

# Public Opinion on Global Issues

Chapter 4b: World Opinion on Transnational Threats: Weapons of  
Mass Destruction

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## CHAPTER 4B: WORLD OPINION ON COUNTERING TRANSNATIONAL THREATS: PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

### *Concerns about Nuclear Proliferation*

**International polls find a high level of concern among world publics about the possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers, and a widespread belief that preventing the spread of nuclear weapons should be an important foreign policy goal.**

People around the world perceive nuclear proliferation as a critical threat. In a 2006 poll of nine countries conducted by WorldPublicOpinion.org (WPO)/Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA), respondents were presented a list of possible threats and asked to evaluate them. Asked about the possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers, in all cases only small minorities said this was not an important threat. In six countries, majorities chose the highest level of concern—saying that it was a critical threat—with Mexico (75 percent), Israel (72 percent), and the United States (69 percent) leading the field. In two countries, South Korea (50 percent to 40 percent) and the Ukraine (45 percent to 31 percent), only pluralities considered it a critical threat. In China, meanwhile, a plurality (43 percent) considered the threat important but not critical, with just 27 percent seeing it as a critical threat. China had the largest percentage (17 percent) saying it was not important.<sup>1</sup>

In eight of the countries, a majority said preventing the spread of nuclear weapons should be a very important foreign policy goal for their country, a view expressed by 82 percent of Australians and 74 percent of Americans. The smallest majority was in China (52 percent), where 33 percent called it somewhat important and 7 percent said it was not important.<sup>2</sup>

### *Goal of Abolition of Nuclear Weapons*

**Large majorities in publics around the world, including in countries with nuclear arms, favor an international agreement for the elimination of all nuclear weapons that includes an intrusive international inspection regime.**

Internationally, there is strong support for abolishing nuclear weapons, even when it is specified that this would require an intrusive inspection regime. In 2008, WPO asked respondents in twenty-one countries about the possibility of an agreement for eliminating nuclear weapons, in which all nuclear-armed countries would be required to disarm according to a timetable and all other states would be prohibited from developing nuclear weapons. The poll question specified that all countries, including the country of the respondent, would be monitored.

Majorities in twenty countries and a plurality in the remaining one favored the idea. Support was robust in all but one of the declared nuclear-weapon states polled, including the United States (77 percent), France (86 percent), Britain (81 percent), Russia (69 percent), China (83 percent), and India (62 percent). The one exception was Pakistan, where only a plurality favored the idea (46 percent to 41 percent). Among these states, the country where the largest numbers said they “strongly” supported this idea was China (60 percent), followed by France (58 percent). (North Korea, unsurprisingly, was not polled).

The one unofficial nuclear state—Israel—also showed robust support for global nuclear disarmament, with 67 percent in favor (42 percent strongly). This level of support is interesting, because the question spells out a gradual process of elimination with intrusive inspections—something that would presumably reveal Israel’s unofficial program, even before other nations had eliminated their nuclear programs.

On average across all twenty-one nations, 76 percent favored the idea of an agreement to eliminate nuclear weapons (50 percent strongly) while 16 percent were opposed (7 percent strongly).<sup>3</sup>

### *UN Use of Force to Prevent Nuclear Proliferation*

**Most countries polled internationally favor the UN Security Council having the right to authorize the use of military force to prevent a country from acquiring nuclear weapons.**

Though the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) is something that states enter into voluntarily and have the right to withdraw from, most countries favor the UN Security Council having the power to authorize the use of military force to prevent a country from acquiring nuclear weapons.

Seventeen nations and territories were polled on whether the UN Security Council should have such a right (WPO/CCGA 2006-08). Majorities or pluralities in fourteen nations agreed the United Nations should have this authority, led by Kenya (84 percent), Nigeria (81 percent), and Egypt (74 percent). Two publics were opposed—the Palestinian Territories (59 percent) and South Korea (55 percent). South Korean opposition may be rooted in trepidation about the idea of the United Nations taking action against North Korea, which could lead to large-scale attacks against South Korea.

Interestingly, publics in the current nuclear-armed countries (which could arguably benefit from freezing the number of nuclear states) were not exceptionally supportive of the United Nations having such a right to forcibly prevent proliferation. Respondents in the United States were supportive at 62 percent, in Russia at 55 percent, in India at 53 percent, in China at 47 percent, and in Israel at 62 percent. Opinion in France was evenly divided (50 percent to 48 percent).

On average across all nations polled, 59 percent of respondents favored the UN Security Council having such a right and 31 percent were opposed.<sup>4</sup>

### *Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty*

**There is substantial support for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in global public opinion, including in the United States.**

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty seeks to reduce the danger of nuclear proliferation by preventing nonnuclear nations from developing nuclear weapons and hindering nuclear nations from improving them. The U.S. failure to ratify the CTBT is often cited internationally as evidence that the United States is not living up to its commitments under the NPT to seek the elimination of nuclear weapons, but is instead determined to its own right to improve its weapons.

CCGA asked the publics in the United States, China, India, and South Korea in 2006 whether they favored their country participating in the treaty that would prohibit nuclear test explosions worldwide. Robust majorities in all countries were in favor, including 86 percent of Americans, 86 percent of South Koreans, 73 percent of Chinese, and 57 percent of Indians.<sup>5</sup>

### *Multilateral Control of Nuclear Fuel Production*

**There is substantial international support for not allowing some countries to develop nuclear fuel out of concern that they will use it to develop nuclear weapons. Publics worldwide would favor an international regime under the United Nations that would stop new countries from beginning production of nuclear fuel and instead supply them with the fuel they need for energy production. Most publics polled even favor giving the UN Security Council the right to authorize military force to prevent a country from developing nuclear fuel that could be used to develop nuclear weapons.**

The NPT puts limits on nations developing nuclear weapons, but does not limit the production of nuclear fuel, provided that nations do so exclusively for the purpose of producing nuclear energy under the monitoring of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). With the controversy surrounding Iran's production of nuclear fuel, and its possible diversion into a nuclear weapons program, there have been calls for greater regulation of the production of nuclear fuel.

Several international polls show strong support for greater control over the production of nuclear fuel. WPO/CCGA asked the following question in 2006-07:

In the past, the international community has agreed that all countries have the right to produce nuclear fuel for peaceful purposes. Now it has been proposed that certain countries not be allowed to develop nuclear fuel out of concern they will use it to develop nuclear weapons. Do you think this proposal is a good idea or a bad idea?

Of the thirteen nations and territories that answered this question, majorities in nine countries and pluralities in three favored the idea. The highest support was in Israel (69 percent). There was also robust support in publics of UN Security Council permanent members, including the United States (66 percent), Russia (59 percent), China (57 percent), and France (56 percent). However, a majority of 57 percent disagreed in the Palestinian Territories.<sup>6</sup>

A British Broadcasting Company (BBC)/GlobeScan/Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) question in 2006 asked respondents to choose between two arguments:

All countries should be free to produce nuclear fuel under United Nations oversight, because they have the right to have nuclear energy and should not have to depend on other countries

OR

Because nuclear fuel can be developed for use in nuclear weapons, the United Nations should try to stop new countries from producing nuclear fuel but should provide them with the fuel they need

In twenty of twenty-five countries polled, majorities or pluralities favored the UN trying to prevent such production. These countries included the United States (56 percent), Great Britain (55 percent), and Russia (46 percent). Interestingly, public opinion in France and China was divided, though the publics in both cases had favored the idea of preventing countries from developing nuclear fuel in the question mentioned above. The difference between the questions is that the second calls for the United Nations to play a new and major role providing nuclear fuel.

Views were also divided in Indonesia, and respondents showed significant opposition in Turkey (51 percent) and Egypt (49 percent). In the global average, 52 percent supported the proposed UN program and 33 percent said all countries should have a right to produce fuel.<sup>7</sup>

Curiously, some of the strongest support for multilateral control of the production of nuclear fuel was found in a WPO/CCGA poll (2006-2008) that asked whether the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force to stop a country that does not have nuclear weapons from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons. Majorities or pluralities in thirteen of the sixteen nations polled favored the idea, including in the United States (57 percent), Russia (53 percent), and China (47 percent to 34 percent). The French were, once again, divided. Egyptians were also, once again, divided, and a majority of South Koreans were opposed (56 percent). On average, 56 percent supported the UN Security Council having this right and 32 percent were opposed.<sup>8</sup>

### *Dealing with Iran's Nuclear Program*

**International polls reveal a widespread global perception that Iran is pursuing nuclear weapons, rather than limiting itself to energy production, and there is substantial concern over this. Publics in majority Muslim countries show a more muted concern than in Europe and the United States, and in a few cases there is not majority opposition to Iran acquiring nuclear weapons.**

**To address the potential for Iran acquiring a nuclear weapon, there is substantial support for toughening international sanctions in the United States, Europe, and Latin America, but not in China, Russia, India or most majority-Muslim nations. Presented a menu of options, most publics want to put international pressure on Iran to stop it from producing nuclear fuel and favor the use of sanctions or diplomacy to that end. Only small numbers in all countries favor the use of force. Even when presented with a hypothetical choice between Iran obtaining nuclear weapons or taking military action against it, in only a few countries does a majority favor the use of force.**

**Publics in a majority of nations polled support the idea of allowing Iran to produce nuclear fuel if it accepts intrusive UN inspections. Asked which institution would best handle the issue of Iranian nuclear weapons, Europeans and Americans choose the United Nations by a large margin.**

