

COUNCIL *on*
FOREIGN
RELATIONS

Public Opinion on Global Issues

Chapter 3: World Opinion on Violent Conflict

www.cfr.org/public_opinion

November 2009

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

The Use of Force

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

Pew Global Attitudes Project polled forty-seven nations in May 2007 on whether they agreed that “it is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world.” Forty nations agreed that force is sometimes necessary, six disagreed, and one was divided. Among the countries with the largest majorities agreeing were India (90 percent), Bangladesh (87 percent), and Brazil (84 percent), while the nations with the strongest dissenting opinions were Egypt (59 percent), Germany (58 percent), Jordan (58 percent), and South Korea (53 percent). In the global average, sixty-four percent of polled respondents agreed and 31 percent disagreed.¹

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

The UN Security Council and the Use of Force

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

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

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

Similarly, high levels of support were found for the right to authorize the use of military force in order “**to prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide.**” Overall, 76 percent of respondents across all eighteen countries polled agreed that the UNSC “should” have this right, while only 16 percent replied that the UNSC “should not.” The largest majorities were in Kenya (90 percent), Nigeria (88 percent), and France (85 percent). No country’s

support for giving the UNSC this right was below 62 percent, but the relatively less supportive countries were Thailand (62 percent support) and India (63 percent support).⁴

Majorities in all nations favored the UN having the right “**to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups.**” On average, 73 percent of respondents in sixteen publics said the UNSC should have the right to intervene in such cases and just 19 percent said it should not. Support for this proposition was highest in Nigeria (87 percent), Israel (85 percent), and France (84 percent), and lowest in India (60 percent), the Palestinian Territories (61 percent), and South Korea (61 percent).⁵

Among several possible contingencies, respondents expressed the lowest level of support for the UN having the right to authorize the use of military force “**to restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown.**” On average 53 percent of all publics polled thought the UNSC should have this right; 35 percent did not. Out of sixteen nations asked this question, majorities in ten and pluralities in three believed the UNSC should have this right. In one country a majority (South Korea, 65 percent), and in another a plurality (China, 45 percent), were opposed. The largest majorities in favor were found in Kenya and Nigeria (both 76 percent), the Palestinian Territories (67 percent), and Egypt (64 percent). Interestingly, no public in any Islamic country polled opposed this principle: 51 percent supported it in Indonesia, as did pluralities in Azerbaijan (43 percent to 38 percent) and Turkey (43 percent to 32 percent).⁶

UN Responsibility to Protect

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

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

UN Role in Peacekeeping

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

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

In polling conducted between 2005 and 2008, the World Values Survey (WVS) asked respondents in forty-six countries whether they would like to see peacekeeping policy decided by the United Nations, national governments, or regional organizations. In twenty-eight countries, the greatest number preferred that policy on peacekeeping be

decided at the United Nations (eighteen majorities, four pluralities; in six countries this was the most common answer). In eleven countries, the greatest number preferred that policy on peacekeeping be decided by national governments (five majorities, six pluralities, three most common answer). Four countries were divided on the question.⁹

Participation in Military Operations to Prevent and Respond to Violent Conflict

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

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

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

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

Support for Contributing to Types of Missions

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

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

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

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

Support for Contributing to Specific Missions

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

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

However, outside of Europe and the United States, polling organizations found only mixed support for participating in a mission in southern Lebanon. In the immediate aftermath of the Israel-Hezbollah conflict, Gallup International asked respondents in thirty-three countries whether their country should or should not send troops to **be peacekeepers in southern Lebanon** if asked by the United Nations. Although majorities or pluralities in sixteen countries agreed with sending troops, those in another sixteen countries disagreed, and one was divided. In the average of all thirty-three countries, 46 percent of those polled agreed with sending troops to be peacekeepers in response to a UN request and 44 percent disagreed.¹⁸

War in Afghanistan

Most people around the world think it would be bad if the Taliban were to regain power, but views are now divided on NATO's Afghanistan mission. A plurality favors ending the mission, but this appears to be based on a widespread belief that the Afghans want NATO to leave. Most Europeans oppose increasing combat troops above current levels, but withdrawal does not get majority support. Among Americans, reducing troop levels does not get majority support, and withdrawal is likewise rejected.

