

# Public Opinion on Global Issues

Chapter 12a: U.S. Opinion on Transnational Threats: Terrorism

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## CHAPTER 12A: U.S. OPINION ON COUNTERING TRANSNATIONAL THREATS: TERRORISM

### *Concern about Terrorism*

**Despite the attacks of September 11, 2001, the U.S. public is only slightly above the global average in its level of concern about terrorism, with less than half of respondents saying it is a very big problem. However, a large majority says that international terrorism poses a critical threat and that combating international terrorism is a very important foreign policy goal.**

Asked how big of a problem terrorism poses to the United States, fewer than half of Americans (44 percent) said it was a very big problem, 38 percent said it was at least a moderately big problem, and 18 percent said it was a small problem or not a problem at all (Pew 2007). Despite September 11, U.S. levels of concern are only slightly above the global average: across forty-seven countries, an average of 41 percent said that terrorism is a very big problem in their country, while 23 percent said it is a moderately big problem, and 33 percent said it is a small problem or not a problem at all.<sup>1</sup>

Asked in 2010 by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA) about the extent to which international terrorism is a threat to the United States, 73 percent of U.S. respondents said it is a critical threat, 24 percent said it is important but not critical, and 2 percent said it is not important. The number saying it is critical represents a significant decline from a high of 91 percent in 2002.<sup>2</sup>

Asked how important of a foreign policy goal it should be for the United States to combat international terrorism, two-thirds (69 percent) of Americans said that it is very important (CCGA 2010), compared to 27 percent who felt it was somewhat important and only 3 percent who thought it was not important. This number has also been declining from a high of 91 percent in 2002.<sup>3</sup>

### *Support for Multilateral Action against Terrorism*

**In general, a large majority of Americans favor having the United Nations play a greater role in the fight against terrorism. Large majorities of U.S. respondents supported the UN Security Council having the right to authorize military force to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups and favored combating terrorism through strengthening the role of international law and enhancing intelligence cooperation. A majority also supports empowering the UN Security Council to require UN member countries to allow UN-sponsored police forces to enter and conduct investigations, as well as provide intelligence on, arrest, and freeze the assets of suspected terrorist groups. Furthermore, a majority of U.S. respondents supports the UN Security Council sending an international military force to capture suspected terrorists if their host country refuses to take action. Finally, a strong majority favors using international judicial bodies for trying terrorists.**

While Americans see the United Nations as playing an important role in the fight against global terrorism, they would like to see it play a larger role.

When WorldPublicOpinion.org (WPO) asked whether “the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force ... to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups,” a large majority of respondents in the United States (76 percent) said the UN Security Council should have the right to intervene, while just 20 percent said it should not have this right (WPO 2006-08). These numbers are comparable with the global average; across the sixteen countries polled, 73 percent said the UN Security Council should have the right to intervene and just 19 percent said it should not have this right.<sup>4</sup>

A 2010 CCGA poll asked people in the United States about eight different measures for combating international terrorism. The one that received the highest level of support (82 percent) was, “Working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members enforce them.” (This had also been the preferred choice in previous polls, with 87 percent support in 2004 and 88 percent in 2002).<sup>5</sup> This compares to support for military

approaches, including air strikes against terrorist camps (81 percent), attacks by U.S. ground troops against terrorist camps (73 percent), and assassination of individual terrorist leaders (73 percent).<sup>6</sup>

A September 2003 Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) poll found 76 percent of Americans favor putting a high priority on "setting up a UN database of terrorists to which all countries would contribute."<sup>7</sup>

Shortly after September 11, 2001, a series of polls in the United States found overwhelming support for the United Nations playing a role in the global campaign against terrorism. In a September 2001 Associated Press poll, 90 percent of respondents said that the United Nations should "play a major role in pulling countries together to fight against terrorism." In November 2001, 90 percent said that they favored (71 percent strongly) "working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members cooperate in enforcing them" (PIPA 2001).<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps most strikingly, strong majorities of Americans in November 2001 favored the UN Security Council having extensive powers to make demands on member states or to intervene in their territory in the effort to track down terrorist groups (PIPA 2001). Responses ranged from 70 percent believing a country should be required "to allow a UN-sponsored police force to enter the country and conduct investigations," to an overwhelming 88 percent believing that the Security Council should be able "to require a country to provide intelligence on a suspected terrorist group." While the UN Charter has language that gives the UN Security Council broad powers, in practice, exercising the powers that were overwhelmingly supported by the U.S. public would certainly break new ground.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly, Harris found (also in November 2001) that a strong majority (71 percent) of Americans thought, "In order to prepare for a possible future international terrorist attack ... the United Nations should be given broader powers that would force member countries to work together to fight terrorism."<sup>10</sup>

Multilateralism as a response to terrorism also receives support. Presented with two options for the most important lesson of September 11<sup>th</sup> in an August 2011 PIPA/Sadat Chair poll, roughly seven-in-ten (69 percent) chose "the United States needs to work more closely with other countries to fight terrorism." Twenty-eight percent chose the other option, "the United States needs to act on its own more to fight terrorism."<sup>11</sup>

