPE] the EU have such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

	<b>Have enough common values</b>	<b>Have different values</b>	<b>[DK/Refusal]</b>
<b>United States</b>	53	47	
<b>France</b>	32	65	4
<b>Germany</b>	18	78	4
<b>United Kingdom</b>	41	56	3
<b>Italy</b>	26	65	9
<b>Netherlands</b>	43	50	7
<b>Poland</b>	22	66	12
<b>Portugal</b>	35	57	8
<b>Spain</b>	35	59	6
<b>Slovakia</b>	23	64	14
<b>Turkey</b>	14	46	40
<b>Bulgaria</b>	34	40	26
<b>Romania</b>	37	40	23
<b>European Average</b>	27	61	12

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