Among twenty nations polled worldwide by WPO in mid-2009—including eight countries contributing troops to Afghanistan—a majority in eighteen think it would be a bad thing if the Taliban were to regain power over Afghanistan. On average, 61 percent say that it would be bad and just 21 percent say that it would be good. In the eight countries polled that contribute troops to NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission, seven majorities and one plurality thought the Taliban's return would be bad.¹⁹

Worldwide, views are divided on approval of the NATO mission in Afghanistan. On average, 44 percent approved and 45 percent disapproved of the NATO mission in June 2009. Overall, nine nations approved and ten disapproved, with one divided. Among troop contributors, the United States, France, Britain, and Azerbaijan approved by majorities, while Poland, Ukraine, and Turkey disapproved; Germans leaned toward disapproval.²⁰

Publics in most nations believe that the Afghan people want NATO forces to leave now, and this belief is closely related to views on continuing or ending the operation. On average, 53 percent of respondents have this belief, while

30 percent assume that most Afghans want NATO forces to stay.²¹ On average, 37 percent think that NATO forces should remain in Afghanistan, while 50 percent think the mission should be ended now.²²

At this stage in the Afghanistan mission, most Europeans oppose increasing their combat troops there. In the German Marshall Fund's 2009 poll, on average across twelve European countries, 77 percent disapproved of increasing their country's combat troops.²³

While Europeans want to reduce their troop levels in Afghanistan, the idea of withdrawing does not get majority support in most countries currently contributing troops to the Afghan mission. In mid-2009, GMF offered four alternatives—for the country to “increase the number of troops in Afghanistan, keep its troops at the current level, reduce the number of its troops or...withdraw all troops from Afghanistan.” In nine of twelve countries, support for withdrawal fell within a range of 28 percent to 41 percent (the exceptions were Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria).²⁴

Intervention in Darfur

Internationally, views have been mixed as to whether the United Nations has the responsibility, rather than simply the right, to intervene in Darfur. Approximately half of the countries polled expressed a readiness to contribute troops to an international force to stop the killing, and a large majority of Europeans polled expressed a readiness to contribute troops to a humanitarian operation in Darfur. Muslim countries polled expressed confidence that such an intervention could be effective. A poll of African countries expressed support for either the United Nations or the African Union intervening in a situation like Darfur.

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

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

Majorities in India and China have also stated that the United Nations has the responsibility and/or right to act. About six in ten Indians (59 percent) have said the UN Security Council either can (30 percent) or should (29 percent) act to stop the violence in Darfur. About the same proportion of Chinese (58 percent) have agreed, with 38 percent saying it has the right and 20 percent saying it has the responsibility to do so.²⁵

Eleven countries in the same poll were asked whether they favored or opposed the use of their country's troops as part of an international peacekeeping force to stop the killing in Darfur. Majorities in six countries favored contributing troops, four countries were opposed, and one was divided. The average across all eleven countries was 55 percent in favor and 30 percent opposed.²⁶

A 2009 WPO poll of seven majority-Muslim and African nations and territories also found strong support for intervening in Sudan for humanitarian purposes against the will of the government. Respondents were told that in

response to charges made by the International Criminal Court, Sudanese President Omar Bashir “has expelled humanitarian groups that have been providing food and other aid to the displaced civilians living in refugee camps.” They were then asked, “If, as a result, many people in these camps start dying from hunger and exposure, do you think the United Nations should bring in food and other aid, escorted by military protection if necessary, even against the will of the government or do you think this would be too much of a violation of Sudan’s sovereignty?” Large majorities approved of such an intervention in Kenya (82 percent), Nigeria (68 percent), Egypt (61 percent), the Palestinian Territories (60 percent), and Turkey (58 percent). A plurality of Iraqis also approved (46 percent to 29 percent). Only Pakistanis leaned against the idea (37 percent to 42 percent). On average across the seven nations, 59 percent approved.²⁷

GMF’s 2007 Transatlantic Trends survey included a question on **the deployment of a country’s troops to provide humanitarian assistance in the Darfur region of the Sudan**. Majorities or pluralities in all twelve European countries and the United States approved of such a deployment. The European average showed 76 percent approving and 18 percent disapproving.²⁸

