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Chapter 3: World Opinion on Violent Conflict

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## CHAPTER 3: WORLD OPINION ON PREVENTING AND RESPONDING TO VIOLENT CONFLICT

### *The Use of Force*

**In international polls most, but not all, publics say that force is sometimes necessary to maintain order in the world. European publics tend to think that their countries should be emphasizing a non-military role in international affairs. However, they express willingness to contribute forces to a wide range of possible multilateral operations.**

Pew Global Attitudes Project polled twenty-two countries in 2010 on whether they agreed that “it is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world.” Majorities in eighteen countries agreed that force is sometimes necessary, majorities in three disagreed, and one country was divided. In the global average, 61 percent of polled respondents agreed and 36 percent disagreed. Among the countries with the largest majorities agreeing were India (92 percent), Brazil (78 percent), and the United States (77 percent). The three nations that dissented were Jordan (64 percent), Egypt (59 percent) and Germany (54 percent). As compared to 2007, these views remained relatively unchanged.<sup>1</sup>

In a 2006 German Marshall Fund (GMF) survey, respondents in twelve European countries were asked if the European Union should concentrate on its economic power and not rely on its military power when dealing with international problems outside Europe. Majorities in all twelve countries polled agreed with this statement, with an average of 79 percent agreeing. Germany (83 percent), Poland (83 percent), Bulgaria (82 percent), and Italy (82 percent) were the countries with the most respondents in agreement, while the largest minorities disagreeing were in Turkey (25 percent) and France (24 percent).<sup>2</sup>

### *The UN Security Council and the Use of Force*

**International polls find that the UN Security Council (UNSC) is widely seen as having the right to authorize the use of force to prevent and respond to violent conflict in a variety of contingencies: to defend a country that has been attacked, to prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide, to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups, and to restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown.**

Publics around the world show strong support for the UNSC having the right to authorize military force to prevent and respond to violent conflict in a variety of contingencies, according to a World Public Opinion (WPO)/Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA) poll conducted between 2006 and 2008.

The highest level of support was for the UNSC having the right to authorize military force in order “**to defend a country that has been attacked.**” Overall, 76 percent of respondents in sixteen nations felt the UNSC should have this right, and only 16 percent felt it should not. Majorities were highest in Nigeria (89 percent), Kenya (88 percent), France (84 percent), and the United States (83 percent) and lowest in Thailand (67 percent), India (66 percent), and Mexico (65 percent). Nowhere did opposition exceed twenty-three percent.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, high levels of support were found for 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 across all eighteen countries polled agreed that the UNSC “should” have this right, while only 16 percent replied that the UNSC “should not.” A large majority of Americans (83 percent) were in favor of this principle, while only 13 percent were not. The largest majorities were in Kenya (90 percent), Nigeria (88 percent), and France (85 percent). No country’s support for giving the UNSC this right was below 62 percent, but the relatively less supportive countries were Thailand (62 percent support) and India (63 percent support).<sup>4</sup>

Majorities in all nations favored the UN having the right “**to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups.**” On average, 73 percent of respondents in sixteen publics said the UNSC should have the right to intervene in such cases and just 19 percent said it should not. Support for this proposition 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>5</sup>

Among several possible contingencies, respondents expressed the lowest level of support for the UN having the right to authorize the use of military force “**to restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown.**” On average 53 percent of all publics polled thought the UNSC should have this right; 35 percent did not. Out of sixteen nations asked this question, majorities in ten and pluralities in three believed the UNSC 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 found in Kenya and Nigeria (both 76 percent), the Palestinian Territories (67 percent), and Egypt (64 percent). Interestingly, no public in any Islamic country polled 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>6</sup>

### *UN Responsibility to Protect*

**International polls find the UN Security Council is widely seen as having not only the right, but the responsibility to authorize the use of military force to prevent severe human rights violations.**

WPO/CCGA asked respondents from twenty countries between 2006 and 2008 whether the UNSC has a responsibility to authorize military force to protect people from severe human rights violations such as genocide. Majorities or pluralities in all twenty countries agreed that the Security Council does have this responsibility, with an average of 61 percent agreeing and 21 percent disagreeing. Kenya (89 percent), Indonesia (82 percent), and Egypt (80 percent) had the most respondents saying the United Nations had such a responsibility, while the largest minorities dissenting were in France (39 percent), Russia (31 percent), and Israel (28 percent).<sup>7</sup>

### *UN Role in Peacekeeping*

**In principle, large majorities around the world favor a standing peacekeeping force selected, trained, and commanded by the United Nations. Majorities in most countries want peacekeeping policy to be decided at the United Nations than decided either by national governments or by regional organizations.**

WPO/CCGA polled twenty-two countries between 2006 and 2008, asking whether respondents favored or opposed having a standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained, and commanded by the United Nations. Majorities in twenty-one countries favored such a force, and no countries were opposed, while one country was divided. The countries most favorable toward a standing UN force were Kenya (85 percent), Nigeria (84 percent), and Great Britain (79 percent), while the largest minorities opposing such a force were Egypt (47 percent), the Philippines (44 percent), and Israel (31 percent). On average, 66 percent of respondents in the twenty-two countries polled favored a standing UN peacekeeping force and twenty-three percent were opposed.<sup>8</sup>

In polling conducted between 2005 and 2008, the World Values Survey (WVS) asked respondents in forty-six countries whether they would like to see peacekeeping policy decided by the United Nations, national governments, or regional organizations. In twenty-eight countries, the greatest number preferred that policy on peacekeeping be decided at the United Nations (eighteen majorities, four pluralities; in six countries this was the most common answer). In eleven countries, the greatest number preferred that policy on peacekeeping be decided by national governments (five majorities, six pluralities, three most common answer). Four countries were divided on the question.<sup>9</sup>

### *Participation in Military Operations to Prevent and Respond to Violent Conflict*

**Majorities in the United States, European countries, and to some extent elsewhere, approve of participating in peacekeeping missions in principle. As a general rule, support is strong for participation in post-conflict situations and less consistent when it comes to intervening in civil conflict. Publics in Europe and the United States have in recent years supported participation in peacekeeping operations in the Balkans and southern Lebanon. Among other countries, support for participation in the UN peacekeeping mission in southern Lebanon has been mixed.**

When asked about the broader principle of contributing to peacekeeping missions support tends to be quite high.

In 2004, CCGA asked respondents in Mexico, South Korea, and the United States whether their country should participate in an international peacekeeping force in a troubled part of the world when asked by the United Nations. Large majorities in South Korea (83 percent) and the United States (78 percent) said their country should participate, as did a plurality (48 percent) in Mexico.<sup>10</sup>

The GMF's 2007 Transatlantic Trends poll asked the United States and twelve European countries whether the European Union should commit more troops for peacekeeping missions as part of the European Union taking greater responsibility for dealing with international threats. Twelve majorities and a plurality agreed that the European Union should commit more troops for peacekeeping missions. The largest majorities were found in the United States (85 percent), Spain (82 percent), and France (80 percent), while the largest minorities disagreeing were in Italy (41 percent), Slovakia (40 percent), and Bulgaria (37 percent). Among the twelve European countries, an average of 66 percent agreed with committing more troops and 29 percent disagreed.<sup>11</sup>

### Support for Contributing to Types of Missions

A poll of ten European countries and the United States asked about contributing **peacekeeping troops after a civil war has ended** (GMF 2004). Majorities in all ten European countries and the United States approved of using troops in this situation. On average, 77 percent of Europeans expressed approval and 17 percent expressed disapproval.<sup>12</sup>

Deploying troops to provide **food and medical assistance to victims of war** was approved by majorities in all ten European Countries and the United States (GMF 2004). Among the European countries, an average of 89 percent approved and 8 eight percent disapproved. Eight in ten Americans approved as well.<sup>13</sup>

When the action requires intervention in a conflict situation, support appears to be more mixed. A poll of ten European countries and the United States asked about contributing troops in the event of a civil war (GMF 2004). Questioned about contributing **“to stop the fighting in a civil war,”** respondents expressed strong support, but there were dissenters. Majorities in eight of the European countries approved, with the exception of Germans, who were opposed (41 percent to 54 percent). Poles were divided. A plurality in the United States was also opposed (38 percent approving to 49 percent opposing). On average, 62 percent of Europeans approved.<sup>14</sup>

People in the United States favor, while Europeans have mixed views on, using their military forces to **remove a government that abuses human rights**. Asked about the use of troops to remove a government that abuses human rights, majorities or pluralities in eight European countries approved of the deployment of military forces for this purpose, while the public in one country (Germany) disapproved, and the public in another (Slovakia) was divided. In the ten European countries, 53 percent approved and 39 percent disapproved.<sup>15</sup>

### Support for Specific Missions

In the 2007 GMF survey, respondents were asked about deploying troops to maintain peace and order in the **post-conflict Balkans**. Majorities in all twelve European countries and the United States (54 percent) approved of such a deployment. On average, in the twelve European countries surveyed, 65 percent of respondents approved and 29 percent disapproved.<sup>16</sup>

Similarly, a poll of twelve European countries and the United States asked about the deployment of a country's troops **to monitor and support a ceasefire in southern Lebanon** following the 2006 Lebanon War (GMF 2007). Majorities or pluralities in eleven European countries approved (56 percent on average), as did 55 percent of people in the United States, while one nation (Germany) was opposed.<sup>17</sup>

However, outside of Europe and the United States, polling organizations found only mixed support for participating in a mission in southern Lebanon . In the immediate aftermath of the Israel-Hezbollah conflict, Gallup International asked respondents in thirty-three countries whether their country should or should not send troops to **be peacekeepers in southern Lebanon** if asked by the United Nations. Although majorities or pluralities in sixteen countries agreed with sending troops, those in another sixteen countries disagreed, and one was divided. In the average of all thirty-three

countries, 46 percent of those polled agreed with sending troops to be peacekeepers in response to a UN request and 44 percent disagreed.<sup>18</sup>

### *Syria's Crisis*

**Substantial numbers of Americans, Britons and the French support forms of multilateral action to address the situation in Syria. A majority of Americans favor economic sanctions; majorities of Americans and Britons favor a no-fly zone; and half of the French favor a UN military intervention in the civil war. Americans favor the Arab League establishing safe havens, and half would support U.S. forces providing air cover to help protect them. While initially most opposed providing arms and supplies to the opposition, views are now divided. However, in the United States, France and Britain, there has not been majority support for contributing troops to intervene in Syria.**

**Among Arab countries polled, overwhelming majorities say that President Bashar al-Assad should step down and that his regime is no longer viable. Overwhelming majorities are sympathetic to Syrian demonstrators and nearly as many are sympathetic to the rebels. However, except for Tunisians and to some extent Egyptians, Arabs show little support for tougher international sanctions or for Arab military intervention, and support for Western military intervention is very low. Turkey and Saudi Arabia get good grades for their role in the situation there, but poor grades go to the United States, Russia and Iran.**

### **Views in the U.S., Britain and France**

While no multi-country poll has asked about the situation in Syria as of this writing, there are survey data available in separate polls for the U.S., Britain and France—countries that were important actors in the multilateral Libya action. All three of these publics showed support for some multilateral efforts to address the situation.