International polling conducted in 2006 found widespread perceptions that Iran is seeking to develop nuclear weapons. BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA surveyed twenty-five countries on whether “Iran is producing nuclear fuel strictly for its energy needs or ... is also trying to develop nuclear weapons.” Majorities or pluralities in all twenty-five countries said Iran was trying to develop nuclear weapons. In the global average, 60 percent of respondents believed Iran was pursuing nuclear weapons and 17 percent that it was producing nuclear fuel strictly for its energy needs.<sup>9</sup>

Recent polling in Arab countries suggests a similar assessment of Iran’s project. In 2011, the Sadat Chair (University of Maryland) polled a sample that included Egyptians, Moroccans, Jordanians, Lebanese, and respondents in the United Arab Emirates (each in proportion to their share of the wider Arab population). In the aggregate, a majority (52 percent) said they thought “Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons,” while a third (33 percent) thought “Iran is merely conducting research for peaceful purposes.” Egypt and Morocco (which had larger national samples) had 49 and 56 percent respectively thinking Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons. In 2010 the Sadat Chair included Saudi Arabia in its polling, and found that two thirds of Saudis (68 percent) thought Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons.<sup>10</sup>

The 2006 BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA poll found majorities in all 25 countries polled saying they would be concerned “if Iran were to develop nuclear weapons.” On average, 72 percent said they would be concerned and just 20 percent said they would not. In only two countries, both majority Muslim, did the number saying that they would not be concerned rise above one in three—Indonesia (40 percent) and Iraq (34 percent). However, only 43 percent of global respondents overall said they would be “very concerned.” Majorities described themselves as “very concerned” only in nine countries: the United States (72 percent), Great Britain (67 percent), Australia (67 percent), Italy (65 percent), Israel (64 percent), Canada (63 percent), Brazil (57 percent), Germany (57 percent), and Poland (53 percent).

The German Marshall Fund surveyed twelve European countries, Turkey, and the United States in 2011 on whether or not they were concerned about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons. Majorities in all 12 European countries and the United States expressed concern. In the European average, 75 percent were concerned (44 percent very much) as were 76 percent of Americans (56 percent very much). The most concerned publics were Portuguese (87 percent), Italians (85 percent), and Spaniards (79 percent). The lone exception was Turkey, where a slight majority (51 percent) said they were not concerned.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, a 2006 GMF poll of twelve European countries and the United States found the prospect of Iran acquiring nuclear weapons a major threat. In the European average, 53 percent of respondents called it an extremely important threat (compared to 75 percent for Americans), 27 percent called it an important threat (versus 19 percent of Americans), and 10 percent called it not an important threat at all (5 percent for Americans). Only the Turks departed from the general European norm, with just 35 percent saying it would be an extremely important threat.<sup>12</sup>

Europeans and Americans also believe that very serious, negative consequences are likely to occur if Iran acquires nuclear weapons. GMF surveyed twelve European countries and the United States in 2008 about the likelihood of five hypothetical scenarios if Iran were to acquire nuclear weapons. In the European average, 68 percent of respondents believed that with a nuclear-armed Iran, other Middle Eastern countries would likely decide to pursue nuclear weapons (a view held by 83 percent of Americans); 67 percent believed Iran would supply nuclear weapons to terrorists (compared to 83 percent of Americans); 61 percent believed Iran would attack other countries in the region (compared to 75 percent of Americans); and 54 percent believed Iran would threaten Europe with nuclear weapons (a view held by 66 percent of Americans).

At the same time, and somewhat contradictorily, 53 percent of Europeans thought that it was “likely” or “somewhat” likely that Iran would only use nuclear weapons for defensive purposes—whereas Americans tended to be more skeptical (with 43 percent thinking this outcome unlikely).<sup>13</sup>

Concern in majority Muslim countries are more muted. A 2012 Pew found majorities or pluralities in three out of the six said Iran with nuclear weapons would be a “very serious” or “somewhat serious” threat, while three countries said it would be a “minor threat” or “no threat at all.” The largest number of respondents perceiving a nuclear Iran as at least a somewhat serious threat was found in Lebanon (57 percent) and Egypt (54 percent). Both were statistically unchanged from 2010, when the same question was asked. In Turkey, a plurality (46 to 37 percent) thought a nuclear-armed Iran would represent at least a somewhat serious threat—slightly down from 2010 (49 to 35 percent). In Tunisia, Jordan, and Pakistan, majorities viewed this prospect as at most a minor threat, and in the latter two countries this view was unchanged from 2010 (Tunisia was not polled at that time). A 55 percent Jordanian majority saw little or no threat, as did 57 percent in both Tunisia and Pakistan. In the average of all six countries, 49 percent said that if Iran acquired nuclear weapons this would be a minor threat or less; 40 percent saw it as at least a somewhat serious threat.<sup>14</sup>

A 2012 Pew poll of six Muslim nations found that most, but not all publics, oppose Iran acquiring a nuclear weapon. Four had majorities opposed to Iran acquiring nuclear weapons: Jordan (76 percent), Egypt (66 percent), Lebanon (62 percent), and Turkey (54 percent). One country, Pakistan, had a plurality in favor: 50 percent, with 11 percent opposed and 39 percent not answering. Tunisians were divided.<sup>15</sup>

The 2011 Sadat Chair poll posed the question of what impact Iran’s acquisition of nuclear weapons would have on the Middle East. In the aggregate sample of six Arab nations only about a third (35 percent) thought that “if Iran acquires nuclear weapons...the likely outcome for the Middle East region would be more negative.” Half felt the outcome would be more positive (25 percent) or would not matter (25 percent). Egyptian and Moroccan results were similar. In the Sadat Chair’s polling of Saudi Arabia in 2010, 45 percent said the outcome would be more negative, while 55 percent thought the outcome would tend to be positive (32 percent) or would not matter (23 percent).<sup>16</sup>

Consistent with this relatively sanguine view of Iran’s nuclear program, the 2011 Sadat Chair poll found that, overall, Iran is not perceived as a primary threat. Respondents were asked to “name two countries that you think pose the biggest threat to you.” Overall in its aggregate Arab sample, only 18 percent put Iran in either the first or second position. Instead, Israel and the United States were named as top threats by majorities.<sup>17</sup>

## What Action to Take

Recent moves to toughen sanctions have received substantial support. Majorities in 12 of 21 countries favored “tougher international sanctions on Iran to try to stop it from developing nuclear weapons” in a May 2012 Pew poll. These included Germany (77%), the United States (75%), the Czech Republic (74%), Britain (72%), France and Italy (both 71%), Spain (68%), Mexico (63%), Poland (62%), Japan (57%), Brazil (56%) and Jordan (52%).

But in nine of the 21 countries less than half approved.<sup>18</sup> This included three major powers—China (21%) Russia (35%), and India (19%)—as well as five majority Muslim nations (Egypt 46%, Lebanon 46%, Turkey 18%, Tunisia 18%, and Pakistan 4%).

Presented a menu of options, most publics want to put international pressure on Iran to stop it from producing nuclear fuel and favor the use of sanctions or diplomacy to that end. Only small numbers in all countries favor the use of force.

GMF asked respondents to choose among five different options for dealing with Iran’s nuclear program in a June 2011 poll. Among the twelve European countries polled, the most common responses were “offer economic incentives to Iran in exchange for giving up nuclear weapons” (32%) or “impose economic sanctions” (28%). In the United States the most popular option was to impose sanctions (33%), followed by offering economic incentives (20 percent). The option to “take military action against Iran” received support from only very small minorities, never higher than 13 percent in any country surveyed. Only small minorities were willing to “accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons” (European average 6 percent, United States 8 percent), but in Turkey 25 percent took this position. Providing support to opponents of the current government in Iran was supported by 15 percent of Europeans and 13 percent of Americans.<sup>19</sup>

A 2008 GMF poll of twelve European countries and the United States found similar results. Most respondents in twelve European countries favored increasing diplomatic pressure, but ruled out the use of military force. U.S. poll respondents were divided between those favoring increased pressure while maintaining the option of using military force, on the one hand, and those supporting milder approaches, on the other. The most common response among Turks was to favor accepting that Iran may develop nuclear weapons. In Europe, an average of 47 percent supported increasing diplomatic pressure but ruling out military force; 21 percent supported increasing pressure while keeping force as an option; 16 percent supported maintaining the present level of diplomatic pressure; and 6 percent supported accepting that Iran may develop nuclear weapons.<sup>20</sup>

A December 2007 BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA poll asked twenty-six countries about actions the UN Security Council should take if Iran continues to develop nuclear fuel. In only one country (Egypt) was the most common response that the Council should not pressure Iran. On average across twenty-six countries, just 14 percent took this position. On the other hand, only small percentages around the world favored military action—on average 7 percent. Only in Israel did a significant number (34 percent) favor such an approach.

By far the most favored positions were to use only diplomatic efforts (on average 42 percent in favor) or to impose economic sanctions (on average 26 percent). The only countries where economic sanctions were the most popular option were the United States (45 percent), Israel (37 percent), and South Korea (48 percent). Globally, an average of 56 percent supported “softer measures” (42 percent use only diplomatic efforts, 14 percent not pressure Iran) and 33 percent supported “tougher measures” (26 percent impose economic sanctions, 7 percent authorize military strikes).<sup>21</sup>

Poll questions that pose military action as the only option for preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons elicited substantially higher levels of support.

In the 2011 GMF poll, those who, when first presented a menu of five options, chose an option other than military force or accepting a nuclear-armed Iran, were then asked: “Now imagine that all of these non-military options have been tried, and the only option left to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons is the use of military force.” Combined with those who supported military action outright on the previous question, the numbers who favor military strikes rarely rose above half. Slightly fewer than half of Americans (49 percent) supported military action in either question. An average of 42 percent across the 12 European countries favored taking military action in either the first question or the follow-on. However, majorities in three countries did favor military action faced with this scenario: Portugal (63 percent), France (56 percent), and Spain (54 percent).<sup>22</sup> Naturally, a complexity with this kind of question is that it poses a hypothetical scenario that specifies an unambiguous certainty that only a military option will be effective—though in reality such lack of ambiguity is rare.