The Arab American Institute (AAI) polled six countries with Muslim majorities in 2007 on options for dealing with the situation in Darfur. Five countries believed a UN peacekeeping force from non-Western and Muslim nations would be effective, while one country (United Arab Emirates) believed it would not be effective. On average, 66 percent responded it would be effective and 31 percent responded it would not. The strongest majorities in favor came from Saudi Arabia (87 percent) and Egypt (74 percent). A majority in the United Arab Emirates (55 percent) thought that a UN peacekeeping mission in Darfur would “not be effective.”²⁹

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

The Responsibility to Participate in NATO and EU Military Operations

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

People in twelve European countries and the United States were asked, “To what extent do you tend to agree that *all* NATO member countries should contribute troops if the NATO alliance decides to take military action?” (GMF 2008). An overwhelming majority of Americans (82 percent) said all should. On average, 57 percent of Europeans agreed, although there was substantial variation. In most cases, Western European countries had fairly large majorities agreeing (United Kingdom 82 percent, Holland 82 percent, Portugal 68 percent, France 62 percent), though fewer agreed in some (Germany 56 percent, Italy 51 percent, Spain 56 percent). Eastern European countries were quite mixed. In some, a majority agreed (Poland 57 percent, Romania 63 percent), while only minorities agreed in Slovakia (37 percent) and Bulgaria (42 percent). In Turkey, only 28 percent agreed.³¹

When asked whether they agreed that all NATO members “should share in the financial costs of a NATO military action even when they do not contribute troops,” responses were essentially the same as above except that German agreement rose 6 points to 62 percent.³²

A 2007 GMF poll asked Europeans what their country should do if the European Union decided to use military force but the decision was one that the respondent's country disagreed with. The question asked respondents whether they agreed that "if the European Union should decide to use military force, [survey country] should abide by that decision even if [survey country] disagrees." Large majorities disagreed in France (65 percent) and Germany (67 percent), as well as solid majorities in several others. Smaller majorities agreed in Poland (51 percent), Portugal (51 percent), and Turkey (52 percent). On average, only 43 percent of European publics agreed while 54 percent disagreed.³³

Perceived Effectiveness of UN Peacekeeping Operations

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

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

This question was also posed to respondents residing in four nations that are permanent members of the UN Security Council (all but China). These responses were similar to those living in the countries receiving the forces: 54 percent of those in UNSC permanent member states felt the UN peacekeeping or observer presence made conditions better for people in the countries receiving the international forces. Eight percent of those living in the UNSC permanent-member nations say the UN made things worse, and 29 percent say it made no difference at all.³⁴⁻³⁵

¹ Pew Global Attitudes Project May 2007

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

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

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	DK/NR
United States	35	42	14	6	3
Canada	26	45	17	10	2
Argentina	17	35	18	22	8
Bolivia	23	39	22	10	5
Brazil	42	42	10	5	1
Chile	24	36	23	12	5
Mexico	20	52	20	5	3
Peru	26	39	18	9	7
Venezuela	21	51	19	8	0
Britain	19	48	19	9	5
France	26	41	18	15	0
Germany	11	30	29	29	1
Italy	25	48	15	7	6
Spain	11	54	18	9	9
Sweden	37	38	11	10	4
Bulgaria	13	21	26	25	15
Czech Republic	23	39	22	14	1
Poland	16	40	26	11	7
Russia	21	40	21	10	8
Slovakia	16	31	28	23	2
Ukraine	16	36	27	17	6
Turkey	36	38	13	6	6
Egypt	14	26	30	29	2
Jordan	12	25	29	29	5
Kuwait	58	22	6	10	5
Lebanon	21	37	23	15	5
Morocco	24	23	9	12	33
Palestinian Territories	28	31	15	19	7
Israel	39	37	18	4	2
Pakistan	46	26	11	3	14
Bangladesh	57	30	7	4	2
Indonesia	23	51	16	7	3
Malaysia	15	46	20	12	6
China	16	50	22	6	6
India	58	32	7	3	1
Japan	10	50	26	8	6
South Korea	5	38	40	13	4
Ethiopia	24	24	32	18	2
Ghana	26	44	18	11	1