Americans have favored multilateral economic sanctions. In a June 2012 poll by CCGA, 63 percent supported the United States and its allies increasing diplomatic and economic sanctions on Syria.<sup>19</sup> A little earlier in a March 2012 PIPA poll, Americans were told that “the Arab League, a group of 21 countries in the region, has taken an active role in trying to deal with the conflict” and that the League has imposed economic sanctions on Syria, in which the United States has joined. Seven in ten (71%) supported the United States participating in these sanctions.<sup>20</sup>

Americans and Britons have expressed support for a no-fly zone in Syria.

- Britons were offered the idea of “Britain and other allied countries...enforcing a no-fly zone over Syria so the Syrian air force cannot attack rebels or civilians” (implying that a no-fly zone would have significant success in protecting the population). Sixty percent said they supported the idea, while 18 percent were opposed (YouGov, February 2012).<sup>21</sup>
- When the possibility of having the no-fly zone approved by the UN was introduced, support went even higher in Britain. In a February 2012 YouGov poll, seven in ten favored a multilaterally supported no-fly zone, with 48% saying that “A no-fly zone should only be imposed with the approval of the United Nations”, and 21% saying “NATO or the E.U. should impose a no-fly zone with or without UN approval.” Only 8 percent ruled out a no-fly zone. One in four did not take a position.<sup>22</sup>
- CCGA (June 2012) asked whether Americans would support the United States and its allies enforcing a no-fly zone over the country; 58 percent said that they would.<sup>23</sup>

In France half have supported UN military intervention in the civil war. A February 2012 IFOP/Atlantico poll stated, “As you know, for several months, confrontations and battles have taken place in Syria, which is falling into a state of civil war.” It then asked respondents whether they favored or opposed “United Nations military intervention in Syria.” Fifty-one percent favored it, with 49 percent opposed.<sup>24</sup>

Americans have also favored the establishment of safe havens. In the March 2012 PIPA poll two thirds (67 percent) of Americans approved of the idea of the Arab League and Turkey establishing safe havens inside Syrian borders, with 27 percent opposed (PIPA, March 2012).<sup>25</sup> However, support is more mixed about the prospect of using U.S. air power to protect them. Asked if the United States should be willing to use its planes to provide air cover, about half (48 percent) said the United States should be willing, though almost as many (45 percent) disagreed.<sup>26</sup>

While initially majorities opposed providing arms and supplies to the opposition, views are now divided. In August 2012, CNN/ORC asked whether “the U.S. and other countries” should send “weapons and other military supplies to the opposition forces” and found the U.S. public divided, with 48 percent in favor and 47 percent opposed. In earlier months, though, clear majorities were opposed to supplying weapons and materiel.<sup>27</sup>

Overall, there has been little support for the general proposition of committing ground troops to deal with the problem of Syria.

- CCGA asked about the United States and allies simply “sending troops into Syria” and found this opposed by four out of five (81 to 14 percent).<sup>28</sup>
- In PIPA’s poll, Americans were asked whether, if the Arab League and Turkey created safe havens, the United States should be willing to send troops to defend them; three quarters (77 percent) rejected this idea (PIPA, March 2012).<sup>29</sup>
- Fox News (March 2012) asked Americans about simply “put[ting] U.S. troops on the ground” in Syria; 78 percent were opposed.<sup>30</sup>
- Britons were offered “ways that Britain and other allied countries could intervene,” including “sending British and allied troops into Syria to protect civilians from attack.” Sixty percent were opposed, with 18 percent in favor. The idea of sending troops to “help overthrow President Bashar al-Assad” did even less well (66 percent opposed, 9 percent in favor; YouGov, February 2012).<sup>31</sup>
- In France, respondents were asked more vaguely about French military engagement as part of a hypothetical intervention: 62 percent were opposed, with 38 percent in favor (IFOP/Atlantico, February 2012).<sup>32</sup>

### Views in Arab Countries

Polling conducted in the spring of 2012 showed unfavorable views of President Bashar al-Assad in the Arab world and Turkey, including strong support for him stepping down. In an April 2012 poll by Pew, majorities in all five countries polled were in favor of Assad stepping down. Majorities were overwhelming in Egypt (89 percent), Jordan (89 percent), and Tunisia (88 percent); very large in Turkey (67 percent), while modest in Lebanon (53 percent with 44 percent disagreeing).<sup>33</sup> Similar majorities said they had an unfavorable view of Assad: 84 percent in Egypt, 90 percent in Jordan, 84 percent in Tunisia, 73 percent in Turkey and 59 percent in Lebanon.<sup>34</sup>

In polling conducted as early as the fall of 2011, most Arabs polled had already come to the conclusion that the Assad regime was no longer viable. In a poll by the Arab American Institute Foundation (October 2011) that asked, “Do you believe that Bashar al Assad can still govern Syria?” large majorities thought this was not the case (Morocco, 85 percent; Egypt, 86 percent; Jordan, 90 percent; Saudi Arabia, 93 percent; U.A.E., 96 percent; and Lebanon, 99 percent). The largest minority responding “yes” was only 15 percent (in Morocco).<sup>35</sup>

However, except for Tunisians and to some extent Egyptians, Arabs show little support for tougher international sanctions or for Arab military intervention, and support for Western intervention is very low. The Pew April 2012 poll followed up with respondents who had already said Assad should step down, asking them about steps other countries could take to intervene in the Syrian situation and describing each step explicitly as meant “to put pressure on President Assad to step down.”

- For the option of “tougher international economic sanctions” only one country had a majority (of the full sample) in support—Tunisia (63%)—though half of Egyptians were supportive (49%). Less than half were supportive in Jordan (41%), Turkey (40%), and Lebanon (20%).<sup>36</sup>
- Asked next about “Arab states intervening militarily in Syria,” approval was overall slightly lower, garnering support from 62 percent of Tunisians, 47 percent of Egyptians, 37 percent of Jordanians, 29 percent of Turks, and 19 percent of Lebanese.<sup>37</sup>
- Support for Western countries intervening militarily received very low support among Tunisians (38 percent), Turks (23 percent), Egyptians (11 percent), Jordanians (10 percent), and Lebanese (8 percent).<sup>38</sup>

Arab publics have shown widespread sympathy for the Syrian opposition over the Assad government. In the poll by the Arab American Institute Foundation (October 2011), large majorities said their sympathies were more with the demonstrators than the Syrian government—including in Morocco (83 percent), Egypt (91 percent), Saudi Arabia (92 percent), the United Arab Emirates (94 percent), Jordan (100 percent) and Lebanon (98 percent). Morocco had the largest minority saying their sympathies were more with the government (9 percent).<sup>39</sup>

Support for the rebels is also strong, though not quite as high as for the demonstrators, especially in Lebanon. A poll by the Sadat Chair, University of Maryland in the same month found large majorities saying that they were more sympathetic to “the rebels seeking government change” than the government, including 92 percent in Morocco, 87 percent in Egypt, 71 percent in the U.A.E., and 76 percent in Jordan. Among the Lebanese views were divided, with 45 percent sympathizing mostly with the government and 44 percent mostly with the rebels.<sup>40</sup>

Large majorities have rejected the Syrian government’s position that the turmoil in the country is the work of foreign elements and extremists. In the Arab American Institute poll, respondents were asked to choose between two statements: one summarizing the Assad government’s position about the situation in Syria, and the other describing the situation as the result of a popular movement. The government’s position that “The violence in Syria is the result of a plot by foreign parties and extremists against the government” was endorsed by small minorities. The statement that “The uprising in Syria is a popular revolt against the regime” was chosen by majorities in the U.A.E. (64 percent), Morocco (86 percent), Saudi Arabia (88 percent), Egypt (89 percent), Lebanon (98 percent), and Jordan (100 percent). In the U.A.E., though, more than a third (36 percent) preferred the Syrian government’s position. Elsewhere, the minorities viewing violence in Syria as the result of a foreign plot against Syria’s government did not exceed 14 percent (Morocco).<sup>41</sup>

Turkey and Saudi Arabia have received very good ratings for their role in relation to Syria, while the United States, Russia, and Iran receive poor ratings for their role there. The AAI poll named six countries—some in the region, some world powers--and asked whether respondents thought each country was “playing a positive or a negative role in Syria.” Both Turkey and Saudi Arabia, which have made public statements and pushed diplomatic efforts—and in Turkey’s case, harbored civilian refugees—received approval from Arab publics for their roles.<sup>42</sup>

- Majorities looked favorably on Turkey’s role in all six countries (Lebanon, 58 percent; U.A.E., 63 percent; Jordan, 69 percent; Morocco, 74 percent; Saudi Arabia, 75 percent; and Egypt, 80 percent).
- Regarding Saudi Arabia’s role, views are more mixed but still complimentary on the whole. Jordan and the U.A.E. both have majorities that see the Saudi role as positive (65 percent and 53 percent, respectively). In Morocco and Egypt, this view is held by pluralities (50 to 22 percent in Morocco and 48 to 22 percent in Egypt). Lebanese, however, are much more critical, with 52 percent seeing the Saudi role as negative. Among Saudis themselves, a modest 54 percent feel their country is playing a positive role.<sup>43</sup>
- Evaluating the United States’ role in the Syria situation, roughly seven in ten disapprove across the six Arab countries: 69 percent in Jordan, 72 percent in Morocco, 73 percent in the U.A.E., 74 percent in Saudi Arabia, 78

percent in Egypt and 79 percent in Lebanon. The largest minority thinking the United States is playing a positive role is in Morocco (20 percent).

- For Russia, substantial majorities in most of the countries polled see its Syrian role as negative. Sixty percent took this view in the U.A.E.; 65 percent in Saudi Arabia; 66 percent in Jordan; 75 percent in Egypt; and 82 percent in Lebanon. In Morocco, 41 percent did not offer a judgment, while 39 percent plurality saw Russia's role as negative (positive: 20 percent). The largest minority judging Russia's role as positive was in the U.A.E. (33 percent).
- Arabs tend to view Iran's role in Syria's situation almost as negatively as the roles of the two big external powers, the United States and Russia. Majorities in four countries and pluralities in two countries view Iran's role as negative. Fifty-seven percent in Lebanon, 61 percent in the U.A.E., 65 percent in Saudi Arabia, and 79 percent in Jordan disapprove of Iran's role; pluralities disapprove in Egypt (46 to 22 percent) and Morocco (43 to 22 percent). The largest minorities approving of Iran's role are 35 percent in the U.A.E. and 26 percent in Lebanon.