Another poll—a 2012 Pew poll of 21 countries—asked a question that had the additional complexity of making the implicit assertion that Iran already has a nuclear weapons program, not just a nuclear energy program. This is a point of controversy. U.S. intelligence agencies have concluded that Iran does not have a nuclear weapons program, though it is developing capacities that could be applied to such a program.

The poll asked respondents which would be more important and offered two options: to “prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, even if it means taking military action” (implying that Iran is developing nuclear weapons) or “avoiding a military conflict with Iran, even if it means they may develop nuclear weapons” (implying that the failure to take military action means accepting Iran having a nuclear weapon as no other means of taking action was offered).

In only two countries, the United States and the Czech Republic, did a majority of the full sample say it is more important to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, though this would mean military action. In the United States 59 percent of the full sample thought so, and in the Czech Republic 52 percent. The next highest percentages were found in Brazil and Spain, each 50 percent of the full sample; France 49 percent; Mexico, 46 percent; Italy, 47 percent; Britain, 46 percent; and Poland, 45 percent. In the remaining thirteen countries support for military action was below these levels.<sup>23</sup> (Note: There was some confusion in the press reporting on this question, as Pew presented the percentage of a subsample who were asked this question and some press outlets mistook this for the whole sample.)

More significant, in the same poll when, as discussed above, Pew asked those who had said they opposed Iran acquiring nuclear weapons whether they favored “tougher international sanctions on Iran to try to stop it from developing nuclear weapons,” all the countries with substantial numbers saying it is more important to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, even if this means using military force, had larger majorities favoring tougher international sanctions.<sup>24</sup> This highlights how support for an option presented in isolation should not be read as absolute support but as relative to the other options posed in the question, which in some cases is implicitly no action. The only way to determine whether military action or intensified sanctions are preferred is to compare them in the same question.

Arab countries have shown little support for pressuring Iran to stop its nuclear program. Only a quarter of the Sadat Chair’s 2011 aggregate Arab sample felt that “Iran should be pressured to stop its nuclear program” (the question did not specify whether this meant the entire nuclear program or just the part applicable to weaponization). Rather, two thirds said, “Iran has the right to its nuclear program and the international pressure should cease” (64 percent; Egypt 68 percent, Morocco 62 percent). Similarly, in 2010 62 percent of Saudis said Iran has a right to its program.<sup>25</sup>

### **Making a Deal**

Publics in a majority of countries have said they would favor a deal by which Iran would have a limited capacity to produce nuclear fuel. A December 2007 BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA poll asked, “If Iran were to allow UN inspectors permanent and full access throughout Iran to make sure it is not developing nuclear weapons, do you think Iran should or should not be allowed to produce nuclear fuel for producing electricity?”

In sixteen of the twenty-six countries polled, more people favored than oppose this idea, while seven publics were opposed and three were divided. Support for this position was fairly strong in some countries at the forefront of the drive to stop Iran's nuclear program, including the United States (55 percent), Great Britain (71 percent), and France (56 percent). On average, 47 percent of respondents in the poll were in favor while 36 percent were opposed.<sup>26</sup>

### **Who Best to Handle Iran?**

Europeans and Americans tend to think that the United Nations is the best institution to deal with Iran. GMF surveyed twelve European countries and the United States in 2006 on who could best handle the issue of Iranian nuclear weapons. The most common response in eleven European countries and the United States was the United Nations (the exception was Turkey which preferred the European Union). In the European average, 43 percent supported the United Nations handling the issue, 19 percent supported the European Union, 15 percent supported NATO, and 8 percent favored the United States. Thirty-six percent of Americans said the United Nations was the best to handle the issue, 22 percent said the United States, 18 percent said NATO, and 13 percent said the European Union.<sup>27</sup>



<sup>1</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of [survey country] in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all.

The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers

|                      | <b>Critical</b> | <b>Important but not critical</b> | <b>Not important</b> | <b>Not sure/ Decline</b> |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>United States</b> | 69              | 27                                | 3                    | 1                        |
| <b>Armenia</b>       | 62              | 21                                | 7                    | 10                       |
| <b>Australia</b>     | 68              | 25                                | 6                    | 1                        |
| <b>China</b>         | 27              | 43                                | 17                   | 12                       |
| <b>India</b>         | 54              | 27                                | 12                   | 7                        |
| <b>Israel</b>        | 72              | 17                                | 7                    | 4                        |
| <b>Mexico</b>        | 75              | 17                                | 4                    | 3                        |
| <b>South Korea</b>   | 50              | 40                                | 9                    | 0                        |
| <b>Ukraine</b>       | 45              | 31                                | 7                    | 17                       |

<sup>2</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that [survey country] might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of [survey country], a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all?

Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons

|                      | <b>Very important</b> | <b>Somewhat important</b> | <b>Not important</b> | <b>Not sure/ Decline</b> |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>United States</b> | 74                    | 22                        | 2                    | 2                        |
| <b>Armenia</b>       | 58                    | 24                        | 12                   | 6                        |
| <b>Australia</b>     | 82                    | 14                        | 4                    | 0                        |
| <b>China</b>         | 52                    | 33                        | 7                    | 8                        |
| <b>India</b>         | 56                    | 25                        | 9                    | 10                       |
| <b>Mexico</b>        | 65                    | 23                        | 8                    | 3                        |
| <b>South Korea</b>   | 56                    | 38                        | 6                    | 1                        |
| <b>Thailand</b>      | 57                    | 20                        | 7                    | 17                       |

<sup>3</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008

I would like you to consider a possible international agreement for eliminating all nuclear weapons. All countries with nuclear weapons would be required to eliminate them according to a timetable. All other countries would be required not to develop them. All countries, including [country], would be monitored to make sure they are following the agreement. Would you favor or oppose such an agreement?

|                      | <b>Strongly favor</b> | <b>Somewhat favor</b> | <b>Somewhat oppose</b> | <b>Strongly oppose</b> | <b>DK / NS</b> |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| <b>Argentina</b>     | 85                    | 8                     | 2                      | 2                      | 3              |
| <b>Mexico</b>        | 70                    | 17                    | 7                      | 3                      | 3              |
| <b>United States</b> | 39                    | 38                    | 13                     | 7                      | 2              |
| <b>France</b>        | 58                    | 28                    | 7                      | 5                      | 3              |
| <b>Britain</b>       | 55                    | 26                    | 9                      | 8                      | 2              |
| <b>Russia</b>        | 38                    | 31                    | 8                      | 6                      | 16             |
| <b>Ukraine</b>       | 53                    | 27                    | 5                      | 2                      | 14             |
| <b>Azerbaijan</b>    | 48                    | 22                    | 8                      | 14                     | 8              |

|                                |    |    |    |    |    |
|--------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|
| <b>Egypt</b>                   | 39 | 44 | 7  | 10 | 0  |
| <b>Iran</b>                    | 50 | 18 | 8  | 5  | 19 |
| <b>Israel</b>                  | 42 | 25 | 13 | 12 | 8  |
| <b>Pakistan</b>                | 20 | 26 | 21 | 20 | 13 |
| <b>Palestinian Territories</b> | 33 | 37 | 14 | 8  | 9  |
| <b>Turkey</b>                  | 55 | 10 | 5  | 5  | 24 |
| <b>Kenya</b>                   | 68 | 28 | 2  | 1  | 1  |
| <b>Nigeria</b>                 | 55 | 31 | 8  | 4  | 2  |
| <b>China</b>                   | 60 | 23 | 9  | 5  | 3  |
| <b>India</b>                   | 31 | 31 | 11 | 9  | 18 |
| <b>Indonesia</b>               | 60 | 21 | 6  | 5  | 9  |
| <b>South Korea</b>             | 53 | 33 | 11 | 4  | 1  |
| <b>Thailand</b>                | 45 | 22 | 4  | 4  | 25 |
| <b>Average</b>                 | 50 | 26 | 9  | 7  | 9  |

#### <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 a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them.

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

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

Do you think that [survey country] should or should not participate in the treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide?