### **Trying Terrorists before International Judicial Bodies**

Support has also been quite strong for using international judicial bodies to try terrorists. In the 2010 CCGA poll that asked about eight different measures for combating terrorism, a highly supported approach—favored by 78 percent—was "trial of suspected terrorists in an International Criminal Court." In a July 2004 survey, 82 percent of Americans favored this idea.<sup>12</sup>

Polls taken immediately after September 11, 2001, also showed support for this idea. In an NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll taken on September 12, 2001, respondents were asked to evaluate a list of possible responses by the United States to the September 11 attacks. Seventy-five percent favored (62 percent strongly) "build[ing] a case against the people who are specifically responsible and seek[ing] justice in the world court."<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps most dramatically, given that the September 11 attacks occurred on U.S. soil, a 49-percent plurality of Americans would favor trying Osama Bin Laden, if captured, in an international criminal tribunal, compared to 44 percent who would prefer to try him in a federal court in New York (PIPA 2001).<sup>14</sup>

### ***Regional Cooperation on Terrorism***

#### **The U.S. public mostly gives poor marks to the quality of transatlantic cooperation in fighting terrorism.**

Respondents in the United States have generally expressed negative opinions of transatlantic cooperation on terrorism. Just 38 percent in January 2008 said the United States and Europe are working together effectively to fight global terrorism, 19 percent said they are doing an average job, and 42 percent said they are doing a below average job of

working together (GlobeScan 2008). U.S. responses on this question are comparable with the average across nine European and North American countries: just 35 percent gave positive ratings, while 43 percent gave negative ratings.<sup>15</sup>

However, Americans were fairly optimistic about the European Union's role in the war on terror, with 41 percent of Americans saying that the European Union tends to play a positive role and only 18 percent saying it plays a negative role (Gallup 2004).<sup>16</sup> A majority (52 percent) also perceived European countries as willing to do their fair share in the war on terrorism, though 43 percent disagreed.<sup>17</sup>

### *Assessments of U.S. Efforts against Terrorism*

**In assessing the struggle between the United States and al-Qaeda, the predominant public view in the United States has been that neither side is winning. Americans have also been divided as to whether the “war on terror” has weakened or strengthened al-Qaeda. Furthermore, a modest majority of Americans believes that the war in Iraq has increased the threat of terrorist attacks globally.**

Asked whether the United States or al-Qaeda is winning in the war on terror, a substantial majority (56 percent) of U.S. respondents said that neither side is winning, while 31 percent said the United States is winning and 8 percent said that al-Qaeda is winning. These opinions are similar to the global average of the twenty-three countries polled by the British Broadcasting Company (BBC)/GlobeScan/PIPA in 2008, with 47 percent of respondents believing that neither side is winning, 22 percent saying that the United States is winning, and 10 percent saying that al-Qaeda is winning.<sup>18</sup>

A CNN poll found similar results in 2007, with a 46-percent plurality saying neither side is winning, 32 percent saying the United States and its allies are winning, and 21 percent saying the terrorists are winning. Gallup found similar results the same year<sup>19</sup>

When CNN asked the same question the day immediately after Osama Bin Laden's death in May 2011, the number saying the United States and its allies are winning the war on terrorism jumped to 44 percent, and those saying that the terrorists are winning dropped to 9 percent. Forty-five percent chose “neither side” and 44 percent chose “the US and its allies”.<sup>20</sup>

Pew has used a question that provides two response options, asking whether the U.S. is winning or losing in the campaign against terrorism. In a November 2010 poll conducted by Pew, Americans were mixed on whether the U.S. was winning or losing in the campaign against terrorism: 43 percent chose losing and 38 percent chose winning, with 10 percent volunteering an answer of neither. This was little changed from 2007.<sup>21</sup>

Americans are not confident in the success of efforts to prevent terrorism since September 11. In 2010 CCGA asked how terrorists' ability to launch a major attack on the United States now compared to their ability to do so at the time of the September 11 attacks. Only 23 percent said terrorists were less able to launch another major attack. Three-quarters (76 percent) said terrorists' ability was “the same” (50 percent) or “greater” (26 percent).<sup>22</sup>

When asked whether the war on terror has made al-Qaeda stronger or weaker, just 34 percent of Americans said that it had made al-Qaeda weaker, while essentially the same number (33 percent) believed it had strengthened al-Qaeda, and 26 percent believed it had no effect (BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA 2008). International respondents leaned more toward the view that the war on terrorism has made al-Qaeda stronger: among twenty-three countries polled, an average of 30 percent said the war on terror had made al-Qaeda stronger, 22 percent believed it had weakened al-Qaeda, and 29 percent believed it had had no effect.<sup>23</sup>