Ivory Coast	44	34	14	8	0
Kenya	41	34	14	10	1
Mali	49	27	17	7	0
Nigeria	40	34	14	9	2
Senegal	36	36	17	9	1
South Africa	31	41	14	8	5
Tanzania	39	22	10	24	4
Uganda	25	29	21	19	6
Average	27	37	19	12	5

² German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2006

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

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

German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005

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

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	DK/NR
European Average	35	41	12	6	6
France	40	45	17	7	2
Germany	41	42	11	5	2
Great Britain	35	38	14	7	6
Italy	40	52	12	4	2
Netherlands	42	40	12	4	3
Poland	37	46	7	1	9
Portugal	39	37	12	6	8
Spain	32	49	10	6	4
Slovakia	37	37	13	4	8

Turkey	33	24	13	12	18
Bulgaria	52	30	4	3	11
Romania	48	31	6	3	12

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

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

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

³ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008

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

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

⁴ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008

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

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

⁵ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008

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

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

⁶ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008

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

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

⁷ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008

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

	Has this responsibility	Does not have this responsibility	DK/NR
Argentina	48	27	25
United States	74	22	4
Armenia	66	19	16
France	54	39	7
Great Britain	70	22	8
Poland	54	15	31
Russia	48	31	21
Ukraine	40	16	44
Azerbaijan	42	23	35
Egypt	80	20	0
Iran	59	25	16
Israel	64	28	8
Palestinian Territories	69	27	4
Turkey	39	20	40
Kenya	89	8	3
Nigeria	78	18	5
China	76	13	11
India	51	25	25
Indonesia	82	5	14
Thailand	44	22	33

Average 61 21 18

⁸ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008

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

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

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

⁹ World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations than by the various national governments. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the respective national governments; while others think they would be handled best by the national governments working together with co-ordination by the United Nations. I'm going to mention some problems. For each one, would you tell me whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the national governments, by the United Nations, or by the national governments with UN co-ordination? International peacekeeping

	National governments	Regional orgs	UN	National governments with UN coordination	Non profit / Nongovernmental orgs	Commercial enterprise	DK	No answer	NA
Italy	22	12	58	0	0	0	6	1	0
Spain	15	13	59	0	0	0	12	0	6

United States	28	16	50	0	0	0	4	3	0
Canada	22	7	66	0	0	0	5	0	0
Japan	11	8	72	0	2	0	0	6	0
Mexico	22	5	65	0	0	0	6	1	0
South Africa	47	14	32	0	0	0	0	7	0
Australia	21	9	66	0	0	0	0	4	0
Sweden	19	8	70	0	0	0	3	0	0
Argentina	22	5	52	0	0	0	21	1	0
Finland	29	10	58	0	0	0	2	1	0
South Korea	47	6	47	0	0	0	0	1	0
Poland	28	6	64	0	0	0	2	0	0
Switzerland	27	9	60	0	0	0	3	1	0
Brazil	22	5	66	0	0	0	6	2	0
Chile	40	6	44	0	0	0	9	1	0
India	44	10	14	0	0	0	32	0	0
Slovenia	26	30	33	0	0	0	10	1	0
Bulgaria	22	17	50	0	0	0	11	0	0
Romania	38	11	34	0	0	0	14	2	0
China	18	2	36	0	0	0	44	1	0
Taiwan	25	16	55	0	0	0	3	0	0
Turkey	46	9	37	0	0	0	8	1	0
Ukraine	52	8	29	0	0	0	8	3	0
Ghana	23	9	64	0	0	0	3	1	0
Moldova	37	19	39	0	0	0	5	0	0
Georgia	79	2	15	0	0	0	3	0	0
Thailand	77	21	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indonesia	14	4	74	0	0	0	7	1	0
Vietnam	50	7	35	0	0	0	8	1	0
Serbia	51	9	32	0	0	0	7	2	0
New Zealand	6	0	33	49	0	0	8	5	0
Egypt	36	17	44	0	0	0	3	*	0
Morocco	50	4	29	0	0	0	0	18	0
Iran	41	12	42	0	0	0	4	1	0
Jordan	24	19	44	0	0	0	13	0	0
Cyprus	30	22	47	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	32	12	53	0	0	0	2	1	0
Andorra	26	8	64	0	0	0	2	1	0
Malaysia	51	21	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	47	6	34	0	0	0	9	2	0
Ethiopia	41	10	40	0	0	0	5	3	2