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

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

In the past, the international community has agreed that all countries have the right to produce nuclear fuel for peaceful purposes. Now it has been proposed that certain countries not be allowed to develop nuclear fuel out of concern they will use it to develop nuclear weapons. Do you think this proposal is a good idea or a bad idea?

|                                | <b>Good Idea</b> | <b>Bad Idea</b> | <b>Not sure/<br/>Decline</b> |
|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| <b>United States</b>           | 66               | 31              | 3                            |
| <b>Argentina</b>               | 48               | 29              | 23                           |
| <b>Armenia</b>                 | 61               | 22              | 18                           |
| <b>China</b>                   | 57               | 23              | 20                           |
| <b>France</b>                  | 56               | 40              | 4                            |
| <b>India</b>                   | 49               | 36              | 15                           |
| <b>Israel</b>                  | 69               | 27              | 3                            |
| <b>Palestinian Territories</b> | 40               | 57              | 3                            |
| <b>Peru</b>                    | 56               | 42              | 2                            |
| <b>Poland</b>                  | 61               | 19              | 20                           |
| <b>Russia</b>                  | 59               | 23              | 19                           |
| <b>Thailand</b>                | 41               | 33              | 26                           |
| <b>Ukraine</b>                 | 60               | 17              | 24                           |

<sup>7</sup> **BBC July 2006**

Which of the following positions about new countries developing nuclear fuel is closer to your own?

|                  | <b>All countries should be free to produce nuclear fuel under United Nations oversight, because they have the right to have nuclear energy and should not have to depend on other countries</b> | <b>Because nuclear fuel can be developed for use in nuclear weapons, the United Nations should try to stop new countries from producing nuclear fuel but should provide them with the fuel they need</b> | <b>Neither/<br/>Depends</b> | <b>DK /<br/>NA</b> |
|------------------|---|--|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Australia</b> | 32  | 60   | 6                           | 2                  |
| <b>Brazil</b>    | 28  | 60   | 8                           | 5                  |
| <b>Canada</b>    | 31  | 59   | 6                           | 3                  |
| <b>Chile</b>     | 26  | 55   | 9                           | 11                 |
| <b>China</b>     | 44  | 42   | 8                           | 5                  |
| <b>Egypt</b>     | 49  | 39   | 6                           | 5                  |
| <b>France</b>    | 44  | 46   | 6                           | 4                  |
| <b>Germany</b>   | 28  | 63   | 6                           | 2                  |
| <b>India</b>     | 25  | 29   | 22                          | 24                 |

|                      |    |    |    |    |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| <b>Indonesia</b>     | 46 | 45 | 3  | 5  |
| <b>Iraq</b>          | 42 | 51 | -  | 3  |
| <b>Israel</b>        | 30 | 59 | 3  | 8  |
| <b>Italy</b>         | 29 | 57 | 12 | 2  |
| <b>Kenya</b>         | 35 | 51 | 5  | 9  |
| <b>Mexico</b>        | 33 | 60 | 8  | -  |
| <b>Nigeria</b>       | 38 | 48 | 4  | 10 |
| <b>Philippines</b>   | 32 | 56 | 8  | 4  |
| <b>Poland</b>        | 32 | 49 | 6  | 14 |
| <b>South Korea</b>   | 22 | 76 | 1  | 1  |
| <b>Russia</b>        | 26 | 46 | 14 | 13 |
| <b>Spain</b>         | 14 | 61 | 13 | 12 |
| <b>Turkey</b>        | 51 | 29 | 8  | 12 |
| <b>Ukraine</b>       | 26 | 50 | 11 | 13 |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 36 | 55 | 6  | 3  |
| <b>United States</b> | 29 | 56 | 7  | 7  |
| <b>Average</b>       | 33 | 52 | 7  | 7  |

<sup>8</sup> [WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago](http://WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago) Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008

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

To prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons

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

<sup>9</sup> **BBC July 2006**

Do you think that Iran is producing nuclear fuel strictly for its energy needs or do you think it is also trying to develop nuclear weapons?

|                      | <b>Iran is producing nuclear<br/>strictly for energy needs</b> | <b>Iran is also trying to develop<br/>nuclear weapons</b> | <b>Neither /<br/>Depends</b> | <b>DK / NA</b> |
|----------------------|--|---|------------------------------|----------------|
| <b>Australia</b>     | 21   | 65  | 5                            | 10             |
| <b>Brazil</b>        | 10   | 72  | 6                            | 13             |
| <b>Canada</b>        | 10   | 68  | 5                            | 16             |
| <b>Chile</b>         | 13   | 58  | 4                            | 25             |
| <b>China</b>         | 18   | 58  | 11                           | 13             |
| <b>Egypt</b>         | 38   | 54  | 4                            | 4              |
| <b>France</b>        | 10   | 66  | 7                            | 16             |
| <b>Germany</b>       | 15   | 65  | 10                           | 9              |
| <b>India</b>         | 18   | 32  | 19                           | 31             |
| <b>Indonesia</b>     | 35   | 47  | 6                            | 11             |
| <b>Iraq</b>          | 38   | 60  | -                            | 1              |
| <b>Israel</b>        | 9  | 83  | 1                            | 7              |
| <b>Italy</b>         | 10   | 74  | 4                            | 13             |
| <b>Kenya</b>         | 13   | 63  | 5                            | 20             |
| <b>Mexico</b>        | 20   | 41  | 4                            | 35             |
| <b>Nigeria</b>       | 26   | 46  | 4                            | 23             |
| <b>Philippines</b>   | 26   | 59  | 6                            | 8              |
| <b>Poland</b>        | 7  | 67  | 3                            | 23             |
| <b>South Korea</b>   | 11   | 76  | 2                            | 11             |
| <b>Russia</b>        | 12   | 48  | 13                           | 27             |
| <b>Spain</b>         | 11   | 58  | 8                            | 23             |
| <b>Turkey</b>        | 15   | 59  | 10                           | 17             |
| <b>Ukraine</b>       | 17   | 39  | 11                           | 33             |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 19   | 57  | 6                            | 19             |
| <b>United States</b> | 5  | 83  | 3                            | 9              |
| <b>Average</b>       | 17   | 60  | 6                            | 17             |

How concerned would you be if Iran were to develop nuclear weapons? Would you be...?

|                  | <b>Very<br/>concerned</b> | <b>Somewhat<br/>concerned</b> | <b>Not very<br/>concerned</b> | <b>Not at all<br/>concerned</b> | <b>Depends</b> | <b>DK / NA</b> |
|------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <b>Australia</b> | 67                        | 24                            | 4                             | 4                               | 0              | 1              |
| <b>Brazil</b>    | 57                        | 17                            | 10                            | 12                              | 0              | 4              |
| <b>Canada</b>    | 63                        | 24                            | 6                             | 5                               | 1              | 1              |
| <b>Chile</b>     | 49                        | 25                            | 12                            | 6                               | 1              | 7              |
| <b>China</b>     | 23                        | 45                            | 22                            | 7                               | 1              | 1              |
| <b>Egypt</b>     | 37                        | 37                            | 17                            | 7                               | 1              | 1              |
| <b>France</b>    | 46                        | 39                            | 11                            | 3                               | 1              | 1              |
| <b>Germany</b>   | 57                        | 27                            | 11                            | 2                               | 2              | 0              |
| <b>India</b>     | 29                        | 28                            | 9                             | 11                              | 8              | 16             |
| <b>Indonesia</b> | 16                        | 37                            | 31                            | 9                               | 3              | 4              |
| <b>Iraq</b>      | 25                        | 40                            | 20                            | 14                              |                | 0              |
| <b>Israel</b>    | 64                        | 18                            | 7                             | 9                               | 0              | 3              |
| <b>Italy</b>     | 65                        | 25                            | 6                             | 3                               | 0              | 0              |
| <b>Kenya</b>     | 48                        | 21                            | 11                            | 12                              | 1              | 6              |
| <b>Mexico</b>    | 34                        | 21                            | 15                            | 8                               | 5              | 17             |
| <b>Nigeria</b>   | 31                        | 24                            | 16                            | 16                              | 2              | 11             |

|                      |    |    |    |    |   |    |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|---|----|
| <b>Philippines</b>   | 36 | 30 | 18 | 10 | 2 | 4  |
| <b>Poland</b>        | 53 | 27 | 10 | 3  | 2 | 7  |
| <b>South Korea</b>   | 30 | 52 | 14 | 2  | 0 | 0  |
| <b>Russia</b>        | 25 | 33 | 21 | 7  | 4 | 10 |
| <b>Spain</b>         | 42 | 33 | 9  | 7  | 2 | 6  |
| <b>Turkey</b>        | 28 | 29 | 24 | 7  | 8 | 4  |
| <b>Ukraine</b>       | 21 | 36 | 16 | 7  | 8 | 12 |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 67 | 23 | 5  | 4  | 0 | 0  |
| <b>United States</b> | 72 | 20 | 5  | 2  | 0 | 0  |
| <b>Average</b>       | 43 | 29 | 13 | 7  | 2 | 5  |

<sup>10</sup> **Sadat Chair 2011**

Do you believe that:

|                              | <b>Iran is merely conducting research for peaceful purposes</b> | <b>Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons</b> | <b>Not sure</b> |
|------------------------------|---|--|-----------------|
| <b>Egypt</b>                 | 34  | 49   | 17              |
| <b>Morocco</b>               | 36  | 56   | 7               |
| <b>Six-country Aggregate</b> | 33  | 52   | 15              |

**Sadat Chair 2010**

Do you believe that:

|                     | <b>Iran is merely conducting research for peaceful purposes</b> | <b>Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons</b> | <b>Not sure</b> |
|---------------------|---|--|-----------------|
| <b>Saudi Arabia</b> | 32  | 68   | 1               |

<sup>11</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2011**

Thinking about Iran, are you concerned or not concerned about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons? Please tell me if you are very much concerned, somewhat concerned, a little concerned, or not at all concerned?

|                         | <b>Very much concerned</b> | <b>Somewhat concerned</b> | <b>A little concerned</b> | <b>Not at all concerned</b> | <b>DK/Refusal</b> |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>European Average</b> | 44                         | 31                        | 14                        | 9                           | 2                 |
| <b>United States</b>    | 56                         | 20                        | 14                        | 9                           | 1                 |
| <b>Turkey</b>           | 14                         | 24                        | 19                        | 32                          | 11                |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>         | 24                         | 41                        | 21                        | 8                           | 7                 |
| <b>France</b>           | 40                         | 36                        | 13                        | 10                          | 0                 |
| <b>Germany</b>          | 50                         | 25                        | 16                        | 8                           | 1                 |

|                       |    |    |    |    |   |
|-----------------------|----|----|----|----|---|
| <b>Italy</b>          | 57 | 28 | 8  | 5  | 2 |
| <b>Netherlands</b>    | 44 | 22 | 18 | 16 | 1 |
| <b>Poland</b>         | 24 | 43 | 18 | 7  | 8 |
| <b>Portugal</b>       | 57 | 30 | 7  | 6  | 0 |
| <b>Romania</b>        | 32 | 32 | 20 | 11 | 4 |
| <b>Slovakia</b>       | 25 | 29 | 25 | 13 | 7 |
| <b>Spain</b>          | 45 | 34 | 12 | 8  | 2 |
| <b>Sweden</b>         | 33 | 37 | 21 | 8  | 1 |
| <b>United Kingdom</b> | 45 | 27 | 14 | 13 | 1 |