### *War in Afghanistan*

**Most people around the world think it would be bad if the Taliban were to regain power, but there is not a strong consensus on what NATO should do in regard to Afghanistan. The most common view is that NATO should negotiate a peace agreement with the Taliban, with smaller numbers of respondents calling for immediate withdrawal or seeking a military victory. Earlier polls found a plurality in countries polled favoring ending the mission, but this appeared to be based on a widespread belief that the Afghans want NATO to leave. Most Europeans oppose increasing combat troops above current levels, but withdrawal does not get majority support. Among Americans, reducing troop levels does not get majority support, and withdrawal is likewise rejected. A slight majority of Americans remain optimistic about the prospects of stabilizing Afghanistan; however, most Europeans are pessimistic. [Note: See the US Section for more recent US-only polling.]**

Among twenty nations polled worldwide by WPO in mid-2009—including nine countries contributing troops to Afghanistan—a majority in eighteen think it would be a bad thing if the Taliban were to regain power over Afghanistan. On average, 61 percent say that it would be bad and just 21 percent say that it would be good. In the nine countries polled that contribute troops to NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission, eight majorities and one plurality thought the Taliban's return would be bad.<sup>44</sup>

However, there is not a consensus on what NATO should do now. In February 2011, a BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA survey asked respondents in 24 countries what they thought NATO's next course of action should be. In 17 countries, the most common response was that NATO should "Negotiate with the Taliban on a peace agreement that would also include them in the government"; in four other countries it was that NATO should "withdraw its forces now"; and in just one it was that NATO should "continue with the effort to defeat the Taliban militarily" (two countries were divided). The two countries which leaned toward favoring withdrawal were Germany and Pakistan (both 47 percent). While the most common response among Americans was pursuing a military victory (42 percent), a majority favored either negotiation (29 percent) or withdrawal (23 percent). In the average of all 24 countries polled, 40 percent of respondents supported negotiation, while 29 percent supported withdrawal and 16 percent supported seeking to defeat the Taliban militarily. Among the nine troop contributing nations, results were roughly similar: 37 percent favoring negotiation, 30 percent favoring withdrawal, and 23 favoring persisting with the current military strategy.<sup>45</sup>

This ambivalence was reflected in the June 2009 WPO poll as well. Among the twenty publics polled, on average 44 percent approved and 45 percent disapproved of the NATO mission. Overall, majorities or pluralities in nine nations approved and majorities or pluralities in ten disapproved, with one divided. Among troop contributors, the United States, France, Britain, and Azerbaijan approved by majorities, while Poland, Ukraine, and Turkey disapproved; Germans leaned toward disapproval.<sup>46</sup>



These views may have been influenced by assumptions about how the Afghan people feel about the continued foreign troop presence. Publics in most nations believe that the Afghan people want NATO forces to leave now, and this belief is closely related to views on continuing or ending the operation. On average, 53 percent of respondents have this belief, while 30 percent assume that most Afghans want NATO forces to stay.<sup>47</sup> On average, 37 percent think that NATO forces should remain in Afghanistan, while 50 percent think the mission should be ended now.<sup>48</sup>

There has been resistance to increasing troop levels among Europeans. In the German Marshall Fund's 2009 poll, on average across twelve European countries, 77 percent disapproved of increasing their country's combat troops.<sup>49</sup>

A majority of Europeans favor reducing their country's troop levels, but less than half favor withdrawal. In June 2011 GMF offered four alternatives—for the country to “increase the number of troops in Afghanistan, keep its troops at the current level, reduce the number of its troops or...withdraw all troops from Afghanistan.” In the European average, 44 percent favored withdrawing all troops, 22 percent favored reducing the troop levels, 29 percent favored maintaining the current levels, and only three percent favoring increasing the amount of troops in Afghanistan. Only in two European countries did a majority favor withdrawal --Poland (56 percent) and Germany (51 percent). European numbers have changed little since GMF asked this same question in 2010.<sup>50</sup>

In the GMF June 2011 poll a majority of two in three Americans now favors lower US troop levels with 35 percent favoring withdrawing all troops, and 31 percent favored reducing the troop level. One in four favored keeping the current troop level, and six percent favored increasing it. This represents a substantial change from June 2010 when just four in ten favored lower troop levels—19 percent to withdraw and 22 percent to reduce.<sup>51</sup>

Subsequent polling by PIPA of Americans three months later in August 2011 found even higher numbers calling for withdrawal—rising to 44 percent with 29 percent calling for troops reductions. Twenty-three percent favored increasing the number of troops (8 percent) or keeping the same number as there at the time (15 percent).<sup>52</sup>

The June 2011 German Marshall Fund poll also found pessimism on the future prospects of “stabilizing the situation in Afghanistan” in the U.S., as well as in Europe and Turkey. In the United States 57 percent were pessimistic and 40 percent optimistic. Of the 12 European countries polled, majorities in eleven were pessimistic while the twelfth was divided. A small majority (52 percent) of Turks offered a pessimistic view. In the European average, 66 percent of respondents expressed pessimism and 28 percent expressed optimism. The most pessimistic publics were Germans (79 percent), French (74 percent), and Spaniards (69 percent). Romania was divided (45 percent optimistic and pessimistic). Pessimism in the United States increased 8 points from 2010, while in the Europe it remained roughly the same.<sup>53</sup>

Nonetheless views of U.S. President Barack Obama's role in “stabilizing Afghanistan” are somewhat favorable in the U.S. and Europe. In the June 2011 GMF poll, 55 percent of Americans and on average 51 percent of Europeans approved of Obama's handling of Afghanistan. Countries showing the most approval of Obama's policies were the Netherlands (67 percent), Portugal (63 percent), and France (58 percent). Nearly two-thirds of Turks (65 percent) disapproved, however.<sup>54</sup>

Europeans and Turks were mixed on their own government's policies. Publics expressed approval in six European countries, disapproval in three, and three were divided (Turks were also divided). The highest levels of approval were found in Sweden (62 percent), Portugal (60 percent), and the Netherlands (60 percent), while the most disapproval was found in Germany (53 percent), Romania (51 percent), France (46 percent), and Poland (46 percent). In the European average, 47 percent approved of their own country's handling of Afghanistan and 44 percent disapproved.<sup>55</sup>

### *Intervention in Darfur*

**Internationally, views have been mixed as to whether the United Nations has the responsibility, rather than simply the right, to intervene in Darfur. Approximately half of the countries polled expressed a readiness to contribute troops to an international force to stop the killing, and a large majority of Europeans polled expressed a readiness to contribute troops to a humanitarian operation in Darfur. Muslim countries polled expressed confidence that**

**such an intervention could be effective. A poll of African countries expressed support for either the United Nations or the African Union intervening in a situation like Darfur.**

Fourteen countries were asked about the role of the UN Security Council regarding the violence occurring in the Darfur region of Sudan (WPO/CCGA 2006-08). Respondents in seven countries said the UN has a responsibility to authorize an intervention, two countries said the UN has the right but not a responsibility, and five countries were divided on the question. On average, 35 percent of all respondents thought the UN has a responsibility, 27 percent thought it has the right but not a responsibility, and 15 percent thought it does not have the right.

Support for UN action in Darfur has been highest in France, where 84 percent say the UN Security Council has either the “responsibility” to authorize intervention in Darfur (55 percent) or the “right” (29 percent) to do so. Close behind is the United States, where 83 percent have said the UN Security Council has either the “responsibility” (48 percent) or the “right” (35 percent) to intervene. Israelis (77 percent) have been the next most likely to favor UN action, with 46 percent saying it has the responsibility to act and 31 percent saying it has the right to do so.

Majorities in India and China have also stated that the United Nations has the responsibility and/or right to act. About six in ten Indians (59 percent) have said the UN Security Council either can (30 percent) or should (29 percent) act to stop the violence in Darfur. About the same proportion of Chinese (58 percent) have agreed, with 38 percent saying it has the right and 20 percent saying it has the responsibility to do so.<sup>56</sup>

Eleven countries in the same poll were asked whether they favored or opposed the use of their country’s troops as part of an international peacekeeping force to stop the killing in Darfur. Majorities in six countries favored contributing troops, four countries were opposed, and one was divided. The average across all eleven countries was 55 percent in favor and 30 percent opposed.<sup>57</sup>

A 2009 WPO poll of seven majority-Muslim and African nations and territories also found strong support for intervening in Sudan for humanitarian purposes against the will of the government. Respondents were told that in response to charges made by the International Criminal Court, Sudanese President Omar 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 United Nations 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 nations, 59 percent approved.<sup>58</sup>

GMF’s 2007 Transatlantic Trends survey included a question on **the deployment of a country’s troops to provide humanitarian assistance in the Darfur region of the Sudan**. Majorities or pluralities in all twelve European countries and the United States approved of such a deployment. The European average showed 76 percent approving and 18 percent disapproving.<sup>59</sup>

The Arab American Institute (AAI) polled six countries with Muslim majorities in 2007 on options for dealing with the situation in Darfur. Five countries believed a UN peacekeeping force from non-Western and Muslim nations would be effective, while one country (United Arab Emirates) believed it would not be effective. On average, 66 percent responded it would be effective and 31 percent responded it would not. The strongest majorities in favor came from Saudi Arabia (87 percent) and Egypt (74 percent). A majority in the United Arab Emirates (55 percent) thought that a UN peacekeeping mission in Darfur would “not be effective.”<sup>60</sup>

The 2004 GlobeScan poll of eight sub-Saharan countries asked respondents about their preferred military group to intervene in a conflict like Darfur. On average across all eight countries, 30 percent favored the United Nations, 22 percent favored the African Union, 7 percent favored all options, and 5 percent favored any rich country.<sup>61</sup>

*The Responsibility to Participate in NATO and EU Military Operations*

**When NATO decides to take a military action, U.S. and European publics think that all NATO members should contribute troops and if not, then they should at least contribute financially (though Eastern European countries are more mixed on both of these questions). Most EU publics do not think that an EU decision to take military action creates an imperative for a member country to participate.**

People in twelve European countries and the United States were asked, “To what extent do you tend to agree that *all* NATO member countries should contribute troops if the NATO alliance decides to take military action?” (GMF 2008). An overwhelming majority of Americans (82 percent) said all should. On average, 57 percent of Europeans agreed, although there was substantial variation. In most cases, Western European countries had fairly large majorities agreeing (United Kingdom 82 percent, Holland 82 percent, Portugal 68 percent, France 62 percent), though fewer agreed in some (Germany 56 percent, Italy 51 percent, Spain 56 percent). Eastern European countries were quite mixed. In some, a majority agreed (Poland 57 percent, Romania 63 percent), while only minorities agreed in Slovakia (37 percent) and Bulgaria (42 percent). In Turkey, only 28 percent agreed.<sup>62</sup>

When asked whether they agreed that all NATO members “should share in the financial costs of a NATO military action even when they do not contribute troops,” responses were essentially the same as above except that German agreement rose 6 points to 62 percent.<sup>63</sup>

A 2007 GMF poll asked Europeans what their country should do if the European Union decided to use military force but the decision was one that the respondent’s country disagreed with. The question asked respondents whether they agreed that “if the European Union should decide to use military force, [survey country] should abide by that decision even if [survey country] disagrees.” Large majorities disagreed in France (65 percent) and Germany (67 percent), as well as solid majorities in several others. Smaller majorities agreed in Poland (51 percent), Portugal (51 percent), and Turkey (52 percent). On average, only 43 percent of European publics agreed while 54 percent disagreed.<sup>64</sup>

*Perceived Effectiveness of UN Peacekeeping Operations*

**On average, a slight majority of the publics of Cambodia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Abkhazia, Lebanon, Somalia, and Georgia said they found the peacekeeping operations in their countries in the 1990s to have been effective. Publics in the permanent members of the UN Security Council offered similar assessments.**

In 1999, the International Committee of the Red Cross sponsored a study in six countries where UN peacekeeping forces had been active (Cambodia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Abkhazia, Lebanon, Somalia, and Georgia). Overall, a slim majority of respondents (51 percent) said that the UN made conditions better for them and their fellow citizens. Only 14 percent said the UN made things worse, while 27 percent said it made no difference at all.