Interestingly, though a very large majority in the United States reacted positively to the death of Osama bin Laden in May 2011, their evaluation of al-Qaeda as a threat did not change. In June 2011, ABC/Washington Post asked whether after the killing of Osama bin Laden, the al-Qaeda terrorist network was more, less, or the same level of a threat to the United States. Forty-eight percent said the threat was unchanged, while about equal numbers said it was less (24 percent) or more (27 percent) of a threat.<sup>24</sup>

A similar PIPA/Sadat Chair question in August 2011 found only five percent of Americans who believed al Qaeda was “much weaker” after bin Laden’s killing, while 32 percent said “not at all weaker,” 31 percent said “a little weaker,” and 29 percent said “somewhat weaker.”<sup>25</sup>

In 2006 most Americans believed that the war in Iraq had increased the risk of terrorist attacks. A 2006 poll (BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA) found that 55 percent of Americans said the war in Iraq had increased the threat of terrorist attacks, 21 percent said that it had no effect, and 21 percent believed that it had decreased the threat. Across all thirty-five countries polled, 60 percent believed that it had increased the threat, while only 12 percent thought it had decreased the threat.<sup>26</sup>

However, a 2011 PIPA/Sadat Chair poll found mixed views on whether the Iraq war had helped or hurt “the U.S. effort to reduce the threat of international terrorism after 9/11.” Forty-eight percent said the war had helped, while 44 percent said it had hurt these efforts.<sup>27</sup>

### *Principles for Treatment of Terrorism Suspects*

**A majority in the United States rejects the view that, when dealing with terrorism suspects, rules against torture and the secret holding of detainees should be relaxed. A large majority also rejects the view that treaties preventing secret holding of detainees are too restrictive in the context of dealing with the threat of terrorism.**

Americans were asked whether the rules against the use of torture should be unequivocally maintained, or whether there should be an exception when dealing with a terrorism suspect who may have information that would save innocent lives (WPO 2008). A moderate majority (53 percent) favored the statement, “Clear rules against torture should be maintained,” while 44 percent said, “Terrorists pose such an extreme threat that governments should now be allowed to use some degree of torture if it may gain information that saves innocent lives.” Across twenty-one nations polled worldwide, average support for unequivocal rules was a bit higher (57 percent).<sup>28</sup>

A large majority of Americans disagrees with the argument that treaties preventing the secret holding of detainees are too restrictive in the context of dealing with the threat of terrorism. Respondents were told that their government had signed “treaties that prohibit governments from holding people in secret and require that the International Committee of the Red Cross have access to them.” They were then presented the argument that such treaties are “too restrictive because our government needs to have all options available when dealing with threats like terrorism,” as well as the counterargument that such treaties are “important for making sure governments treat people humanely.” Only 23 percent of U.S. respondents took the position that the treaties were too restrictive, while a large majority (73 percent) took the position that the treaties were important to ensure that governments treat people humanely. Comparatively, across the five countries surveyed, an average of 62 percent believed the treaties were “important for making sure governments treat people humanely” while 25 percent believed that they are too restrictive (WPO 2006).<sup>29</sup>

### *U.S. Treatment of Terrorism Suspects*

**A slight majority of Americans in 2006 believed that the U.S. detention policies in place at that time at Guantanamo were legal. However, they were divided on whether the United States seeks to enforce a policy against torture in investigations of detained terrorist suspects. A majority perceived that U.S. detention of terror suspects has damaged the U.S. image in the world, but most Americans in 2009 opposed closing Guantanamo prison and moving detainees to the United States.**

In 2006, Americans were asked whether then-current U.S. policies for detaining suspects at Guantanamo Bay were legal or illegal (WPO 2006). A slight majority of Americans (52 percent) thought they were legal while 38 percent said the policies were illegal. Among five other countries polled, endorsement of U.S. detention policies was much lower: on average 54 percent said the policies were illegal and 26 percent said they were legal.<sup>30</sup>

In the same 2006 poll, respondents were asked whether they believed that the U.S. government was “making every effort to make sure that interrogators never use torture” or whether it was “allowing interrogators to use torture to get information from suspected terrorists.” Americans were divided on whether their government was making efforts to prevent torture by interrogators (45 percent) or allowing it (47 percent). Across the five countries polled, an average of 53

percent said they believed the U.S. government was allowing torture, while 27 percent said the U.S. government was trying to prevent such torture.<sup>31</sup>

A majority of Americans in 2006 perceived that “U.S. detainment of suspected terrorists at Guantanamo Bay has damaged the United States’ image with the rest of the world.” Fifty-four percent had this perception, though only 23 percent said it had damaged the U.S. image a lot. Thirty-nine percent said it had not damaged the U.S. image.<sup>32</sup>

Americans have shown little support for the idea of closing the Guantanamo Bay prison. A January 2010 *ABC News/Washington Post* poll found that 56 percent of people disapproved of President Obama’s intent at the time to close Guantanamo Bay prison.<sup>33</sup> After the decision was made to keep the prison open, 67 percent approved of this policy according to a March 2011 NBC News/ Poll.<sup>34</sup> A June 2009 NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll found that 52 percent of respondents opposed U.S. President Barack Obama “ordering closure of the Guantanamo Bay prison for terror suspects.”<sup>35</sup> In May of the same year, Gallup found that 65 percent of respondents thought that the United States should not close the prison and move people “suspected of being terrorists ... to U.S. prisons.”<sup>36</sup> (It should be noted that the questions did not highlight the public diplomacy dimension of the proposal, but one of them did highlight the concern about having suspected terrorists in local prisons.)