### German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2010

Thinking about Iran, are you concerned or not concerned about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons? Please tell me if you are very much concerned, somewhat concerned, a little concerned, or not at all concerned?

|                         | <b>Very much concerned</b> | <b>Somewhat concerned</b> | <b>A little concerned</b> | <b>Not at all concerned</b> | <b>DK</b> |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <b>United States</b>    | 69                         | 17                        | 4                         | 10                          | 1         |
| <b>France</b>           | 39                         | 37                        | 13                        | 10                          | 0         |
| <b>Germany</b>          | 61                         | 22                        | 12                        | 5                           | 0         |
| <b>Italy</b>            | 63                         | 24                        | 8                         | 4                           | 1         |
| <b>United Kingdom</b>   | 50                         | 28                        | 12                        | 10                          | 0         |
| <b>Netherlands</b>      | 38                         | 29                        | 21                        | 12                          | 1         |
| <b>Poland</b>           | 36                         | 38                        | 15                        | 7                           | 5         |
| <b>Portugal</b>         | 60                         | 25                        | 7                         | 6                           | 1         |
| <b>Spain</b>            | 40                         | 41                        | 11                        | 7                           | 2         |
| <b>Slovakia</b>         | 34                         | 32                        | 19                        | 9                           | 5         |
| <b>Turkey</b>           | 18                         | 21                        | 12                        | 36                          | 13        |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>         | 35                         | 41                        | 11                        | 4                           | 8         |
| <b>Romania</b>          | 40                         | 35                        | 11                        | 9                           | 5         |
| <b>European Average</b> | 45                         | 29                        | 12                        | 11                          | 3         |

### <sup>12</sup> German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2006

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

Iran acquiring nuclear weapons

|                       | <b>Extremely important threat</b> | <b>Important threat</b> | <b>Not an important threat at all</b> | <b>DK/Refused</b> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>United States</b>  | 75                                | 19                      | 5                                     | 1                 |
| <b>France</b>         | 53                                | 37                      | 9                                     | 1                 |
| <b>Germany</b>        | 67                                | 26                      | 7                                     | 1                 |
| <b>United Kingdom</b> | 56                                | 30                      | 10                                    | 4                 |
| <b>Italy</b>          | 62                                | 29                      | 7                                     | 1                 |
| <b>Netherlands</b>    | 62                                | 27                      | 9                                     | 1                 |
| <b>Poland</b>         | 64                                | 31                      | 3                                     | 3                 |

|                         |    |    |    |    |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| <b>Portugal</b>         | 69 | 17 | 10 | 4  |
| <b>Spain</b>            | 68 | 25 | 7  | -  |
| <b>Slovakia</b>         | 5  | 11 | 24 | 60 |
| <b>Turkey</b>           | 35 | 30 | 21 | 13 |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>         | 43 | 36 | 9  | 12 |
| <b>Romania</b>          | 57 | 28 | 8  | 8  |
| <b>European Average</b> | 53 | 27 | 10 | 10 |

<sup>13</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008**

If Iran obtains nuclear weapons, how likely or not do you think it is that the following will happen? Just give us your best guess.

Iran will attack other countries in the region

|                         | <b>Very likely</b> | <b>Somewhat likely</b> | <b>Not very likely</b> | <b>Not likely at all</b> | <b>DK/Refused</b> | <b>Likely</b> | <b>Not Likely</b> |
|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <b>United States</b>    | 44                 | 31                     | 16                     | 7                        | 3                 | 75            | 22                |
| <b>France</b>           | 20                 | 35                     | 31                     | 10                       | 4                 | 55            | 41                |
| <b>Germany</b>          | 33                 | 35                     | 23                     | 7                        | 3                 | 68            | 29                |
| <b>United Kingdom</b>   | 28                 | 34                     | 23                     | 9                        | 5                 | 62            | 33                |
| <b>Italy</b>            | 10                 | 46                     | 26                     | 6                        | 3                 | 65            | 32                |
| <b>Netherlands</b>      | 20                 | 34                     | 32                     | 12                       | 3                 | 53            | 44                |
| <b>Poland</b>           | 16                 | 47                     | 19                     | 3                        | 14                | 64            | 22                |
| <b>Portugal</b>         | 39                 | 36                     | 17                     | 7                        | 11                | 65            | 24                |
| <b>Spain</b>            | 30                 | 38                     | 21                     | 9                        | 3                 | 68            | 30                |
| <b>Slovakia</b>         | 10                 | 35                     | 31                     | 7                        | 18                | 44            | 38                |
| <b>Turkey</b>           | 17                 | 32                     | 18                     | 15                       | 18                | 49            | 33                |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>         | 16                 | 34                     | 20                     | 9                        | 21                | 50            | 29                |
| <b>Romania</b>          | 23                 | 29                     | 21                     | 9                        | 18                | 52            | 30                |
| <b>European Average</b> | 24                 | 37                     | 23                     | 9                        | 7                 | 61            | 32                |

Other countries in the Middle East will decide that, like Iran, they should have nuclear weapons as well

|                       | <b>Very likely</b> | <b>Somewhat likely</b> | <b>Not very likely</b> | <b>Not likely at all</b> | <b>DK/Refused</b> | <b>Likely</b> | <b>Not Likely</b> |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <b>United States</b>  | 50                 | 33                     | 8                      | 6                        | 3                 | 83            | 13                |
| <b>France</b>         | 28                 | 39                     | 20                     | 10                       | 3                 | 67            | 30                |
| <b>Germany</b>        | 37                 | 34                     | 16                     | 10                       | 3                 | 71            | 20                |
| <b>United Kingdom</b> | 37                 | 41                     | 13                     | 7                        | 3                 | 77            | 20                |
| <b>Italy</b>          | 21                 | 50                     | 21                     | 5                        | 3                 | 71            | 27                |
| <b>Netherlands</b>    | 32                 | 39                     | 19                     | 9                        | 1                 | 71            | 28                |
| <b>Poland</b>         | 20                 | 47                     | 15                     | 4                        | 15                | 67            | 18                |
| <b>Portugal</b>       | 35                 | 36                     | 13                     | 7                        | 9                 | 71            | 20                |
| <b>Spain</b>          | 32                 | 40                     | 15                     | 11                       | 2                 | 72            | 26                |
| <b>Slovakia</b>       | 15                 | 43                     | 20                     | 6                        | 16                | 58            | 26                |
| <b>Turkey</b>         | 18                 | 40                     | 12                     | 7                        | 23                | 58            | 19                |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>       | 20                 | 44                     | 11                     | 4                        | 21                | 64            | 16                |
| <b>Romania</b>        | 25                 | 33                     | 16                     | 6                        | 21                | 58            | 22                |



|  | Very likely | Somewhat likely | Not very likely | Not likely at all | DK/Refused | Likely | Not Likely |
|--|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| <b>European Average</b>                        | 28          | 40              | 16              | 8                 | 8          | 68     | 24         |
| Iran will supply nuclear weapons to terrorists |             |                 |                 |                   |            |        |            |
| <b>United States</b>                           | 56          | 27              | 10              | 5                 | 3          | 82     | 15         |
| <b>France</b>                                  | 26          | 39              | 23              | 7                 | 5          | 65     | 30         |
| <b>Germany</b>                                 | 40          | 34              | 17              | 6                 | 2          | 75     | 23         |
| <b>United Kingdom</b>                          | 34          | 34              | 17              | 8                 | 6          | 69     | 25         |
| <b>Italy</b>                                   | 30          | 47              | 16              | 4                 | 3          | 77     | 20         |
| <b>Netherlands</b>                             | 30          | 36              | 23              | 8                 | 4          | 65     | 31         |
| <b>Poland</b>                                  | 25          | 49              | 12              | 3                 | 13         | 73     | 14         |
| <b>Portugal</b>                                | 34          | 38              | 18              | 8                 | 3          | 72     | 26         |
| <b>Spain</b>                                   | 33          | 38              | 20              | 6                 | 18         | 56     | 26         |
| <b>Slovakia</b>                                | 18          | 38              | 20              | 6                 | 18         | 56     | 26         |
| <b>Turkey</b>                                  | 21          | 27              | 13              | 16                | 23         | 47     | 30         |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>                                | 22          | 33              | 15              | 7                 | 23         | 55     | 22         |
| <b>Romania</b>                                 | 29          | 28              | 16              | 7                 | 19         | 57     | 24         |
| <b>European Average</b>                        | 30          | 37              | 17              | 8                 | 8          | 68     | 24         |