This question was also posed to respondents residing in four nations that are permanent members of the UN Security Council (all but China). These responses were similar to those living in the countries receiving the forces: 54 percent of those in UNSC permanent member states felt the UN peacekeeping or observer presence made conditions better for people in the countries receiving the international forces. Eight percent of those living in the UNSC permanent-member nations say the UN made things worse, and 29 percent say it made no difference at all.<sup>65-66</sup>



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<sup>1</sup> **Pew Global Attitudes Project 2010**

Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements:  
It is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world.

	<b>Completely agree</b>	<b>Mostly agree</b>	<b>Mostly disagree</b>	<b>Completely disagree</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>
<b>United States</b>	30	47	13	7	3
<b>Britain</b>	23	50	14	10	3
<b>France</b>	19	38	20	23	0
<b>Germany</b>	13	33	29	25	0
<b>Spain</b>	10	45	28	15	2
<b>Poland</b>	15	46	24	10	5
<b>Russia</b>	23	38	26	9	5
<b>Turkey</b>	20	29	21	23	8
<b>Egypt</b>	12	27	32	27	2
<b>Jordan</b>	11	24	38	26	2
<b>Lebanon</b>	20	38	23	18	0
<b>China</b>	20	40	29	8	4
<b>India</b>	54	38	5	2	2
<b>Indonesia</b>	26	46	19	7	1
<b>Japan</b>	13	44	25	17	1
<b>Pakistan</b>	40	33	7	4	16
<b>South Korea</b>	11	45	34	7	3
<b>Argentina</b>	16	30	16	32	5
<b>Brazil</b>	43	35	12	9	2
<b>Mexico</b>	29	44	15	9	4
<b>Kenya</b>	30	36	13	19	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	28	33	20	16	3
<b>Average</b>	23	38	21	15	3

**Pew Global Attitudes Project May 2007**

As I read another list of statements, for each one, please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or completely disagree with it:

It is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world.

	<b>Completely Agree</b>	<b>Mostly Agree</b>	<b>Mostly Disagree</b>	<b>Completely Disagree</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>United States</b>	35	42	14	6	3
<b>Canada</b>	26	45	17	10	2
<b>Argentina</b>	17	35	18	22	8
<b>Bolivia</b>	23	39	22	10	5
<b>Brazil</b>	42	42	10	5	1
<b>Chile</b>	24	36	23	12	5
<b>Mexico</b>	20	52	20	5	3
<b>Peru</b>	26	39	18	9	7
<b>Venezuela</b>	21	51	19	8	0
<b>Britain</b>	19	48	19	9	5
<b>France</b>	26	41	18	15	0

Germany	11	30	29	29	1
Italy	25	48	15	7	6
Spain	11	54	18	9	9
Sweden	37	38	11	10	4
Bulgaria	13	21	26	25	15
Czech Republic	23	39	22	14	1
Poland	16	40	26	11	7
Russia	21	40	21	10	8
Slovakia	16	31	28	23	2
Ukraine	16	36	27	17	6
Turkey	36	38	13	6	6
Egypt	14	26	30	29	2
Jordan	12	25	29	29	5
Kuwait	58	22	6	10	5
Lebanon	21	37	23	15	5
Morocco	24	23	9	12	33
Palestinian Territories	28	31	15	19	7
Israel	39	37	18	4	2
Pakistan	46	26	11	3	14
Bangladesh	57	30	7	4	2
Indonesia	23	51	16	7	3
Malaysia	15	46	20	12	6
China	16	50	22	6	6
India	58	32	7	3	1
Japan	10	50	26	8	6
South Korea	5	38	40	13	4
Ethiopia	24	24	32	18	2
Ghana	26	44	18	11	1
Ivory Coast	44	34	14	8	0
Kenya	41	34	14	10	1
Mali	49	27	17	7	0
Nigeria	40	34	14	9	2
Senegal	36	36	17	9	1
South Africa	31	41	14	8	5
Tanzania	39	22	10	24	4
Uganda	25	29	21	19	6
Average	27	37	19	12	5

<sup>2</sup> German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2006

Some say that in order for the European Union to assume a greater international role it needs to do certain things. To what extent do you agree with the following? The European Union should concentrate on its economic power and not rely on its military power when dealing with international problems outside Europe.

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	DK/NR
European Average	40	39	11	5	6
France	40	45	17	7	2
Germany	41	42	11	5	2
Great Britain	35	38	14	7	6
Italy	30	52	12	4	2
Netherlands	42	40	12	4	3

<b>Poland</b>	37	46	7	1	9
<b>Portugal</b>	39	37	12	6	8
<b>Spain</b>	42	49	10	6	4
<b>Slovakia</b>	37	37	13	4	8
<b>Turkey</b>	33	24	13	12	18
<b>Bulgaria</b>	52	30	4	3	11
<b>Romania</b>	48	31	6	3	12

### German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005

Some say that in order for the European Union to assume a greater international role it needs to do certain things. To what extent do you agree with the following: The European Union should concentrate on economic power, even if this means it will not be able to act independently on military issues

	<b>Agree Strongly</b>	<b>Agree Somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree Somewhat</b>	<b>Disagree Strongly</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	35	41	12	6	6
<b>France</b>	40	45	17	7	2
<b>Germany</b>	41	42	11	5	2
<b>Great Britain</b>	35	38	14	7	6
<b>Italy</b>	40	52	12	4	2
<b>Netherlands</b>	42	40	12	4	3
<b>Poland</b>	37	46	7	1	9
<b>Portugal</b>	39	37	12	6	8
<b>Spain</b>	32	49	10	6	4
<b>Slovakia</b>	37	37	13	4	8
<b>Turkey</b>	33	24	13	12	18
<b>Bulgaria</b>	52	30	4	3	11
<b>Romania</b>	48	31	6	3	12

### Chicago Council on Global Affairs/German Marshall Fund World Views 2002

Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: It makes sense for Europe and the United States to specialize in their role in the world. Because the United States has the strongest military, the United States should take the lead responsibility and supply most of the forces when it comes to military conflict. Europe should instead emphasize things like assisting poor countries to develop their economies and trying to help reconstruct societies after a war.

	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	51	46	3
<b>France</b>	43	55	3
<b>Germany</b>	57	36	7
<b>The Netherlands</b>	56	41	4
<b>Italy</b>	53	42	4
<b>Poland</b>	56	28	16
<b>European Average</b>	53	42	6
<b>United States</b>	39	56	5

### <sup>3</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 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

**Should    Should not    DK/ NR**



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<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>4</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 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>DK/NR</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>5</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 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>DK/NR</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	71	20	9

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<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>6</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 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>DK/NR</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	54	30	15
<b>U.S.</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>7</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>DK/NR</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

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Great Britain	70	22	8
Poland	54	15	31
Russia	48	31	21
Ukraine	40	16	44
Azerbaijan	42	23	35
Egypt	80	20	0
Iran	59	25	16
Israel	64	28	8
Palestinian Territories	69	27	4
Turkey	39	20	40
Kenya	89	8	3
Nigeria	78	18	5
China	76	13	11
India	51	25	25
Indonesia	82	5	14
Thailand	44	22	33
Average	61	21	18

<sup>8</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 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

	<b>Favor</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
Argentina	48	30	22
Peru	77	19	4
U.S.	72	24	5
Armenia	75	15	10
France	74	25	1
Great Britain	79	17	4
Poland	63	11	26
Russia	58	22	20
Ukraine	54	19	28
Azerbaijan	64	21	14
Egypt	53	47	0
Iran	62	13	25
Israel	64	31	6
Turkey	51	24	25
Kenya	85	14	1
Nigeria	84	15	1
China	62	25	13
India	58	30	12
Indonesia	74	14	12
Philippines	46	44	9
South Korea	68	30	1
Thailand	73	12	15
Average	66	23	12

<sup>9</sup> World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations than by the various national governments. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the respective national governments; while others think they

would be handled best by the national governments working together with co-ordination by the United Nations. 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 the United Nations, or by the national governments with UN co-ordination? International peacekeeping

	National governments	Regional orgs	UN	National governments with UN coordination	Non profit / Nongovernmental orgs	Commercial enterprise	DK	No answer	NA
Italy	22	12	58	0	0	0	6	1	0
Spain	15	13	59	0	0	0	12	0	6
United States	28	16	50	0	0	0	4	3	0
Canada	22	7	66	0	0	0	5	0	0
Japan	11	8	72	0	2	0	0	6	0
Mexico	22	5	65	0	0	0	6	1	0
South Africa	47	14	32	0	0	0	0	7	0
Australia	21	9	66	0	0	0	0	4	0
Sweden	19	8	70	0	0	0	3	0	0
Argentina	22	5	52	0	0	0	21	1	0
Finland	29	10	58	0	0	0	2	1	0
South Korea	47	6	47	0	0	0	0	1	0
Poland	28	6	64	0	0	0	2	0	0
Switzerland	27	9	60	0	0	0	3	1	0
Brazil	22	5	66	0	0	0	6	2	0
Chile	40	6	44	0	0	0	9	1	0
India	44	10	14	0	0	0	32	0	0
Slovenia	26	30	33	0	0	0	10	1	0
Bulgaria	22	17	50	0	0	0	11	0	0
Romania	38	11	34	0	0	0	14	2	0
China	18	2	36	0	0	0	44	1	0
Taiwan	25	16	55	0	0	0	3	0	0
Turkey	46	9	37	0	0	0	8	1	0
Ukraine	52	8	29	0	0	0	8	3	0
Ghana	23	9	64	0	0	0	3	1	0
Moldova	37	19	39	0	0	0	5	0	0
Georgia	79	2	15	0	0	0	3	0	0
Thailand	77	21	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indonesia	14	4	74	0	0	0	7	1	0
Vietnam	50	7	35	0	0	0	8	1	0
Serbia	51	9	32	0	0	0	7	2	0
New Zealand	6	0	33	49	0	0	8	5	0
Egypt	36	17	44	0	0	0	3	*	0
Morocco	50	4	29	0	0	0	0	18	0
Iran	41	12	42	0	0	0	4	1	0
Jordan	24	19	44	0	0	0	13	0	0