<sup>1</sup> Pew Global Attitudes Project, Spring 2007

Now I'm going to read you a list of things that may be problems in our country. As I read each one, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all:

## Terrorism

	<b>Very big problem</b>	<b>Moderately big problem</b>	<b>Small problem</b>	<b>Not a problem at all</b>	<b>DK/Refused</b>
<b>United States</b>	44	38	15	3	1
<b>Canada</b>	24	32	31	12	2
<b>Argentina</b>	42	24	15	14	6
<b>Bolivia</b>	42	29	16	10	2
<b>Brazil</b>	44	28	15	12	1
<b>Chile</b>	46	19	17	16	2
<b>Mexico</b>	50	26	15	7	2
<b>Peru</b>	70	21	7	1	1
<b>Venezuela</b>	41	34	16	8	0
<b>United Kingdom</b>	30	41	23	4	2
<b>France</b>	54	29	15	1	0
<b>Germany</b>	31	43	18	7	1
<b>Italy</b>	73	20	6	1	0
<b>Spain</b>	66	26	5	1	1
<b>Sweden</b>	3	10	48	34	4
<b>Bulgaria</b>	24	18	31	21	7
<b>Czech Republic</b>	16	26	40	16	2
<b>Poland</b>	35	30	22	10	3
<b>Russia</b>	48	36	13	2	1
<b>Slovakia</b>	17	17	42	23	2
<b>Ukraine</b>	23	22	26	26	3
<b>Turkey</b>	72	17	6	2	3
<b>Egypt</b>	53	30	13	3	1
<b>Jordan</b>	42	23	17	18	0
<b>Kuwait</b>	37	12	14	32	5
<b>Lebanon</b>	76	17	5	1	0
<b>Morocco</b>	81	10	2	1	5
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	51	20	8	15	6
<b>Israel</b>	70	21	7	2	1
<b>Pakistan</b>	76	18	3	1	2
<b>Bangladesh</b>	77	16	5	1	2
<b>Indonesia</b>	48	37	13	1	1
<b>Malaysia</b>	10	18	32	32	8
<b>China</b>	11	26	36	19	8
<b>India</b>	72	22	5	1	1
<b>Japan</b>	59	29	9	2	1
<b>South Korea</b>	12	34	36	13	5
<b>Ethiopia</b>	23	23	33	19	1
<b>Ghana</b>	20	21	31	26	3
<b>Ivory Coast</b>	57	19	14	10	0
<b>Kenya</b>	24	26	33	15	2

<b>Mali</b>	15	11	20	51	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	40	18	22	20	1
<b>Senegal</b>	22	12	14	49	2
<b>South Africa</b>	20	21	26	27	6
<b>Tanzania</b>	19	11	18	44	8
<b>Uganda</b>	34	15	19	21	12
<b>Average</b>	41	23	19	14	3

### <sup>2</sup> Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States 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.

#### International terrorism

	<b>Critical</b>	<b>Important but not critical</b>	<b>Not important</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>1994</b>	69	25	3	3
<b>1998</b>	84	13	1	2
<b>2002</b>	91	7	2	--
<b>2004</b>	81	16	1	2
<b>2004</b>	75	22	1	2
<b>2006</b>	74	23	2	1
<b>2008</b>	70	26	3	1
<b>2010</b>	73	24	2	1

### <sup>3</sup> Chicago Council on Global Affairs

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

#### Combating international terrorism

	<b>Very important</b>	<b>Somewhat important</b>	<b>Not important</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>1998</b>	79	17	2	2
<b>2002</b>	83	15	2	1
<b>2004</b>	71	25	2	2
<b>2006</b>	72	25	2	1
<b>2008</b>	67	29	4	1
<b>2010</b>	69	27	3	1

### <sup>4</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008

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

#### To stop a country from supporting terrorist groups

	<b>Should</b>	<b>Should not</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	71	20	9
<b>United States</b>	76	20	3



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<b>France</b>	84	16	1
<b>Russia</b>	65	18	17
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	80	10	10
<b>Egypt</b>	81	19	0
<b>Israel</b>	85	12	3
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	61	36	3
<b>Turkey</b>	69	13	17
<b>Kenya</b>	76	22	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	87	11	2
<b>China</b>	67	23	10
<b>India</b>	60	28	11
<b>Indonesia</b>	81	7	13
<b>South Korea</b>	61	38	1
<b>Thailand</b>	71	16	13
<b>Average</b>	73	19	7

<sup>5</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2004**

In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures.