Iran will threaten Europe with nuclear weapons

|                         | Very likely | Somewhat likely | Not very likely | Not likely at all | DK/Refused | Likely | Not Likely |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| <b>United States</b>    | 36          | 30              | 20              | 9                 | 5          | 67     | 29         |
| <b>France</b>           | 16          | 26              | 41              | 14                | 3          | 42     | 55         |
| <b>Germany</b>          | 23          | 32              | 31              | 12                | 2          | 56     | 43         |
| <b>United Kingdom</b>   | 23          | 30              | 29              | 14                | 4          | 54     | 42         |
| <b>Italy</b>            | 17          | 37              | 33              | 10                | 2          | 55     | 43         |
| <b>Netherlands</b>      | 14          | 27              | 40              | 18                | 2          | 40     | 58         |
| <b>Poland</b>           | 22          | 48              | 17              | 4                 | 10         | 70     | 20         |
| <b>Portugal</b>         | 22          | 33              | 23              | 13                | 10         | 54     | 36         |
| <b>Spain</b>            | 24          | 31              | 29              | 15                | 2          | 54     | 44         |
| <b>Slovakia</b>         | 13          | 30              | 31              | 10                | 16         | 43     | 41         |
| <b>Turkey</b>           | 25          | 34              | 11              | 9                 | 21         | 59     | 20         |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>         | 18          | 34              | 10              | 9                 | 20         | 52     | 27         |
| <b>Romania</b>          | 22          | 28              | 21              | 10                | 10         | 50     | 31         |
| <b>European Average</b> | 21          | 33              | 28              | 11                | 7          | 54     | 39         |

Iran will only use nuclear weapons for defensive purposes (if attacked themselves)

|                       | Very likely | Somewhat likely | Not very likely | Not likely at all | DK/Refused | Likely | Not Likely |
|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| <b>United States</b>  | 19          | 24              | 25              | 27                | 5          | 43     | 52         |
| <b>France</b>         | 23          | 35              | 28              | 11                | 4          | 58     | 38         |
| <b>Germany</b>        | 29          | 22              | 27              | 20                | 2          | 52     | 47         |
| <b>United Kingdom</b> | 24          | 33              | 25              | 12                | 6          | 57     | 37         |
| <b>Italy</b>          | 10          | 36              | 36              | 15                | 3          | 45     | 52         |
| <b>Netherlands</b>    | 22          | 30              | 29              | 16                | 3          | 52     | 45         |
| <b>Poland</b>         | 13          | 37              | 26              | 7                 | 18         | 50     | 32         |

|                         |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| <b>Portugal</b>         | 21 | 27 | 27 | 16 | 10 | 47 | 43 |
| <b>Spain</b>            | 21 | 34 | 25 | 17 | 3  | 55 | 42 |
| <b>Slovakia</b>         | 10 | 27 | 29 | 13 | 22 | 37 | 42 |
| <b>Turkey</b>           | 30 | 26 | 12 | 11 | 21 | 56 | 22 |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>         | 13 | 29 | 21 | 11 | 27 | 42 | 32 |
| <b>Romania</b>          | 18 | 27 | 20 | 14 | 22 | 45 | 33 |
| <b>European Average</b> | 22 | 31 | 26 | 14 | 8  | 52 | 39 |

<sup>14</sup> **Pew Global Attitudes Project 2012**

If Iran were to acquire nuclear weapons, would this represent a very serious threat to our country, a somewhat serious threat, a minor threat, or no threat at all?

|                 | <b>Very serious threat</b> | <b>Somewhat serious threat</b> | <b>Minor threat</b> | <b>No threat at all</b> | <b>DK / Refused</b> |
|-----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| <b>Turkey</b>   | 25                         | 21                             | 19                  | 18                      | 16                  |
| <b>Egypt</b>    | 27                         | 27                             | 32                  | 14                      | 1                   |
| <b>Jordan</b>   | 22                         | 20                             | 30                  | 25                      | 4                   |
| <b>Lebanon</b>  | 41                         | 16                             | 11                  | 29                      | 3                   |
| <b>Tunisia</b>  | 11                         | 20                             | 13                  | 44                      | 13                  |
| <b>Pakistan</b> | 7                          | 6                              | 6                   | 51                      | 29                  |
| <b>Average</b>  | 22                         | 18                             | 19                  | 30                      | 11                  |

**Pew Global Attitudes Project 2010**

If Iran were to acquire nuclear weapons, would this represent a very serious threat to our country, a somewhat serious threat, a minor threat, or no threat at all?

|                  | <b>Very serious threat</b> | <b>Somewhat serious threat</b> | <b>Minor threat</b> | <b>No threat at all</b> | <b>DK/Refused</b> |
|------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>Turkey</b>    | 32                         | 17                             | 15                  | 20                      | 16                |
| <b>Egypt</b>     | 29                         | 23                             | 30                  | 15                      | 2                 |
| <b>Jordan</b>    | 21                         | 20                             | 33                  | 25                      | 1                 |
| <b>Lebanon</b>   | 41                         | 16                             | 12                  | 29                      | 2                 |
| <b>Indonesia</b> | 21                         | 32                             | 15                  | 23                      | 9                 |
| <b>Pakistan</b>  | 8                          | 7                              | 9                   | 47                      | 28                |
| <b>Nigeria</b>   | 39                         | 24                             | 11                  | 18                      | 8                 |
| <b>Average</b>   | 27                         | 20                             | 18                  | 25                      | 9                 |

<sup>15</sup> **Pew Global Attitudes Project 2012**

Now thinking about Iran, would you favor or oppose Iran acquiring nuclear weapons?

|               | <b>Favor</b> | <b>Oppose</b> | <b>DK/Refused</b> |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <b>Turkey</b> | 29           | 54            | 17                |
| <b>Egypt</b>  | 23           | 66            | 12                |
| <b>Jordan</b> | 21           | 76            | 3                 |

|                 |    |    |    |
|-----------------|----|----|----|
| <b>Lebanon</b>  | 35 | 62 | 3  |
| <b>Tunisia</b>  | 42 | 43 | 16 |
| <b>Pakistan</b> | 50 | 11 | 39 |
| <b>Average</b>  | 33 | 52 | 15 |

<sup>16</sup> **Sadat Chair 2011**

If Iran acquires nuclear weapons, which of the following is the likely outcome for the Middle East region:

|                              | <b>The outcome would be more positive</b> | <b>The outcome would be more negative</b> | <b>It would not matter</b> | <b>Not sure</b> |
|------------------------------|---|---|----------------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Egypt</b>                 | 28  | 30  | 21                         | 21              |
| <b>Morocco</b>               | 29  | 39  | 35                         | 6               |
| <b>Six-Country Aggregate</b> | 25  | 35  | 25                         | 16              |

<sup>17</sup> **Sadat Chair 2011**

Name two countries that you think pose the biggest threat to you.

|                              | <b>United States</b> | <b>Israel</b> | <b>Iran</b> | <b>Syria</b> | <b>Algeria</b> | <b>United Kingdom</b> | <b>France</b> | <b>China</b> | <b>Other</b> | <b>Spain</b> | <b>Not Sure</b> |
|------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <b>Six-Country Aggregate</b> | 59                   | 71            | 18          | 1            | 12             | 11                    | 6             | 3            | 1            | 1            | 5               |

<sup>18</sup> **Pew Global Attitudes Project May 2012**

[ASKED IF OPPOSED IRAN ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS] Do you approve or disapprove of tougher international economic sanctions on Iran to try to stop it from developing nuclear weapons?

|                       | <b>Approve</b> | <b>Disapprove</b> | <b>Don't Know/Refused</b> |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>United States</b>  | 75             | 15                | 3                         |
| <b>Britain</b>        | 72             | 16                | 3                         |
| <b>France</b>         | 71             | 25                | 0                         |
| <b>Germany</b>        | 77             | 17                | 2                         |
| <b>Spain</b>          | 68             | 24                | 2                         |
| <b>Italy</b>          | 71             | 14                | 6                         |
| <b>Greece</b>         | 48             | 34                | 4                         |
| <b>Poland</b>         | 62             | 18                | 7                         |
| <b>Czech Republic</b> | 74             | 16                | 3                         |
| <b>Russia</b>         | 35             | 32                | 9                         |
| <b>Turkey</b>         | 18             | 28                | 8                         |
| <b>Egypt</b>          | 46             | 14                | 6                         |
| <b>Jordan</b>         | 52             | 21                | 3                         |
| <b>Lebanon</b>        | 46             | 12                | 4                         |
| <b>Tunisia</b>        | 18             | 23                | 2                         |
| <b>China</b>          | 21             | 29                | 4                         |
| <b>India</b>          | 19             | 13                | 2                         |
| <b>Japan</b>          | 57             | 32                | 5                         |
| <b>Pakistan</b>       | 4              | 6                 | 2                         |
| <b>Brazil</b>         | 56             | 33                | 2                         |

|               |    |    |   |
|---------------|----|----|---|
| <b>Mexico</b> | 63 | 20 | 3 |
|---------------|----|----|---|

NOTE: Percentages of total sample

### Sadat Chair 2010

If Iran acquires nuclear weapons, which of the following is the likely outcome for the Middle East region:

|                     | <b>The outcome would be more positive</b> | <b>The outcome would be more negative</b> | <b>It would not matter</b> | <b>Not sure</b> |
|---------------------|---|---|----------------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Saudi Arabia</b> | 32  | 45  | 23                         | *               |

### <sup>19</sup> German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2011

As you may know, negotiations to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons are under way. There are different ways to address Iran's acquiring nuclear weapons. Which of the following do you think is the best option?