<b>Cyprus</b>	30	22	47	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Trinidad and Tobago</b>	32	12	53	0	0	0	2	1	0
<b>Andorra</b>	26	8	64	0	0	0	2	1	0
<b>Malaysia</b>	51	21	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Burkina Faso</b>	47	6	34	0	0	0	9	2	0
<b>Ethiopia</b>	41	10	40	0	0	0	5	3	2
<b>Mali</b>	46	5	38	0	0	0	6	3	1
<b>Rwanda</b>	50	41	8	0	0	0	1	0	1
<b>Zambia</b>	29	19	47	0	0	0	4	1	0
<b>Germany</b>	20	20	54	0	0	0	6	1	0
<b>Average</b>	34	11	45	1	0	0	7	2	0

<sup>10</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2004**

In general, when South Korea/the United States is asked to be part of a United Nations international peacekeeping force in a troubled part of the world, do you think we should take part, or should we leave this job to other countries? (South Korea, United States)

And now, please tell me, if the United Nations asks member countries to participate in a military or police peacekeeping force being sent to some part of the world, what do you think Mexico should do, participate in the peacekeeping force or leave this type of activity to other countries? (Mexico)

	<b>Should take part</b>	<b>Should not take part</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>South Korea</b>	83	17	n/a
<b>United States</b>	78	19	3
<b>Mexico</b>	48	36	6

<sup>11</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007**

The European Union can take greater responsibility for dealing with international threats in a number of different ways. For each of the following, please tell me if you agree or disagree that it is something that the European Union should undertake: Commit more troops for peacekeeping missions.

	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	66	29	5
<b>United States</b>	85	13	2
<b>France</b>	80	18	2
<b>Germany</b>	63	36	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	76	22	2
<b>Italy</b>	57	41	2
<b>Netherlands</b>	71	27	2
<b>Poland</b>	54	38	7
<b>Portugal</b>	78	18	3
<b>Spain</b>	82	17	1
<b>Slovakia</b>	44	40	16
<b>Turkey</b>	73	19	7
<b>Bulgaria</b>	54	37	8
<b>Romania</b>	60	30	10

<sup>12</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004**

Now I would like to ask you some questions about when [country] should use its military force. For each of the following reasons, would you approve or disapprove the use of [survey country] military forces: To provide peacekeeping troops after a civil war has ended

	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	77	17	6
<b>United States</b>	66	29	5
<b>France</b>	84	14	2
<b>Germany</b>	84	15	2
<b>Great Britain</b>	81	16	3
<b>Italy</b>	77	21	2
<b>Netherlands</b>	88	11	1
<b>Poland</b>	61	31	8
<b>Portugal</b>	76	12	12
<b>Spain</b>	85	13	3
<b>Slovakia</b>	58	26	16
<b>Turkey</b>	77	14	8

<sup>13</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004**

Now I would like to ask you some questions about when [country] should use its military force. For each of the following reasons, would you approve or disapprove the use of [survey country] military forces: To provide food and medical assistance to victims of war

	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	89	8	3
<b>United States</b>	81	16	3
<b>France</b>	92	7	1
<b>Germany</b>	94	5	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	83	5	3
<b>Italy</b>	85	14	1
<b>Netherlands</b>	98	2	1
<b>Poland</b>	86	12	3
<b>Portugal</b>	85	7	8
<b>Spain</b>	95	5	1
<b>Slovakia</b>	84	11	5
<b>Turkey</b>	87	9	4

<sup>14</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004**

Now I would like to ask you some questions about when [country] should use its military force. For each of the following reasons, would you approve or disapprove the use of [survey country] military forces: To stop the fighting in a civil war

	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	62	31	7
<b>United States</b>	38	49	13
<b>France</b>	68	27	5
<b>Germany</b>	41	54	5
<b>Great Britain</b>	57	35	8
<b>Italy</b>	56	38	5
<b>Netherlands</b>	56	40	4
<b>Poland</b>	45	47	8
<b>Portugal</b>	63	25	12

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<b>Spain</b>	70	23	7
<b>Slovakia</b>	83	11	6
<b>Turkey</b>	81	14	5

<sup>15</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004**

Now I would like to ask you some questions about when [country] should use its military force. For each of the following reasons, would you approve or disapprove the use of [survey country] military forces: To remove a government that abuses human rights

	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	53	39	8
<b>United States</b>	57	36	7
<b>France</b>	53	43	4
<b>Germany</b>	36	60	4
<b>Great Britain</b>	59	33	8
<b>Italy</b>	54	41	5
<b>Netherlands</b>	53	43	4
<b>Poland</b>	48	41	11
<b>Portugal</b>	63	24	13
<b>Spain</b>	55	38	7
<b>Slovakia</b>	40	43	17
<b>Turkey</b>	64	25	11

<sup>16</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007**

As you may know, some countries have troops currently engaged in different military operations around the world. To what extent would you approve or disapprove of the deployment of [nationality] troops for the following operations: To maintain peace and order in post-conflict Balkans.

	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>(Don't know about topic)</b>	<b>NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	65	29	4	2
<b>United States</b>	54	38	5	4
<b>France</b>	70	24	2	4
<b>Germany</b>	60	38	1	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	66	27	2	5
<b>Italy</b>	73	25	1	1
<b>Netherlands</b>	74	24	1	1
<b>Poland</b>	58	33	7	2
<b>Portugal</b>	77	18	3	2
<b>Spain</b>	76	23	0	1
<b>Slovakia</b>	62	31	4	3
<b>Turkey</b>	53	33	14	0
<b>Bulgaria</b>	55	39	3	3
<b>Romania</b>	58	30	8	4

<sup>17</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007**

As you may know, some countries have troops currently engaged in different military operations around the world. To what extent, would you approve or disapprove of the deployment of [nationality] troops for the following operations: To monitor and support a ceasefire in Southern Lebanon.

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	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>(Don't know about topic)</b>	<b>NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	56	35	6	3
<b>United States</b>	55	39	2	4
<b>France</b>	73	23	1	2
<b>Germany</b>	45	52	1	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	65	30	2	4
<b>Italy</b>	66	32	1	1
<b>Netherlands</b>	70	28	1	1
<b>Poland</b>	47	39	10	5
<b>Portugal</b>	63	32	3	2
<b>Spain</b>	69	30	1	1
<b>Slovakia</b>	45	38	10	7
<b>Turkey</b>	46	38	16	1
<b>Bulgaria</b>	35	40	18	7
<b>Romania</b>	47	37	12	5

<sup>18</sup> Gallup International, August 2006

If the United Nations asked our country's Government to send troops to be peacekeepers in the region, we should send them?"  
 [Southern Lebanon after recent Israeli-Hezbollah conflict]

	<b>Disagree (Don't send)</b>	<b>Agree (Send)</b>	<b>Can't say</b>
<b>Croatia</b>	70	22	8
<b>Georgia</b>	70	18	12
<b>Russia</b>	63	25	12
<b>Germany</b>	62	37	1
<b>Romania</b>	62	31	7
<b>Austria</b>	61	30	9
<b>Korea</b>	60	37	3
<b>Vietnam</b>	57	38	5
<b>Switzerland</b>	56	40	4
<b>Portugal</b>	55	35	10
<b>United States</b>	54	30	16
<b>Greece</b>	54	44	2
<b>Argentina</b>	53	26	21
<b>Australia</b>	51	44	5
<b>United Kingdom</b>	51	42	7
<b>Moldova</b>	51	20	29
<b>Cameroon</b>	46	50	4
<b>Canada</b>	46	44	10
<b>Luxembourg</b>	43	54	3
<b>Indonesia</b>	39	56	5
<b>South Africa</b>	38	46	16
<b>India</b>	36	51	13
<b>Senegal</b>	35	63	2
<b>Finland</b>	34	47	19
<b>New Zealand</b>	32	57	11
<b>Iceland</b>	32	49	19
<b>Sweden</b>	27	67	6
<b>Norway</b>	25	67	8
<b>Ireland</b>	22	66	12
<b>Lebanon</b>	19	78	3



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<b>Pakistan</b>	16	70	14
<b>Morocco</b>	15	76	9
<b>Kosovo</b>	12	60	28
<b>Average</b>	44	46	10

<sup>19</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, June 2012**

Would you support or oppose the United States and its allies doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

Increasing economic and diplomatic sanctions on Syria

63% Support  
 32 Oppose  
 6 Not sure/Decline

<sup>20</sup> **Program on International Policy Attitudes, March 2012**

Do you approve or disapprove of the United States joining in the economic sanctions against Syria?

71% Approve  
 24 Disapprove  
 5 Don't know/Refused

<sup>21</sup> **YouGov, February 2012**

Below are some ways that Britain and other allied countries could intervene in the situation in Syria. Please say if you would support or oppose each action.

Enforcing a no-fly zone over Syria so the Syrian air force cannot attack rebels or civilians

60% Support  
 18% Oppose  
 22 Don't know

<sup>22</sup> **YouGov, February 2012**

Thinking specifically about a no-fly zone over Syria, some people have suggested a no-fly zone should only go ahead with the support of the United Nations. Other people have suggested that the EU or NATO could impose a no-fly zone without UN approval. Which of the following best reflects your view:

48% A no-fly zone should only be imposed with the approval of the United Nations  
 21 NATO or the EU should impose a no-fly zone with or without UN approval  
 8 A no-fly zone should not be imposed at all  
 6 None of these  
 18 Don't know

18

<sup>23</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, June 2012**

Would you support or oppose the United States and its allies doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

Enforcing a no-fly zone over Syria

58% Support  
 36 Oppose

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6 Not sure/Decline

<sup>24</sup> **IFOP/Atlantico, February 2012**

As you know, for several months, confrontations and battles have taken place in Syria, which is falling into a state of civil war. Would you be completely favorable, somewhat favorable, not very favorable or not at all favorable to a United Nations military intervention in Syria?

17% Completely favorable  
34 Somewhat favorable  
28 Not very favorable  
21 Not at all favorable  
\* Don't know/Refused

<sup>25</sup> **Program on International Policy Attitudes, March 2012**

Members of the Arab League and Turkey are considering establishing safe havens on the border areas inside Syria to provide Syrians who are at risk of being attacked by government forces a place to retreat. Other nations would need to provide military aid to protect them. Some say this would violate Syria's sovereignty, while others say that the international community has a responsibility to protect Syrians at risk.