Working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members enforce them

	<b>Favor</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Not sure/Decline</b>
<b>July 2004</b>	87	9	4
<b>June 2002</b>	88	10	2

<sup>6</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2010**

In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures.

Working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members enforce them

82% Favor  
16 Oppose  
2 Not sure/Decline

U.S. air strikes against terrorist training camps and other facilities

81% Favor  
18 Oppose  
2 Not sure/Decline

Trial of suspected terrorists in the International Criminal Court

78% Favor  
21 Oppose  
2 Not sure/Decline

Attacks by U.S. ground troops against terrorist training camps and other facilities

73% Favor  
25 Oppose  
1 Not sure/Decline

## Assassination of individual terrorist leaders

73% Favor  
 25 Oppose  
 2 Not sure/Decline

## Helping poor countries develop their economies

69% Favor  
 29 Oppose  
 2 Not sure/Decline

## Making a major effort to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

58% Favor  
 39 Oppose  
 2 Not sure/Decline

## Using torture to extract information from suspected terrorists

42% Favor  
 56 Oppose  
 3 Not sure/Decline

<sup>7</sup> **Program on International Policy Attitudes/Knowledge Networks, September 2003**

Here is a list of some approaches that have been proposed for the U.S. government to try. For each one, please indicate how high a priority the U.S. government should give to each of these approaches. Please answer on a scale of +5 to -5, with +5 meaning that you think that trying this approach should be given a very high priority, -5 meaning that you think this approach should definitely not be tried, and 0 meaning that you think that it should just continue to be considered.

## Setting up a UN database of terrorists to which all countries would contribute

7% Low priority (-5 to -1)  
 13 Continue to be considered (0)  
 76 High priority (+1 to +5)

Mean 2.66

<sup>8</sup> **Associated Press September 2001**

Do you think the United Nations should or should not play a major role in pulling countries together to fight against terrorism?

90% Should  
 7 Should not  
 3 DK/R

**Program on International Policy Attitudes, November 2001**

(I would now like you to consider a list of possible approaches for trying to reduce the problem of terrorism. For each one I would like to know if you favor or oppose this approach...) What about working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members cooperate in enforcing them?

71% Strongly favor  
 19 Somewhat favor  
 2 Somewhat oppose  
 5 Strongly oppose

4 Don't know/Refused

<sup>9</sup> **Program on International Policy Attitudes, November 2001**

In the event that the UN has evidence that there is an international terrorist group operating in a country, there are a number of things that the UN Security Council might consider doing. I'm going to read some of these options, and for each one I would like to know if you think this is the kind of thing the UN Security Council should be ABLE to do, or if you think this would make it too powerful.

What about requiring the country to allow a UN-sponsored police force to enter the country and conduct investigations?

70% Should be able  
25 Too powerful  
5 Don't know/Refused

What about requiring the country to freeze the assets of the suspected terrorist group?

86% Should be able  
12 Too powerful  
3 Don't know/Refused

What about requiring the country to provide intelligence on the suspected terrorist group?

88% Should be able  
7 Too powerful  
5 Don't know/Refused

What about requiring the country to arrest the suspected terrorist group?

87% Should be able  
10 Too powerful  
3 Don't know/Refused

What about sending in an international military force to capture the suspected terrorist group, if the country refuses to do so?

82% Should be able  
13 Too powerful  
5 Don't know/Refused

<sup>10</sup> **Harris, November 2001**

In order to prepare for a possible future international terrorist attack do you think that the United Nations should be given broader powers that would force member countries to work together to fight terrorism?

71% Yes  
24 No  
5 Not sure/refused

<sup>11</sup> **Program on International Attitudes/Sadat Chair August 2011**

What do you think is the more important lesson of September 11<sup>th</sup>:

69% The United States needs to work more closely with other countries to fight terrorism  
28 The United States needs to act on its own more to fight terrorism  
3 Don't know/Refused

<sup>12</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2010**

In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures.

Trial of suspected terrorists in the International Criminal Court

	<b>Favor</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Not sure/Decline</b>
<b>1998</b>	84	10	6
<b>2002</b>	82	15	2
<b>2004</b>	82	13	4
<b>2008</b>	79	19	2
<b>2010</b>	78	21	2

<sup>13</sup> **NBC News/Wall Street Journal September 2001**

I'd like to read you several possible responses by the United States to these attacks. For each one, please tell me whether you would strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that response by the United States. . . . Build a case against the people who are specifically responsible and seek justice in the world court

62%	Strongly favor
13	Somewhat favor
7	Somewhat oppose
15	Strongly oppose
3	Not sure

<sup>14</sup> **Program on International Policy Attitudes November 2001**

If Osama Bin Laden were captured, we would need to decide whether he would be tried in a federal court in New York or in an International Criminal Tribunal. Some say it would be better to have Bin Laden tried in an International Criminal Tribunal because it would be more likely that the world would view the trial as impartial and less likely to lead to further terrorist attacks against the United States. Others say it would be better to have Bin Laden tried in New York because the crime took place in America and we can be more confident that justice will be done. Do you think it would be better to have bin Laden tried in an International Criminal Tribunal or in New York?