|                         | <b>Offer economic incentives to Iran in exchange for giving up nuclear weapons</b> | <b>Impose economic sanctions</b> | <b>Provide support to opponents of the current government in Iran</b> | <b>Take military action against Iran</b> | <b>Accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons</b> | <b>More than one option</b> | <b>None of the above</b> | <b>DK/Refusal</b> |
|-------------------------|--|----------------------------------|---|--|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>European Average</b> | 32   | 28                               | 15  | 6  | 6   | 2                           | 4                        | 6                 |
| <b>United States</b>    | 20   | 33                               | 13  | 13                                       | 8   | 2                           | 4                        | 7                 |
| <b>Turkey</b>           | 12   | 20                               | 9   | 4  | 25  | 9                           | 6                        | 15                |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>         | 25   | 35                               | 6   | 3  | 5   | 1                           | 4                        | 20                |
| <b>France</b>           | 32   | 27                               | 20  | 8  | 3   | 2                           | 5                        | 2                 |
| <b>Germany</b>          | 42   | 24                               | 13  | 6  | 6   | 2                           | 2                        | 5                 |
| <b>Italy</b>            | 32   | 31                               | 19  | 4  | 3   | 2                           | 8                        | 2                 |
| <b>Netherlands</b>      | 29   | 30                               | 14  | 6  | 8   | 8                           | 3                        | 3                 |
| <b>Poland</b>           | 33   | 29                               | 7   | 4  | 8   | 4                           | 2                        | 12                |
| <b>Portugal</b>         | 28   | 37                               | 14  | 8  | 5   | 1                           | 2                        | 5                 |
| <b>Romania</b>          | 17   | 26                               | 5   | 7  | 9   | 3                           | 8                        | 25                |
| <b>Slovakia</b>         | 30   | 17                               | 7   | 3  | 7   | 11                          | 7                        | 17                |
| <b>Spain</b>            | 23   | 34                               | 23  | 7  | 5   | 1                           | 3                        | 5                 |
| <b>Sweden</b>           | 26   | 25                               | 31  | 3  | 5   | 2                           | 1                        | 7                 |
| <b>United Kingdom</b>   | 36   | 28                               | 12  | 5  | 11  | 1                           | 2                        | 6                 |

### German Marshall Fund June 2010

As you may know, negotiations to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons are under way. There are different ways to address Iran's acquiring nuclear weapons. Which of the following do you think is the best option?

|                      | <b>Offer economic incentives</b> | <b>Impose economic sanctions</b> | <b>Provide support for gov't opponents</b> | <b>Take military action</b> | <b>Accept it</b> | <b>More than one option</b> | <b>None of the above</b> | <b>DK/Refusal</b> |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>United States</b> | 16                               | 40                               | 25   | 9                           | 4                | 3                           | 2                        |                   |
| <b>France</b>        | 33                               | 24                               | 18   | 10                          | 5                | 2                           | 5                        | 4                 |

|                         |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| <b>Germany</b>          | 44 | 28 | 13 | 5  | 4  | 1  | 2  | 4  |
| <b>United Kingdom</b>   | 37 | 28 | 10 | 5  | 12 | 1  | 1  | 5  |
| <b>Italy</b>            | 34 | 25 | 19 | 6  | 4  | 6  | 3  | 4  |
| <b>Netherlands</b>      | 33 | 31 | 15 | 6  | 7  | 2  | 3  | 3  |
| <b>Poland</b>           | 41 | 24 | 6  | 4  | 7  | 5  | 1  | 13 |
| <b>Portugal</b>         | 36 | 32 | 12 | 6  | 3  | 1  | 4  | 6  |
| <b>Spain</b>            | 21 | 37 | 16 | 10 | 6  | 2  | 6  | 3  |
| <b>Slovakia</b>         | 32 | 20 | 10 | 3  | 6  | 12 | 5  | 13 |
| <b>Turkey</b>           | 12 | 24 | 6  | 3  | 25 | 6  | 7  | 17 |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>         | 29 | 32 | 4  | 4  | 7  | 5  | 1  | 18 |
| <b>Romania</b>          | 25 | 31 | 8  | 3  | 5  | 2  | 25 | 1  |
| <b>European Average</b> | 32 | 27 | 12 | 6  | 8  | 3  | 5  | 6  |

<sup>20</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008**

Diplomatic efforts are underway to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. Should these efforts fail, which of the following strategies would you most favor?

|                         | <b>Accept that Iran may develop nuclear weapons</b> | <b>Maintain the present level of diplomatic pressure on Iran</b> | <b>Increase diplomatic pressure on Iran but rule out the use of military force</b> | <b>Increase diplomatic pressure on Iran and maintain the option of using military force</b> | <b>DK/Refused</b> |
|-------------------------|---|--|--|---|-------------------|
| <b>United States</b>    | 6   | 13   | 27   | 49  | 6                 |
| <b>France</b>           | 2   | 19   | 54   | 22  | 2                 |
| <b>Germany</b>          | 4   | 11   | 56   | 27  | 2                 |
| <b>United Kingdom</b>   | 8   | 20   | 38   | 28  | 5                 |
| <b>Italy</b>            | 3   | 14   | 59   | 23  | 2                 |
| <b>Netherlands</b>      | 7   | 14   | 45   | 31  | 4                 |
| <b>Poland</b>           | 5   | 19   | 47   | 14  | 15                |
| <b>Portugal</b>         | 3   | 13   | 62   | 15  | 8                 |
| <b>Spain</b>            | 4   | 18   | 53   | 20  | 5                 |
| <b>Slovakia</b>         | 4   | 18   | 56   | 8   | 14                |
| <b>Turkey</b>           | 23  | 17   | 12   | 12  | 35                |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>         | 4   | 20   | 47   | 12  | 17                |
| <b>Romania</b>          | 3   | 17   | 46   | 8   | 26                |
| <b>European Average</b> | 6   | 16   | 47   | 21  | 9                 |

<sup>21</sup> **BBC December 2007**

What action should the UN Security Council take if Iran continues to produce nuclear fuel?

|                        | <b>Not<br/>pressure<br/>Iran</b> | <b>Use only<br/>diplomatic<br/>efforts</b> | <b>Impose<br/>economic<br/>sanctions</b> | <b>Authorize<br/>military<br/>strike</b> |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| <b>Canada</b>          | 6                                | 42   | 35                                       | 10                                       |
| <b>United States</b>   | 4                                | 31   | 45                                       | 15                                       |
| <b>Central America</b> | 26                               | 30   | 17                                       | 3  |
| <b>Argentina</b>       | 16                               | 31   | 12                                       | 1  |
| <b>Mexico</b>          | 15                               | 65   | 10                                       | 6  |
| <b>Chile</b>           | 13                               | 39   | 23                                       | 4  |
| <b>Germany</b>         | 17                               | 44   | 34                                       | 3  |
| <b>Russia</b>          | 12                               | 38   | 24                                       | 3  |
| <b>Portugal</b>        | 10                               | 46   | 32                                       | 4  |
| <b>Spain</b>           | 9                                | 45   | 28                                       | 8  |
| <b>France</b>          | 8                                | 46   | 24                                       | 7  |
| <b>Great Britain</b>   | 7                                | 50   | 29                                       | 5  |
| <b>Italy</b>           | 4                                | 52   | 29                                       | 7  |
| <b>Egypt</b>           | 56                               | 29   | 13                                       | 3  |
| <b>Turkey</b>          | 21                               | 33   | 28                                       | 5  |
| <b>Israel</b>          | 6                                | 15   | 37                                       | 34                                       |
| <b>Nigeria</b>         | 25                               | 41   | 17                                       | 12                                       |
| <b>Ghana</b>           | 18                               | 43   | 17                                       | 8  |
| <b>Kenya</b>           | 16                               | 56   | 16                                       | 9  |
| <b>Indonesia</b>       | 19                               | 53   | 16                                       | 2  |
| <b>India</b>           | 17                               | 26   | 20                                       | 6  |
| <b>Philippines</b>     | 13                               | 63   | 16                                       | 3  |
| <b>China</b>           | 13                               | 42   | 27                                       | 13                                       |
| <b>Australia</b>       | 7                                | 47   | 35                                       | 7  |
| <b>South Korea</b>     | 7                                | 37   | 48                                       | 5  |
| <b>Japan</b>           | 4                                | 53   | 37                                       | 2  |
| <b>Average</b>         | 14                               | 42   | 26                                       | 7  |

<sup>22</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2011**

[ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAID “Offer economic incentives to Iran in exchange for giving up nuclear weapons,” “impose economic sanctions ,” or “provide support to opponents of the current government of Iran”]  
 And now imagine that all of these non-military options have been tried and the only option left to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons is the use of military force. In that case, should the [European Union/United States] take military action against Iran, or should [it/they] simply accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons?

|                  | Take military action against Iran | Accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons | DK/Refusal | Take military action against Iran (prev. ques.) | Accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons (prev. ques.) | More than one option (prev. ques.) | None of the above (prev. ques.) | DK/Refusal (prev. ques.) |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|--|------------|---|--|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| European Average | 36                                | 28   | 14         | 6   | 6  | 2                                  | 4                               | 6                        |
| United States    | 36                                | 23   | 7          | 13  | 8  | 2                                  | 4                               | 7                        |
| Turkey           | 10                                | 20   | 10         | 4   | 25   | 9                                  | 6                               | 15                       |
| Bulgaria         | 19                                | 25   | 21         | 3   | 5  | 1                                  | 4                               | 20                       |
| France           | 48                                | 22   | 10         | 8   | 3  | 2                                  | 5                               | 2                        |
| Germany          | 32                                | 41   | 9          | 6   | 6  | 2                                  | 2                               | 5                        |
| Italy            | 38                                | 20   | 25         | 4   | 3  | 2                                  | 8                               | 2                        |
| Netherlands      | 37                                | 28   | 7          | 6   | 8  | 8                                  | 3                               | 3                        |
| Poland           | 23                                | 28   | 18         | 4   | 8  | 4                                  | 2                               | 12                       |
| Portugal         | 55                                | 16   | 13         | 8   | 5  | 1                                  | 2                               | 5                        |
| Romania          | 24                                | 10   | 17         | 7   | 9  | 3                                  | 8                               | 25                       |
| Slovakia         | 16                                | 15   | 21         | 3   | 7  | 11                                 | 7                               | 17                       |
| Spain            | 47                                | 22   | 13         | 7   | 5  | 1                                  | 3                               | 5                        |
| Sweden           | 42                                | 28   | 12         | 3   | 5  | 2                                  | 1                               | 7                        |
| United Kingdom   | 33                                | 35   | 9          | 5   | 11   | 1                                  | 2                               | 6                        |