Do you think establishing such safe havens is:

67% A good idea  
27 Not a good idea  
6 Don't know/Refused

<sup>26</sup> PIPA, March 2012

Q19. Suppose the Arab League decides to establish such safe havens and asks the US for help in defending them. Do you think the US should or should not be willing to do each of the following to defend the safe havens:

Q19b. Provide air cover with US planes  
Should be willing.....48%  
Should not be willing.....45  
Don't know/Refused.....7

<sup>27</sup> **CNN/ORC, August 2012**

Would you favor or oppose the U.S. and other countries sending weapons and other military supplies to the opposition forces who are fighting to remove the Syrian government from power?

48% Favor  
47 Oppose  
4 Unsure

<sup>28</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, June 2012**

Would you support or oppose the United States and its allies doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

Sending troops into Syria

14% Support  
81 Oppose  
6 Not sure/Decline

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<sup>29</sup> **Program on International Policy Attitudes, March 2012**

Suppose the Arab League decides to establish such safe havens and asks the US for help in defending them. Do you think the US should or should not be willing to do each of the following to defend the safe havens...

Send US troops

15%	Should be willing
77	Should not be willing
8	Don't know/Refused

<sup>30</sup> **Fox News, February 2012**

As you may know, there is civil unrest in Syria as many citizens fight to over-throw the current dictatorial regime in that country, which has killed more than 7000 of its own people to try to end the rebellion. How involved do you think the United States should get in helping the people of Syria? Should the United States...

Put U.S. troops on the ground

14%	Yes
78	No
8	Don't know/Refused

<sup>31</sup> **YouGov, February 2012**

Below are some ways that Britain and other allied countries could intervene in the situation in Syria...

Sending British and allied troops into Syria to protect civilians from attack

18%	Support
60	Oppose
22	DK

Sending British and allied troops into Syria to overthrow President Bashar al Assad

9%	Support
66	Oppose
24	DK

<sup>32</sup> **IFOP/Atlantico, March 2012**

In the hypothesis of such an intervention, would you be completely in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat not in favor, or completely not in favor of a military engagement by France?

9%	Completely in favor
29	Somewhat in favor
27	Somewhat not in favor
35	Completely not in favor
--	No answer

<sup>33</sup> **Pew Global Attitudes Project, April 2012**

Do you think Syrian President Bashar al-Assad should step down or not?

<b>Yes, should step down</b>	<b>No, should not step down</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>
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<b>Turkey</b>	67	14	19
<b>Egypt</b>	89	10	1
<b>Jordan</b>	89	9	2
<b>Lebanon</b>	53	44	2
<b>Tunisia</b>	88	7	5
<b>Average</b>	77	17	6

<sup>34</sup> **Pew Global Attitudes Project, April 2012**

Now I'd like to ask your views about some additional political leaders. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: Syrian President Bashar al-Assad

	<b>Very favorable</b>	<b>Somewhat favorable</b>	<b>Somewhat unfavorable</b>	<b>Very unfavorable</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	2	8	19	54	16
<b>Egypt</b>	5	6	36	48	5
<b>Jordan</b>	2	6	23	67	2
<b>Lebanon</b>	28	14	13	46	0
<b>Tunisia</b>	3	5	8	76	9
<b>Average</b>	8	8	20	58	6

<sup>35</sup> Arab American Institute Foundation, October 2011

Do you believe that Bashar al Assad can still govern Syria?

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	15	85
<b>Egypt</b>	14	86
<b>Lebanon</b>	1	99
<b>Jordan</b>	10	90
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	7	93
<b>United Arab Emirates*</b>	4	96

\*The U.A.E. sample is of all residents—it is not limited to citizens of the country.

<sup>36</sup> **Pew Global Attitudes Project, April 2012**

[ASK IF THINKS ASSAD SHOULD STEP DOWN]: Would you approve or disapprove of tougher international economic sanctions on Syria to put pressure on President Assad to step down?

	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	40	21	6
<b>Egypt</b>	49	38	2
<b>Jordan</b>	41	47	1
<b>Lebanon</b>	20	32	1
<b>Tunisia</b>	63	20	4
<b>Average</b>	43	32	3

Note: Percentage of full sample

<sup>37</sup> **Pew Global Attitudes Project, April 2012**

[ASK IF THINKS ASSAD SHOULD STEP DOWN]: Would you approve or disapprove of Arab states intervening militarily in Syria to put pressure on President Assad to step down?

	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	29	30	7
<b>Egypt</b>	47	40	2
<b>Jordan</b>	37	49	3
<b>Lebanon</b>	19	32	2
<b>Tunisia</b>	62	24	4
<b>Average</b>	39	35	3

Note: Percentage of full sample

<sup>38</sup> **Pew Global Attitudes Project, April 2012**

[ASK IF THINKS ASSAD SHOULD STEP DOWN]: Would you approve or disapprove of Western countries intervening militarily in Syria to put pressure on President Assad to step down?

	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	23	36	7
<b>Egypt</b>	11	77	0
<b>Jordan</b>	10	73	6
<b>Lebanon</b>	8	45	1
<b>Tunisia</b>	38	46	4
<b>Average</b>	18	55	4

Note: Percentage of full sample

<sup>39</sup> **Arab American Institute Foundation, October 2011**

In the conflict that is taking place in Syria, are your sympathies more with the government or with the demonstrators?

	<b>The government</b>	<b>The demonstrators</b>	<b>Neither/DK</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	9	83	8
<b>Egypt</b>	4	91	5
<b>Lebanon</b>	1	98	1
<b>Jordan</b>	0	100	0
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	5	92	3
<b>United Arab Emirates*</b>	4	94	2

\*The U.A.E. sample is of all residents—it is not limited to citizens of the country.

<sup>40</sup> **Sadat Chair, University of Maryland, October 2011**

When you watch events in Bahrain, Yemen, and Syria, are your sympathies mostly with the government and its supporters or with the rebels seeking government change?...in Syria

	<b>With government</b>	<b>With rebels</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	8%	92%
<b>Egypt</b>	6	87
<b>Lebanon</b>	45	44
<b>Jordan</b>	13	76
<b>United Arab Emirates</b>	28	71

<sup>41</sup> **Arab American Institute Foundation, October 2011**

With which of the following statements do you most agree?

- A. The violence in Syria is the result of a plot by foreign parties and extremists against the government.
- B. The uprising in Syria is a popular revolt against the regime.

	<b>Statement A</b>	<b>Statement B</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	14	86
<b>Egypt</b>	11	89
<b>Lebanon</b>	2	98
<b>Jordan</b>	0	100
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	12	88
<b>United Arab Emirates*</b>	36	64

\*The U.A.E. sample is of all residents—it is not limited to citizens of the country.

<sup>42</sup> Arab American Institute Foundation, October 2011

For each of the following questions, please indicate if you think they are playing a positive or a negative role in Syria.

	<b>Turkey</b>	<b>Iran</b>	<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	<b>United States</b>	<b>Russia</b>	<b>Hizbollah</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	74/11/15	22/43/30	50/22/28	20/72/8	20/39/41	39/20/40
<b>Egypt</b>	80/2/18	22/46/32	48/22/31	8/78/14	5/75/20	12/60/30
<b>Lebanon</b>	58/5/37	26/57/17**	19/52/29	0/79/21	2/82/16	62/18/20
<b>Jordan</b>	69/0/31	7/79/15	65/11/24	0/69/31	4/66/30	6/34/60
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	75/6/19	6/65/27	54/14/32	11/74/15	7/65/28	21/42/37
<b>UAE</b>	63/28/9	35/61/2	53/23/25	10/73/17	33/60/7	47/42/11

\*Positive/Negative/No Impact

\*\* Lebanese perception of the role of Iran in Syria by religious sect

<b>Shi'a</b>	55/29/16
<b>Sunni</b>	6/75/19
<b>Christian</b>	10/73/17

<sup>43</sup> Arab American Institute Foundation, October 2011

For each of the following questions, please indicate if you think they are playing a positive or a negative role in Syria.

	<b>Turkey</b>	<b>Iran</b>	<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	<b>United States</b>	<b>Russia</b>	<b>Hizbollah</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	74/11/15	22/43/30	50/22/28	20/72/8	20/39/41	39/20/40
<b>Egypt</b>	80/2/18	22/46/32	48/22/31	8/78/14	5/75/20	12/60/30
<b>Lebanon</b>	58/5/37	26/57/17**	19/52/29	0/79/21	2/82/16	62/18/20
<b>Jordan</b>	69/0/31	7/79/15	65/11/24	0/69/31	4/66/30	6/34/60
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	75/6/19	6/65/27	54/14/32	11/74/15	7/65/28	21/42/37
<b>UAE</b>	63/28/9	35/61/2	53/23/25	10/73/17	33/60/7	47/42/11

\*Positive/Negative/No Impact

\*\* Lebanese perception of the role of Iran in Syria by religious sect

<b>Shi'a</b>	55/29/16
<b>Sunni</b>	6/75/19
<b>Christian</b>	10/73/17

<sup>44</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org, June 2009

If the Taliban were to regain power in Afghanistan do you think this would be very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?

	Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	Neither good nor bad (vol.)	DK/NR
Mexico	4	16	24	42	4	9
United States	0	4	17	77	0	2
France	1	4	26	62	1	7
Germany	0	1	15	78	2	4
Great Britain	0	3	19	72	2	4
Poland	0	6	33	32	20	8
Russia	1	7	23	17	10	42
Ukraine	1	5	18	16	12	48
Azerbaijan	3	3	17	50	12	15
Egypt	17	45	12	19	7	2
Iraq	5	11	16	40	6	22
Palestinian Territories	20	48	24	4	3	1
Turkey	3	12	26	35	3	21
Kenya	15	21	16	42	2	5
Nigeria	16	23	21	30	2	8
China	3	13	28	25	8	23
Hong Kong*	1	10	33	29	6	22
Macau*	3	11	28	31	2	25
Taiwan*	1	12	25	37	1	25
India	18	19	13	41	3	5
Indonesia	4	16	38	8	7	27
Pakistan	7	17	7	54	10	5
South Korea	3	21	41	32	1	2
Average	6	15	22	39	6	13

\* Publics marked with asterisk are excluded from the average.

<sup>45</sup> **BBC/GlobeScan/Program on International Policy Attitudes, February 2011**

Thinking now about the situation in Afghanistan where US-led NATO forces are fighting the Taliban... Do you think that NATO should...?