49%	International Criminal Tribunal
44	New York
7	Don't know/Refused

<sup>15</sup> **GlobeScan January 2008**

How effectively do you think Europe and North America are working together in the following area?

Fighting global terrorism

	<b>Above Average</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>Below Average</b>	<b>Refused</b>	<b>DK/NA</b>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	39	15	43	3	-
<b>United States</b>	38	19	42	2	-
<b>Canada</b>	36	16	44	-	4
<b>France</b>	45	18	25	-	12
<b>Germany</b>	26	24	44	5	1
<b>Spain</b>	28	17	52	3	-

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<b>Ireland</b>	40	17	41	1	1
<b>Turkey</b>	18	12	58	-	12
<b>Poland</b>	41	17	37	-	5
<b>Average</b>	35	17	43	2	4

<sup>16</sup> **Gallup Poll May 2004**

In your opinion, would you say that the European Union tends to play a positive role, a negative role, or neither a positive nor a negative role regarding... the war against terrorism?

41%	Positive role
18	Negative role
31	Neither positive nor negative
10	No opinion

<sup>17</sup> **Gallup/CNN/USA Today Poll January 2003**

Do you think European countries like France and Germany are--or are not--willing to do their fair share in the war on terrorism?

52%	Yes, are willing
43	No, are not
5	No opinion

<sup>18</sup> **BBC, September 2008**

In the conflict between al Qaeda and the United States do you think al Qaeda is winning, the United States is winning, or neither side is winning?

	<b>Al Qaeda is winning</b>	<b>Neither side is winning</b>	<b>United States is winning</b>	<b>Never heard of al Qaeda/ DK/ NA/ Other</b>
<b>United States</b>	8	56	31	7
<b>Canada</b>	7	70	13	10
<b>Brazil</b>	12	52	10	26
<b>Costa Rica</b>	12	56	18	14
<b>Panama</b>	11	47	16	26
<b>Mexico</b>	8	73	9	10
<b>Italy</b>	11	71	10	8
<b>France</b>	9	73	7	11
<b>Russia</b>	8	33	12	47
<b>Germany</b>	6	38	35	21
<b>United Kingdom</b>	5	75	11	9
<b>United Arab Emirates</b>	16	29	16	39
<b>Lebanon</b>	12	44	26	18
<b>Turkey</b>	11	29	38	22
<b>Egypt</b>	10	40	39	11
<b>Nigeria</b>	17	25	34	24
<b>Kenya</b>	12	33	45	21
<b>Pakistan</b>	21	24	11	44
<b>Indonesia</b>	14	36	18	32
<b>India</b>	10	21	21	48
<b>Australia</b>	8	70	14	8
<b>China</b>	5	45	22	28
<b>Philippines</b>	2	39	39	20
<b>Average</b>	10	47	22	22

<sup>19</sup> **CNN/Opinion Research Corporation Poll, December 2007**

Who do you think is currently winning the war on terrorism--the United States and its allies, neither side, or the terrorists?

32%	The United States and its allies
46	Neither side
21	Terrorists
1	Don't know/Undecided/Refused

**Gallup Poll June 2007**

Who do you think is currently winning the war against terrorism—the United States and its allies, neither side, or the terrorists?

29%	United States and its allies
50	Neither side
20	The terrorists
2	No opinion

<sup>20</sup> **CNN/Opinion Research Corporation Poll, May 2011**

Who do you think is currently winning the war on terrorism--the US (United States) and its allies, neither side, or the terrorists?

44%	US and its allies
45	Neither side
9	The terrorists
2	No opinion

<sup>21</sup> **Pew Research Center for the People & the Press Post-Election Survey, November 2010**

Do you think the United States is winning or losing its campaign against terrorism around the world?

38%	Winning
43	Losing
10	Neither (Vol.)
9	Don't know/Refused

**Pew Research Center for the People & the Press Political/Media Update Survey, July 2007**

Do you think the United States is winning or losing the war on terrorism?

40%	Winning
39	Losing
12	Neither (vol.)
9	Don't know/Refused

**CNN/Opinion Research Corporation Poll August 2010**

Do you think the United States is winning or not winning the war in Afghanistan?

31%	Is winning
66	Is not winning
3	No opinion

<sup>22</sup> **Chicago Council on Global Affairs**

Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks?

	<b>Greater</b>	<b>The same</b>	<b>Less</b>	<b>Not sure/ Decline</b>
<b>2010</b>	26	50	23	1

<sup>23</sup> **BBC, September 2008**

Do you think what U.S. leaders refer to as the “war on terror” has made al Qaeda stronger, weaker, or has had no effect either way?