Mali	46	5	38	0	0	0	6	3	1
Rwanda	50	41	8	0	0	0	1	0	1
Zambia	29	19	47	0	0	0	4	1	0
Germany	20	20	54	0	0	0	6	1	0
Average	34	11	45	1	0	0	7	2	0

¹⁰ Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2004

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

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

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

¹¹ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007

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

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

¹² German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004

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

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

¹³ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004

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

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

¹⁴ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004

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

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

Spain	70	23	7
Slovakia	83	11	6
Turkey	81	14	5

15 German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004

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

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

16 German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007

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

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

17 German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007

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

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

¹⁸ Gallup International, August 2006

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

	Disagree (Don't send)	Agree (Send)	Can't say
Croatia	70	22	8
Georgia	70	18	12
Russia	63	25	12
Germany	62	37	1
Romania	62	31	7
Austria	61	30	9
Korea	60	37	3
Vietnam	57	38	5
Switzerland	56	40	4
Portugal	55	35	10
United States	54	30	16
Greece	54	44	2
Argentina	53	26	21
Australia	51	44	5
United Kingdom	51	42	7
Moldova	51	20	29
Cameroon	46	50	4
Canada	46	44	10
Luxembourg	43	54	3
Indonesia	39	56	5

South Africa	38	46	16
India	36	51	13
Senegal	35	63	2
Finland	34	47	19
New Zealand	32	57	11
Iceland	32	49	19
Sweden	27	67	6
Norway	25	67	8
Ireland	22	66	12
Lebanon	19	78	3
Pakistan	16	70	14
Morocco	15	76	9
Kosovo	12	60	28
Average	44	46	10

¹⁹ WorldPublicOpinion.org, June 2009

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

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

Pakistan	7	17	7	54	10	5
South Korea	3	21	41	32	1	2
Average	6	15	22	39	6	13

* Publics marked with asterisk are excluded from the average.

²⁰ **WorldPublicOpinion.org, June 2009**

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

	Approve	Disapprove	DK/NR
Mexico	35	57	8
United States	72	26	2
France	58	34	8
Germany	45	49	6
Great Britain	57	36	7
Poland	33	57	10
Russia	20	53	27
Ukraine	15	57	29
Azerbaijan	53	27	20
Egypt	44	56	0
Iraq	41	34	25
Palestinian Territories	23	74	3
Turkey	28	58	15
Kenya	74	20	6
Nigeria	64	31	5
China	20	65	15
Hong Kong*	45	34	21
Macau*	43	35	22
Taiwan*	55	26	19
India	65	26	9
Indonesia	38	38	25
Pakistan	18	72	10
South Korea	73	25	2
Average	44	45	12

* Publics marked with asterisk are excluded from the average.

²¹ **WorldPublicOpinion.org, June 2009**

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

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

* Publics marked with asterisk are excluded from the average.

²² WorldPublicOpinion.org, June 2009

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

	NATO mission should be continued	NATO mission should be ended now	DK/NR
Mexico	27	64	9
United States	66	30	4
France	53	38	10
Germany	42	52	7

Great Britain	47	47	6
Poland	27	65	9
Russia	14	59	28
Ukraine	12	57	31
Azerbaijan	52	31	18
Egypt	37	60	3
Iraq	43	35	23
Palestinian Territories	21	75	4
Turkey	30	55	14
Kenya	65	29	6
Nigeria	59	34	7
China	14	69	17
Hong Kong*	39	44	18
Macau*	31	48	21
Taiwan*	44	35	21
India	63	25	12
Indonesia	29	43	27
Pakistan	13	79	8
Average	37	50	13

* Publics marked with asterisk are excluded from the average.