	Withdraw its forces now	Negotiate with the Taliban on a peace agreement that would also include them in the government	Continue with the effort to defeat the Taliban militarily	None of the above	DK/NA
Australia	25	35	32	1	8
Brazil	15	51	17	4	12
Canada	28	39	25	2	5
China	17	53	15	2	13
Egypt	34	32	14	2	17
France	26	43	20	3	7

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<b>Germany</b>	47	31	16	4	3
<b>Ghana</b>	27	39	12	5	17
<b>India</b>	19	18	16	7	40
<b>Indonesia</b>	38	43	1	3	15
<b>Italy</b>	34	42	20	1	3
<b>Kenya</b>	26	46	17	1	10
<b>Mexico</b>	38	45	12	1	4
<b>Nigeria</b>	32	43	11	2	13
<b>Pakistan</b>	47	21	11	5	16
<b>Peru</b>	22	46	6	2	24
<b>Philippines</b>	5	74	7	1	13
<b>Portugal</b>	25	43	15	8	9
<b>Russia</b>	38	28	10	5	20
<b>South Africa</b>	24	43	9	8	16
<b>Spain</b>	25	37	28	4	4
<b>Turkey</b>	37	33	10	2	18
<b>United Kingdom</b>	33	42	19	1	6
<b>United States</b>	23	29	42	1	5
<b>Average</b>	29	40	16	3	12

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

As you may know the UN has authorized a NATO mission in Afghanistan, manned by forces from the United States and other countries. This mission is meant to stabilize Afghanistan and help the government defend itself from Taliban insurgents. Do you approve or disapprove of this mission?

	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	35	57	8
<b>United States</b>	72	26	2
<b>France</b>	58	34	8
<b>Germany</b>	45	49	6
<b>Great Britain</b>	57	36	7
<b>Poland</b>	33	57	10
<b>Russia</b>	20	53	27
<b>Ukraine</b>	15	57	29
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	53	27	20
<b>Egypt</b>	44	56	0
<b>Iraq</b>	41	34	25
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	23	74	3
<b>Turkey</b>	28	58	15
<b>Kenya</b>	74	20	6
<b>Nigeria</b>	64	31	5
<b>China</b>	20	65	15
<b>Hong Kong*</b>	45	34	21



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<b>Macau*</b>	43	35	22
<b>Taiwan*</b>	55	26	19
<b>India</b>	65	26	9
<b>Indonesia</b>	38	38	25
<b>Pakistan</b>	18	72	10
<b>South Korea</b>	73	25	2
<b>Average</b>	44	45	12

\* Publics marked with asterisk are excluded from the average.

<sup>47</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org, June 2009**

Do you think that most people in Afghanistan want NATO forces to remain for now, or do you think most want the NATO forces to leave now?

	<b>Most want NATO forces to remain for now</b>	<b>Most want NATO forces to leave now</b>	<b>DK/NR</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	13	76	11
<b>United States</b>	56	39	5
<b>France</b>	29	46	25
<b>Germany</b>	33	55	11
<b>Great Britain</b>	35	47	18
<b>Poland</b>	19	59	23
<b>Russia</b>	8	63	29
<b>Ukraine</b>	8	52	40
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	44	36	19
<b>Egypt</b>	30	67	3
<b>Iraq</b>	28	40	32
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	22	74	4
<b>Turkey</b>	21	59	21
<b>Kenya</b>	52	38	10
<b>Nigeria</b>	53	36	11
<b>Hong Kong*</b>	29	44	27
<b>Macau*</b>	20	51	28
<b>Taiwan*</b>	26	49	25
<b>India</b>	57	30	14
<b>Indonesia</b>	16	48	36
<b>Pakistan</b>	9	86	5
<b>Average</b>	30	53	18

\* Publics marked with asterisk are excluded from the average.

<sup>48</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org, June 2009**

Do you think the NATO mission in Afghanistan should be continued or do you think it should be ended now?

	NATO mission should be continued	NATO mission should be ended now	DK/NR
Mexico	27	64	9
United States	66	30	4
France	53	38	10
Germany	42	52	7
Great Britain	47	47	6
Poland	27	65	9
Russia	14	59	28
Ukraine	12	57	31
Azerbaijan	52	31	18
Egypt	37	60	3
Iraq	43	35	23
Palestinian Territories	21	75	4
Turkey	30	55	14
Kenya	65	29	6
Nigeria	59	34	7
China	14	69	17
Hong Kong*	39	44	18
Macau*	31	48	21
Taiwan*	44	35	21
India	63	25	12
Indonesia	29	43	27
Pakistan	13	79	8
Average	37	50	13

\* Publics marked with asterisk are excluded from the average.

#### <sup>49</sup> German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2009

As you may know, President Barack Obama has asked European countries to increase their contribution in the effort to stabilize Afghanistan. Would you approve or disapprove of the following... Increasing [country's] combat troops in Afghanistan

	Approve very much	Approve somewhat	Disapprove somewhat	Disapprove very much	DK/REFUSAL
France	4	11	43	41	1
Germany	4	9	47	39	1
United Kingdom	9	13	32	42	2
Italy	5	16	21	57	1
Netherlands	5	15	32	46	2
Poland	3	11	33	47	6
Portugal	5	26	28	37	3
Spain	6	19	29	43	2

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<b>Slovakia</b>	2	9	32	47	11
<b>Turkey</b>	13	14	17	39	16
<b>Bulgaria</b>	1	5	19	65	9
<b>Romania</b>	3	6	27	57	7
<b>Average</b>	6	13	32	45	4

<sup>50</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2011**

As you may know, (COUNTRY) currently has troops stationed in Afghanistan. In your view, should (COUNTRY) increase the number of troops in Afghanistan, keep its troops at its current level, reduce the number of its troops or should it withdraw all troops from Afghanistan?

	<b>Increase</b>	<b>Keep at current level</b>	<b>Reduce</b>	<b>Withdraw all troops</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	3	29	22	44	2
<b>United States</b>	6	25	31	35	3
<b>Turkey</b>	12	34	17	26	12
<b>Bulgaria</b>	1	31	25	38	5
<b>France</b>	2	34	20	44	1
<b>Germany</b>	4	25	19	51	1
<b>Italy</b>	2	31	26	39	3
<b>Poland</b>	2	21	17	56	5
<b>Portugal</b>	3	39	21	37	1
<b>Romania</b>	2	27	25	42	3
<b>Slovakia</b>	2	29	31	33	5
<b>Spain</b>	3	39	20	37	1
<b>Sweden</b>	6	48	22	23	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	3	25	26	43	2

**German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2010**

As you may know, [country] currently has troops stationed in Afghanistan. In your view, should [country] increase the number of troops in Afghanistan, keep its troops at its current level, reduce the number of its troops or should it withdraw all troops from Afghanistan?

	<b>Increase</b>	<b>Keep at current level</b>	<b>Reduce</b>	<b>Withdraw all current troops</b>	<b>DK</b>
<b>United States</b>	25	33	22	19	1
<b>France</b>	4	37	17	40	3
<b>Germany</b>	7	24	17	50	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	7	27	25	40	2
<b>Italy</b>	4	34	34	35	3
<b>Netherlands</b>	4	31	18	46	2
<b>Poland</b>	2	16	18	59	5
<b>Portugal</b>	2	45	15	37	2
<b>Spain</b>	6	35	16	42	2

<b>Slovakia</b>	3	31	30	32	5
<b>Turkey</b>	16	22	12	35	15
<b>Bulgaria</b>	2	21	19	49	9
<b>Romania</b>	6	22	22	44	6
<b>European Average</b>	6	28	19	43	4

### German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2009

As you may know, [country] currently has troops stationed in Afghanistan. In your view, should [country] increase the number of troops in Afghanistan, keep its troops at its current level, reduce the number of its troops or should it withdraw all troops from Afghanistan?

	Increase	Keep at current level	Reduce	Withdraw all troops	DK/REFUSAL
<b>United States</b>	30	32	11	19	8
<b>France</b>	4	41	17	34	3
<b>Germany</b>	7	35	16	41	1
<b>United Kingdom</b>	11	27	19	41	3
<b>Italy</b>	6	38	21	34	1
<b>Netherlands</b>	4	43	22	28	3
<b>Poland</b>	5	22	17	51	6
<b>Portugal</b>	4	40	14	38	4
<b>Spain</b>	7	37	17	37	2
<b>Slovakia</b>	2	31	31	30	6
<b>Turkey</b>	14	21	20	30	14
<b>Bulgaria</b>	2	14	22	50	12
<b>Romania</b>	5	16	23	48	8
<b>European Average</b>	7	32	19	38	4

### <sup>51</sup> German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2011

As you may know, (COUNTRY) currently has troops stationed in Afghanistan. In your view, should (COUNTRY) increase the number of troops in Afghanistan, keep its troops at its current level, reduce the number of its troops or should it withdraw all troops from Afghanistan?

	Increase	Keep at current level	Reduce	Withdraw all troops	DK/Refusal
<b>European Average</b>	3	29	22	44	2
<b>United States</b>	6	25	31	35	3
<b>Turkey</b>	12	34	17	26	12
<b>Bulgaria</b>	1	31	25	38	5
<b>France</b>	2	34	20	44	1
<b>Germany</b>	4	25	19	51	1
<b>Italy</b>	2	31	26	39	3

<b>Poland</b>	2	21	17	56	5
<b>Portugal</b>	3	39	21	37	1
<b>Romania</b>	2	27	25	42	3
<b>Slovakia</b>	2	29	31	33	5
<b>Spain</b>	3	39	20	37	1
<b>Sweden</b>	6	48	22	23	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	3	25	26	43	2

### German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2010

As you may know, [country] currently has troops stationed in Afghanistan. In your view, should [country] increase the number of troops in Afghanistan, keep its troops at its current level, reduce the number of its troops or should it withdraw all troops from Afghanistan?

	<b>Increase</b>	<b>Keep at current level</b>	<b>Reduce</b>	<b>Withdraw all current troops</b>	<b>DK</b>
<b>United States</b>	25	33	22	19	1
<b>France</b>	4	37	17	40	3
<b>Germany</b>	7	24	17	50	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	7	27	25	40	2
<b>Italy</b>	4	34	34	35	3
<b>Netherlands</b>	4	31	18	46	2
<b>Poland</b>	2	16	18	59	5
<b>Portugal</b>	2	45	15	37	2
<b>Spain</b>	6	35	16	42	2
<b>Slovakia</b>	3	31	30	32	5
<b>Turkey</b>	16	22	12	35	15
<b>Bulgaria</b>	2	21	19	49	9
<b>Romania</b>	6	22	22	44	6
<b>European Average</b>	6	28	19	43	4

### German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2009

As you may know, [country] currently has troops stationed in Afghanistan. In your view, should [country] increase the number of troops in Afghanistan, keep its troops at its current level, reduce the number of its troops or should it withdraw all troops from Afghanistan?