	<b>Made al Qaeda stronger</b>	<b>Had no effect</b>	<b>Made al Qaeda weaker</b>	<b>Never heard of al Qaeda/ DK/ NA</b>
<b>United States</b>	33	26	34	7
<b>Canada</b>	32	38	15	15
<b>Brazil</b>	34	28	9	29
<b>Costa Rica</b>	27	36	22	15
<b>Panama</b>	28	26	21	25
<b>Mexico</b>	48	33	8	11
<b>Italy</b>	43	36	13	8
<b>France</b>	48	33	7	12
<b>Russia</b>	12	31	16	41
<b>Germany</b>	31	24	34	11
<b>United Kingdom</b>	40	36	13	11
<b>United Arab Emirates</b>	27	23	17	33
<b>Lebanon</b>	39	32	18	11
<b>Turkey</b>	31	18	32	19
<b>Egypt</b>	21	31	44	4
<b>Nigeria</b>	22	18	37	23
<b>Kenya</b>	16	15	58	11
<b>Pakistan</b>	24	30	13	33
<b>Indonesia</b>	24	33	12	31
<b>India</b>	16	19	27	38
<b>Australia</b>	41	31	17	11
<b>China</b>	23	29	25	23
<b>Philippines</b>	19	40	21	20
<b>Average</b>	30	29	22	19

<sup>24</sup> **ABC News/Washington Post Poll, June 2011**

"Do you think the killing of Osama bin Laden has made the al Qaeda terrorist network more of a threat to the United States, less of a threat, or has it not changed the level of threat posed by al Qaeda?"

27%	More of a threat
24	Less of a threat
48	Not changed level
1	Unsure

<sup>25</sup> **Program on International Attitudes/Sadat Chair August 2011**

Now that Osama bin Laden has been killed, do you think al Qaeda is:

---

5%	Much weaker
29	Somewhat weaker
31	A little weaker
32	Not at all weaker
3	Don't Know/Refused

<sup>26</sup> **BBC, January 2006**

Do you think that the war in Iraq has increased, decreased, or had no effect on the likelihood of terrorist attacks around the world?

	<b>Increased</b>	<b>Decreased</b>	<b>Has had no effect</b>	<b>Other/DK/NA (vol)</b>
<b>Afghanistan</b>	39	29	20	12
<b>Argentina</b>	76	3	11	11
<b>Australia</b>	73	4	19	3
<b>Brazil</b>	56	15	27	3
<b>Canada</b>	69	5	22	5
<b>Chile</b>	47	16	23	14
<b>China</b>	85	5	6	5
<b>Congo</b>	44	16	21	20
<b>Egypt</b>	83	1	6	10
<b>Finland</b>	82	4	11	3
<b>France</b>	67	3	27	4
<b>Germany</b>	80	4	14	2
<b>Ghana</b>	42	30	5	23
<b>Great Britain</b>	77	3	17	3
<b>India</b>	44	18	19	20
<b>Indonesia</b>	72	7	10	11
<b>Iran</b>	77	12	8	3
<b>Iraq</b>	75	12	11	2
<b>Italy</b>	81	1	15	3
<b>Kenya</b>	41	34	10	15
<b>Mexico</b>	10	12	59	19
<b>Nigeria</b>	29	49	6	16
<b>Philippines</b>	61	13	8	18
<b>Poland</b>	76	6	12	5
<b>Russia</b>	58	5	26	12
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	49	2	9	40
<b>Senegal</b>	61	17	11	11
<b>South Africa</b>	42	18	10	30
<b>South Korea</b>	84	4	12	0
<b>Spain</b>	79	4	12	5
<b>Sri Lanka</b>	31	6	10	53
<b>Tanzania</b>	49	37	7	7
<b>Turkey</b>	64	6	14	17
<b>United States</b>	55	21	21	3
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	44	16	8	32
<b>Average</b>	60	12	15	13

<sup>27</sup> **Program on International Attitudes/Sadat Chair August 2011**

Thinking about the US effort to reduce the threat of international terrorism after 9/11, do you think going to war in Iraq helped or hurt that effort?



48% Helped  
 44 Hurt  
 8 Don't know/Refused

<sup>28</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org, 2008

Most countries have agreed to rules that prohibit torturing prisoners. Which position is closer to yours?

	<b>Terrorists pose such an extreme threat that governments should now be allowed to use some degree of torture if it may gain information that saves innocent lives</b>	<b>Clear rules against torture should be maintained because any use of torture is immoral and will weaken international human rights standards against torture</b>	<b>DK/ NS</b>
Argentina	18	76	6
Mexico	24	73	3
United States	44	53	3
France	16	82	2
Great Britain	16	82	3
Poland	27	62	11
Russia	36	49	15
Spain	11	82	7
Ukraine	26	59	15
Azerbaijan	33	54	12
Egypt	46	54	0
Iran	35	43	22
Palestinian Territories	28	66	6
Turkey	51	36	13
Kenya	58	41	2
Nigeria	54	41	5
China	28	66	6
Hong Kong	22	67	12
India	59	28	13
Indonesia	34	61	5
South Korea	51	48	1
Thailand	44	36	19
Average	35	57	8

[Asked only to those who answered “Terrorists pose such an extreme threat...”]