NOTE: Percentages of total sample

#### German Marshall Fund June 2010

[ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAID “Offer economic incentives to Iran in exchange for giving up nuclear weapons,” “impose economic sanctions ,” or “provide support to opponents of the current government of Iran”]

And now imagine that all these non-military options have been tried and the only option to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons is the use of military force. In that case, should the (European Union/United States) take military action against Iran, or should (it/they) simply accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons?

|                  | Take military action against Iran | Accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons | DK/Refusal |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|--|------------|
| United States    | 52                                | 28   | 0          |
| France           | 45                                | 18   | 14         |
| Germany          | 34                                | 40   | 12         |
| United Kingdom   | 25                                | 44   | 8          |
| Italy            | 37                                | 23   | 21         |
| Netherlands      | 34                                | 36   | 9          |
| Poland           | 19                                | 30   | 19         |
| Portugal         | 47                                | 20   | 16         |
| Spain            | 44                                | 21   | 11         |
| Slovakia         | 16                                | 18   | 26         |
| Turkey           | 6                                 | 23   | 14         |
| Bulgaria         | 15                                | 23   | 27         |
| Romania          | 26                                | 14   | 23         |
| European Average | 30                                | 28   | 15         |

NOTE: Percentages of total sample

<sup>23</sup> Pew Global Attitudes Project May 2012

|                | Preventing Iran from<br>developing<br>nuclear weapons, even if it<br>means taking military<br>action OR | Avoiding a military<br>conflict with Iran, even<br>if it means they may<br>develop nuclear<br>weapons | Neither<br>(vol.) | Both (vol.) | Don't Know<br>/Refused |
|----------------|---|---|-------------------|-------------|------------------------|
| United States  | 59  | 26  | 1                 | 0           | 7                      |
| Britain        | 46  | 36  | 2                 | 1           | 6                      |
| France         | 49  | 46  | 1                 | 0           | 0                      |
| Germany        | 48  | 39  | 3                 | 1           | 5                      |
| Spain          | 50  | 35  | 5                 | 1           | 4                      |
| Italy          | 47  | 20  | 13                | 5           | 5                      |
| Greece         | 23  | 26  | 28                | 5           | 4                      |
| Poland         | 45  | 19  | 9                 | 6           | 10                     |
| Czech Republic | 52  | 29  | 4                 | 0           | 8                      |
| Russia         | 18  | 32  | 12                | 6           | 10                     |
| Turkey         | 14  | 23  | 4                 | 2           | 12                     |
| Egypt          | 34  | 11  | 13                | 3           | 5                      |
| Jordan         | 38  | 19  | 14                | 0           | 5                      |
| Lebanon        | 29  | 22  | 6                 | 3           | 2                      |
| Tunisia        | 9   | 30  | 2                 | 0           | 1                      |
| China          | 16  | 21  | 3                 | 4           | 9                      |
| India          | 18  | 9   | 2                 | 0           | 5                      |
| Japan          | 38  | 46  | 6                 | 1           | 4                      |
| Pakistan       | 3   | 3   | 3                 | 0           | 2                      |
| Brazil         | 50  | 28  | 8                 | 1           | 4                      |
| Mexico         | 46  | 29  | 3                 | 3           | 4                      |

NOTE: Percentages of total sample

<sup>24</sup> Pew Global Attitudes Project May 2012

[ASKED IF OPPOSED IRAN ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS] Do you approve or disapprove of tougher international economic sanctions on Iran to try to stop it from developing nuclear weapons?

|                | Approve | Disapprove | Don't Know/Refused |
|----------------|---------|------------|--------------------|
| United States  | 75      | 15         | 3                  |
| Britain        | 72      | 16         | 3                  |
| France         | 71      | 25         | 0                  |
| Germany        | 77      | 17         | 2                  |
| Spain          | 68      | 24         | 2                  |
| Italy          | 71      | 14         | 6                  |
| Greece         | 48      | 34         | 4                  |
| Poland         | 62      | 18         | 7                  |
| Czech Republic | 74      | 16         | 3                  |



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|                 |    |    |   |
|-----------------|----|----|---|
| <b>Russia</b>   | 35 | 32 | 9 |
| <b>Turkey</b>   | 18 | 28 | 8 |
| <b>Egypt</b>    | 46 | 14 | 6 |
| <b>Jordan</b>   | 52 | 21 | 3 |
| <b>Lebanon</b>  | 46 | 12 | 4 |
| <b>Tunisia</b>  | 18 | 23 | 2 |
| <b>China</b>    | 21 | 29 | 4 |
| <b>India</b>    | 19 | 13 | 2 |
| <b>Japan</b>    | 57 | 32 | 5 |
| <b>Pakistan</b> | 4  | 6  | 2 |
| <b>Brazil</b>   | 56 | 33 | 2 |
| <b>Mexico</b>   | 63 | 20 | 3 |

NOTE: Percentages of total sample

<sup>25</sup> **Sadat Chair 2011**

There is international pressure on Iran to curtail its nuclear program. What is your opinion:

|                              | <b>Iran has the right to its nuclear program and the international pressure should cease</b> | <b>Iran should be pressured to stop its nuclear program</b> | <b>Not sure</b> |
|------------------------------|--|---|-----------------|
| <b>Egypt</b>                 | 68   | 19  | 13              |
| <b>Morocco</b>               | 62   | 35  | 3               |
| <b>Six-Country Aggregate</b> | 64   | 25  | 11              |

**Sadat Chair 2010**

There is international pressure on Iran to curtail its nuclear program. What is your opinion:

|                     | <b>Iran has the right to its nuclear program and the international pressure should cease</b> | <b>Iran should be pressured to stop its nuclear program</b> | <b>Not sure</b> |
|---------------------|--|---|-----------------|
| <b>Saudi Arabia</b> | 62   | 38  | 1               |

<sup>26</sup> **BBC December 2007**

If UN inspectors are given access, should Iran be allowed to produce nuclear fuel for electricity?

|                        | <b>Should be allowed</b> | <b>Should not be allowed</b> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>Canada</b>          | 58                       | 36                           |
| <b>United States</b>   | 55                       | 38                           |
| <b>Mexico</b>          | 79                       | 6                            |
| <b>Chile</b>           | 36                       | 36                           |
| <b>Central America</b> | 30                       | 38                           |
| <b>Argentina</b>       | 26                       | 24                           |
| <b>Great Britain</b>   | 71                       | 22                           |
| <b>Portugal</b>        | 59                       | 26                           |

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|                    |    |    |
|--------------------|----|----|
| <b>Italy</b>       | 58 | 30 |
| <b>France</b>      | 56 | 24 |
| <b>Spain</b>       | 49 | 36 |
| <b>Germany</b>     | 38 | 50 |
| <b>Russia</b>      | 33 | 24 |
| <b>Egypt</b>       | 86 | 14 |
| <b>Turkey</b>      | 30 | 54 |
| <b>Israel</b>      | 28 | 62 |
| <b>Kenya</b>       | 56 | 39 |
| <b>Nigeria</b>     | 46 | 40 |
| <b>Ghana</b>       | 45 | 39 |
| <b>Australia</b>   | 64 | 31 |
| <b>Indonesia</b>   | 56 | 31 |
| <b>China</b>       | 51 | 40 |
| <b>South Korea</b> | 38 | 51 |
| <b>Philippines</b> | 27 | 60 |
| <b>India</b>       | 24 | 25 |
| <b>Japan</b>       | 23 | 54 |
| <b>Average</b>     | 47 | 36 |

<sup>27</sup> **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2006**

And who do you think can best handle the issue of Iranian nuclear weapons?

|                         | <b>The<br/>United<br/>Nations</b> | <b>The<br/>NATO<br/>alliance</b> | <b>The<br/>United<br/>States</b> | <b>The<br/>European<br/>Union</b> | <b>DK/<br/>Refused</b> |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| <b>United States</b>    | 36                                | 18                               | 22                               | 13                                | 10                     |
| <b>France</b>           | 49                                | 22                               | 8                                | 17                                | 5                      |
| <b>Germany</b>          | 47                                | 12                               | 8                                | 25                                | 9                      |
| <b>United Kingdom</b>   | 56                                | 17                               | 6                                | 13                                | 8                      |
| <b>Italy</b>            | 52                                | 13                               | 9                                | 17                                | 9                      |
| <b>Netherlands</b>      | 55                                | 21                               | 9                                | 9                                 | 6                      |
| <b>Poland</b>           | 28                                | 13                               | 18                               | 15                                | 26                     |
| <b>Portugal</b>         | 45                                | 14                               | 10                               | 18                                | 13                     |
| <b>Spain</b>            | 44                                | 14                               | 8                                | 25                                | 9                      |
| <b>Slovakia</b>         | 50                                | 20                               | 6                                | 8                                 | 16                     |
| <b>Turkey</b>           | 21                                | 14                               | 5                                | 25                                | 34                     |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>         | 34                                | 15                               | 10                               | 10                                | 30                     |
| <b>Romania</b>          | 36                                | 21                               | 8                                | 10                                | 26                     |
| <b>European Average</b> | 43                                | 15                               | 8                                | 19                                | 14                     |

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