	<b>Increase</b>	<b>Keep at current level</b>	<b>Reduce</b>	<b>Withdraw all troops</b>	<b>DK/REFUSAL</b>
<b>United States</b>	30	32	11	19	8
<b>France</b>	4	41	17	34	3
<b>Germany</b>	7	35	16	41	1
<b>United Kingdom</b>	11	27	19	41	3

<b>Italy</b>	6	38	21	34	1
<b>Netherlands</b>	4	43	22	28	3
<b>Poland</b>	5	22	17	51	6
<b>Portugal</b>	4	40	14	38	4
<b>Spain</b>	7	37	17	37	2
<b>Slovakia</b>	2	31	31	30	6
<b>Turkey</b>	14	21	20	30	14
<b>Bulgaria</b>	2	14	22	50	12
<b>Romania</b>	5	16	23	48	8
<b>European Average</b>	7	32	19	38	4

<sup>52</sup> **Program on International Policy Attitudes/Sadat Chair August 2011**

In regard to the US troops in Afghanistan, do you think the United States should:

8%	Increase the number of troops
15	Keep the same number of troops as there are now
29	Decrease the number of troops
44	Withdraw all troops completely
3	Don't know/Refused

<sup>53</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2011**

And thinking about the future, do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects of...stabilizing the situation in Afghanistan.

	<b>Very optimistic</b>	<b>Somewhat optimistic</b>	<b>Somewhat pessimistic</b>	<b>Very pessimistic</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>European Average</b>	4	24	45	21	6
<b>United States</b>	9	31	33	24	3
<b>Turkey</b>	9	26	31	21	13
<b>Bulgaria</b>	3	34	36	17	10
<b>France</b>	3	20	53	21	3
<b>Germany</b>	2	18	54	25	2
<b>Italy</b>	6	26	42	19	6
<b>Netherlands</b>	5	22	44	24	5
<b>Poland</b>	1	27	46	11	15
<b>Portugal</b>	5	31	41	17	7
<b>Romania</b>	8	37	32	13	10
<b>Slovakia</b>	3	21	41	21	13
<b>Spain</b>	6	22	49	20	3
<b>Sweden</b>	3	31	43	20	2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	8	28	32	26	6

**German Marshall Fund June 2010**

And thinking about the future, do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects of..."

Stabilizing the situation in Afghanistan

	<b>Very optimistic</b>	<b>Somewhat optimistic</b>	<b>Somewhat pessimistic</b>	<b>Very pessimistic</b>	<b>DK/Refusal</b>
<b>United States</b>	19	32	32	17	

France	1	17	57	23	2
Germany	1	9	56	33	1
United Kingdom	8	27	34	31	1
Italy	6	22	51	19	2
Netherlands	5	24	45	23	2
Poland	1	21	52	19	6
Portugal	3	23	48	23	3
Spain	6	16	52	25	1
Slovakia	4	23	49	15	9
Turkey	10	13	29	33	15
Bulgaria	4	29	35	16	16
Romania	8	34	36	8	14
European Average	5	18	47	26	5

<sup>54</sup> German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2011

Do you approve or disapprove of the way the President of the United States Barack Obama has been handling the following issues?  
How about...stabilizing Afghanistan?

	Approve very much	Approve somewhat	Disapprove somewhat	Disapprove very much	DK/Refusal
European Average	14	37	25	14	10
United States	17	38	21	18	6
Turkey	6	11	33	32	18
Bulgaria	13	37	22	17	11
France	18	40	18	14	9
Germany	12	32	33	16	7
Italy	17	39	18	16	11
Netherlands	27	40	14	12	7
Poland	2	34	37	7	20
Portugal	22	41	19	12	6
Romania	16	38	24	10	12
Slovakia	10	33	25	16	16
Spain	10	37	29	13	11
Sweden	13	41	25	13	8
United Kingdom	17	39	19	18	7

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

And what about the way [COUNTRY'S] government is handling...stabilizing Afghanistan?

	Approve very much	Approve somewhat	Disapprove somewhat	Disapprove very much	DK/Refusal
European Average	12	35	27	17	9
Turkey	20	26	25	18	12
Bulgaria	9	37	25	15	13
France	13	34	25	21	7
Germany	11	33	35	18	4
Italy	14	37	18	22	9
Netherlands	21	39	20	15	5

<b>Poland</b>	1	35	36	10	17
<b>Portugal</b>	15	45	13	13	14
<b>Romania</b>	6	31	35	16	12
<b>Slovakia</b>	7	34	29	12	18
<b>Spain</b>	11	36	28	17	9
<b>Sweden</b>	22	40	17	13	8
<b>United Kingdom</b>	18	37	21	17	7

<sup>56</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008**

Do you think that in regard to the violence that is occurring in the Darfur region of Sudan the UN Security Council:

	<b>Does not have the right to authorize intervention</b>	<b>Has the right, but not a responsibility, to authorize intervention</b>	<b>Has a responsibility to authorize intervention</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>Argentina</b>	19	15	22	43
<b>United States</b>	11	35	48	7
<b>Armenia</b>	9	15	29	46
<b>France</b>	8	29	55	8
<b>Great Britain</b>	8	24	57	11
<b>Poland</b>	8	23	23	47
<b>Ukraine</b>	16	22	10	52
<b>Egypt</b>	32	21	47	0
<b>Israel</b>	7	31	46	16
<b>Kenya</b>	25	37	35	4
<b>Nigeria</b>	17	34	45	4
<b>China</b>	12	38	20	30
<b>India</b>	20	30	29	21
<b>Thailand</b>	12	17	17	54
<b>Average</b>	15	27	35	25

<sup>57</sup> **WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008**

Would you favor or oppose the use of [country] troops to participate in an international peacekeeping force to stop the killing in Darfur?

	<b>Favor</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>United States</b>	65	28	7
<b>Armenia</b>	27	45	28
<b>France</b>	84	3	14
<b>Great Britain</b>	71	18	11
<b>Poland</b>	28	42	31
<b>Ukraine</b>	13	56	32
<b>Egypt</b>	78	23	0
<b>Israel</b>	39	52	9
<b>Kenya</b>	84	16	1
<b>Nigeria</b>	81	16	3
<b>Thailand</b>	35	37	28
<b>Average</b>	55	30	15



<sup>58</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?

	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 / Ref
<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>59</sup> German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007

As you may know, some countries have troops currently engaged in different military operations around the world. To what extent would you approve or disapprove of the deployment of [nationality] troops for the following operations: To provide humanitarian assistance in the Darfur region of the Sudan.

	Approve	Disapprove	(I don't know anything about this topic)	DK/ NR
<b>European Average</b>	76	18	5	1
<b>United States</b>	75	21	2	2
<b>France</b>	88	10	1	2
<b>Germany</b>	73	25	1	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	80	16	1	3
<b>Italy</b>	86	13	1	0
<b>Netherlands</b>	82	17	1	1
<b>Poland</b>	71	17	11	1
<b>Portugal</b>	84	12	3	1
<b>Spain</b>	90	9	0	1
<b>Slovakia</b>	62	24	8	5
<b>Turkey</b>	58	26	16	0
<b>Bulgaria</b>	44	28	20	8
<b>Romania</b>	57	24	15	5

<sup>60</sup> Arab American Institute, 2007

There are several options that the international community is considering regarding the situation in Darfur. How would you rate these options-very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not at all effective:

U.N. Peacekeeping (non-Western and Muslim Nations)

	Effective	Not Effective	DK/ NR
<b>United Arab Emirates</b>	40	55	5
<b>Kingdom of Saudi Arabia</b>	87	12	<1
<b>Egypt</b>	74	26	<1

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<b>Morocco</b>	56	44	1
<b>Turkey</b>	71	22	7
<b>Malaysia</b>	70	26	5
<b>Average</b>	66	31	5

<sup>61</sup> **GlobeScan, 2004**

Preferred Military Group to Intervene in Conflict like Darfur

	<b>United Nations</b>	<b>African Union</b>	<b>No Foreign Military</b>	<b>Rich Country</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>None</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>Average of 8 African Countries</b>	30	22	11	5	7	2	24

<sup>62</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008**

To what extent do you tend to agree or disagree that ALL NATO member countries should contribute troops if the NATO alliance decided to take military action?

	<b>Approve</b>	<b>Disapprove</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	57	34	9
<b>United States</b>	82	12	6
<b>France</b>	62	36	2
<b>Germany</b>	56	43	2
<b>Great Britain</b>	82	15	3
<b>Italy</b>	51	48	2
<b>Netherlands</b>	82	16	2
<b>Poland</b>	57	21	12
<b>Portugal</b>	68	26	6
<b>Spain</b>	56	41	3
<b>Slovakia</b>	37	49	14
<b>Turkey</b>	28	37	35
<b>Bulgaria</b>	42	47	11
<b>Romania</b>	63	25	12

<sup>63</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008**

To what extent to you agree or disagree that ALL NATO member countries should share in the financial costs of a NATO military action even when they do not contribute troops?

	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	58	34	8
<b>United States</b>	82	13	5
<b>France</b>	62	36	2
<b>Germany</b>	62	36	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	80	17	3
<b>Italy</b>	50	47	3
<b>Netherlands</b>	82	17	2
<b>Poland</b>	57	32	11
<b>Portugal</b>	64	29	7
<b>Spain</b>	60	37	2
<b>Slovakia</b>	37	52	11
<b>Turkey</b>	27	36	37
<b>Bulgaria</b>	41	47	13

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<b>Romania</b>	67	21	11
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<sup>64</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007**

Some people say that in order for the European Union to take greater responsibility for dealing with international threats, it needs to do certain things. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

If the European Union should decide to use military force, [country] should abide by that decision, even if [country] disagrees.

	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>European Average</b>	43	54	3
<b>France</b>	34	65	1
<b>Germany</b>	33	67	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	44	52	4
<b>Italy</b>	47	52	2
<b>Netherlands</b>	45	54	1
<b>Poland</b>	51	41	8
<b>Portugal</b>	51	43	5
<b>Spain</b>	44	55	1
<b>Slovakia</b>	36	55	9
<b>Turkey</b>	52	34	14
<b>Bulgaria</b>	49	43	7
<b>Romania</b>	67	25	8

<sup>65</sup> **International Committee of the Red Cross, November 1999**

Is the [international force] making it better or worse, or isn't it making a difference?

	<b>Better</b>	<b>Worse</b>	<b>No Difference</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>Georgia</b>	9	9	52	8
<b>Abkhazia</b>	2	2	15	2
<b>Cambodia</b>	2	2	9	1
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	13	13	40	7
<b>Lebanon</b>	8	8	44	8
<b>Somalia</b>	27	27	10	17
<b>Average</b>	51	14	27	7

<sup>66</sup> **International Committee of the Red Cross, November 1999**

Is the [peacekeeping force] making it better or worse, or isn't it making a difference?

	<b>Better</b>	<b>Worse</b>	<b>No Difference</b>	<b>DK/ NR</b>
<b>Total Security Council</b>	54	8	29	8
<b>Great Britain</b>	58	4	31	7
<b>United States</b>	52	15	28	5
<b>France</b>	52	9	27	12
<b>Russia</b>	54	4	31	11
<b>Total War Torn</b>	51	14	27	7
<b>Georgia</b>	31	9	52	8
<b>Abkhazia</b>	81	2	15	2

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<b>Cambodia</b>	88	2	9	1
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	41	13	40	7
<b>Lebanon</b>	41	8	44	8
<b>Somalia</b>	46	27	10	17