What about cases that have nothing to do with terrorism? Do you think that there should be rules prohibiting torture in all other cases or that in general governments should be allowed to use torture to try to get information?

	<b>Clear rules should be maintained</b>	<b>Should be rules prohibiting torture in all other cases - Depends - DK</b>	<b>Governments should be allowed to use torture</b>	<b>DK/NS on 1<sup>st</sup> question</b>
Argentina	76	13	5	6
Mexico	73	17	7	3
United States	53	31	13	3
France	82	12	4	2
Great Britain	82	11	4	3
Poland	62	20	7	11
Russia	49	29	7	15

<b>Spain</b>	82	6	6	7
<b>Ukraine</b>	59	18	8	15
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	54	26	8	12
<b>Egypt</b>	54	40	6	0
<b>Iran</b>	43	28	8	22
<b>Palest Territories</b>	66	23	5	6
<b>Turkey</b>	36	34	18	13
<b>Kenya</b>	41	44	14	2
<b>Nigeria</b>	41	39	15	5
<b>China</b>	66	10	18	6
<b>Hong Kong</b>	67	9	13	12
<b>India</b>	28	47	12	13
<b>Indonesia</b>	61	29	6	5
<b>South Korea</b>	48	38	13	1
<b>Thailand</b>	36	34	10	19
<b>Average</b>	57	26	9	8

<sup>29</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org, July 2006

As you may know, [country] has signed treaties that prohibit governments from holding people in secret and that require that the International Committee of the Red Cross to have access to them. Do you think that these treaties are:

	<b>Important for making sure governments treat people humanely (percent)</b>	<b>Too restrictive because our government needs to have all options available when dealing with threats like terrorism (percent)</b>	<b>DK/ NS (percent)</b>
<b>United States</b>	73	23	4
<b>Great Britain</b>	64	32	4
<b>Germany</b>	72	22	6
<b>Poland</b>	60	24	16
<b>India</b>	42	26	32
<b>Average</b>	62	25	12

<sup>30</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org, July 2006

Is it your impression that current U.S. policies for detaining people it has captured and is holding in Guantanamo Bay are or are not legal, according to international treaties on the treatment of detainees?

	<b>Are legal</b>	<b>Are not legal (percent)</b>	<b>DK / NS (percent)</b>
<b>United States</b>	52	38	9
<b>Great Britain</b>	22	65	14
<b>Germany</b>	8	85	7
<b>Poland</b>	18	50	32
<b>India</b>	28	34	38
<b>Average</b>	26	54	20

<sup>31</sup> WorldPublicOpinion.org, July 2006

Is it your impression that the U.S. government is:

	<b>Currently allowing interrogators to use torture to get information from suspected terrorists</b>	<b>Making every effort to make sure that interrogators never use torture</b>	<b>DK / NS</b>
<b>United States</b>	47	45	8
<b>Great Britain</b>	62	27	12
<b>Germany</b>	76	14	10
<b>Poland</b>	49	24	27
<b>India</b>	33	23	44
<b>Average</b>	53	27	20

<sup>32</sup> **Los Angeles Times/Bloomberg Poll July 2006**

Do you think that the U.S. (United States) detainment of suspected terrorists at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba has damaged the United States' image with the rest of the world, or not? (If Has, ask:) Has it damaged it a lot or a little?

23%	Damaged a lot
31	Damaged a little
39	Not damaged
7	Don't know

<sup>33</sup> **ABC News/Washington Post Poll January 2010**

Do you approve or disapprove of (Barack) Obama's decision to close the US (United States) military prison in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba?

39%	Approve
56	Disapprove
5	No opinion

<sup>34</sup> **NBC News/Wall Street Journal Poll March, 2011**

(Let me read you a number of decisions that President (Barack) Obama and his administration have made in the past few months. For each tell me if you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove.)...Keeping open the prison at Guantanamo Bay for terrorist suspects

39%	Strongly approve
28	Somewhat approve
14	Somewhat disapprove
15	Strongly disapprove
4	Not sure

<sup>35</sup> **NBC News/Wall Street Journal Poll June 2009**

(Let me read you a few decisions President (Barack) Obama has made recently, and for each one please tell me whether you favor or oppose this action.)...Ordering closure of the Guantanamo Bay prison for terror suspects

39%	Favor
52	Oppose
9	Not sure

<sup>36</sup> **Gallup/USA Today Poll May 2009**

As you may know, since 2001, the United States has held people from other countries who are suspected of being terrorists in a prison at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba. Do you think the United States should--or should not--close this prison and move some of the prisoners to U.S. prisons?

32%	Yes, should
65	No, should not
3	No opinion

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