²³ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2009

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

	Approve very much	Approve somewhat	Disapprove somewhat	Disapprove very much	DK/REFUSAL
France	4	11	43	41	1
Germany	4	9	47	39	1
United Kingdom	9	13	32	42	2
Italy	5	16	21	57	1
Netherlands	5	15	32	46	2
Poland	3	11	33	47	6
Portugal	5	26	28	37	3
Spain	6	19	29	43	2
Slovakia	2	9	32	47	11
Turkey	13	14	17	39	16
Bulgaria	1	5	19	65	9
Romania	3	6	27	57	7
Average	6	13	32	45	4

²⁴ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2009

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

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

²⁵ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008

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

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

²⁶ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008

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

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

²⁷ **WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009**

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

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

²⁸ **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007**

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

	Approve	Disapprove	(I don't know anything about this topic)	DK/ NR
European Average	76	18	5	1
United States	75	21	2	2
France	88	10	1	2
Germany	73	25	1	1
Great Britain	80	16	1	3
Italy	86	13	1	0

Netherlands	82	17	1	1
Poland	71	17	11	1
Portugal	84	12	3	1
Spain	90	9	0	1
Slovakia	62	24	8	5
Turkey	58	26	16	0
Bulgaria	44	28	20	8
Romania	57	24	15	5

²⁹ **Arab American Institute, 2007**

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

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

	Effective	Not Effective	DK/ NR
United Arab Emirates	40	55	5
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	87	12	<1
Egypt	74	26	<1
Morocco	56	44	1
Turkey	71	22	7
Malaysia	70	26	5
Average	66	31	5

³⁰ **GlobeScan, 2004**

Preferred Military Group to Intervene in Conflict like Darfur

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

³¹ **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008**

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

	Approve	Disapprove	DK/ NR
European Average	57	34	9
United States	82	12	6
France	62	36	2
Germany	56	43	2
Great Britain	82	15	3
Italy	51	48	2
Netherlands	82	16	2
Poland	57	21	12
Portugal	68	26	6

Spain	56	41	3
Slovakia	37	49	14
Turkey	28	37	35
Bulgaria	42	47	11
Romania	63	25	12

³² **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008**

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

	Agree	Disagree	DK/ NR
European Average	58	34	8
United States	82	13	5
France	62	36	2
Germany	62	36	1
Great Britain	80	17	3
Italy	50	47	3
Netherlands	82	17	2
Poland	57	32	11
Portugal	64	29	7
Spain	60	37	2
Slovakia	37	52	11
Turkey	27	36	37
Bulgaria	41	47	13
Romania	67	21	11

³³ **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007**

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

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

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

³⁴ **International Committee of the Red Cross, November 1999**

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

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

³⁵ **International Committee of the Red Cross, November 1999**

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

	Better	Worse	No Difference	DK/ NR
Total Security Counsel	54	8	29	8
Great Britain	58	4	31	7
United States	52	15	28	5
France	52	9	27	12
Russia	54	4	31	11
Total War Torn	51	14	27	7
Georgia	31	9	52	8
Abkhazia	81	2	15	2
Cambodia	88	2	9	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	41	13	40	7
Lebanon	41	8	44	8
Somalia	46	27	10	17

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries. Founded in 1921, CFR carries out its mission by maintaining a diverse membership, with special programs to promote interest and develop expertise in the next generation of foreign policy leaders; convening meetings at its headquarters in New York and in Washington, DC, and other cities where senior government officials, members of Congress, global leaders, and prominent thinkers come together with CFR members to discuss and debate major international issues; supporting a Studies Program that fosters independent research, enabling CFR scholars to produce articles, reports, and books and hold roundtables that analyze foreign policy issues and make concrete policy recommendations; publishing *Foreign Affairs*, the preeminent journal on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy; sponsoring Independent Task Forces that produce reports with both findings and policy prescriptions on the most important foreign policy topics; and providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and American foreign policy on its website, CFR.org.

The Council on Foreign Relations takes no institutional position on policy issues and has no affiliation with the U.S. government. All statements of fact and expressions of opinion contained in its publications are the sole responsibility of the author or authors.

For further information about CFR or this paper, please write to the Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, NY 10065, or call the Director of Communications at 212.434.9400. Visit CFR's website, www.cfr.org.