

World Publics Favor New Powers for the UN

Most Support Standing UN Peacekeeping Force, UN Regulation of International Arms Trade

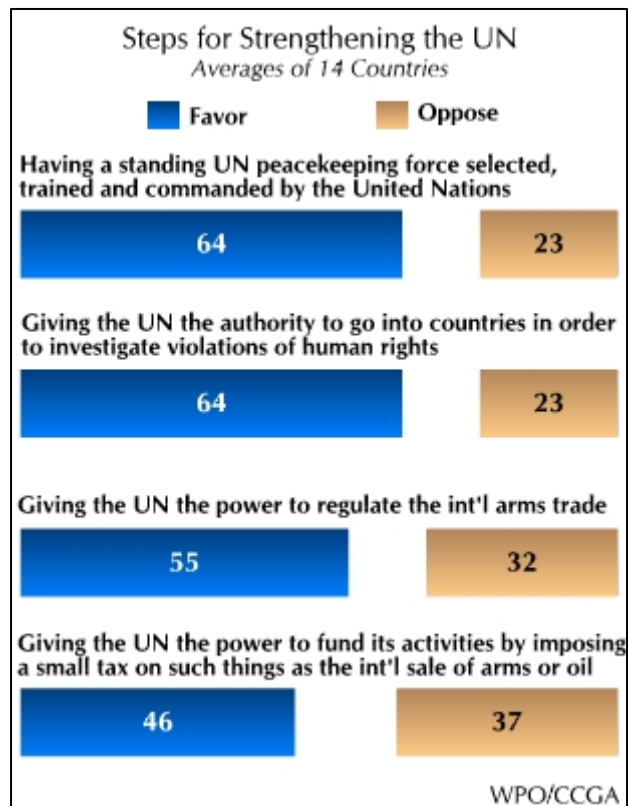
Majorities Say UN Should Have Right to Authorize Military Force to Stop Terrorism, Nuclear Proliferation, Genocide

Publics around the world favor dramatic steps to strengthen the United Nations, including giving it the power to have its own standing peacekeeping force, to regulate the international arms trade and to investigate human rights abuses.

Large majorities believe the United Nations Security Council should have the right to authorize military force to prevent nuclear proliferation, genocide and terrorism. However support is not as robust among the publics polled for accepting UN decisions that go against their countries' preferences.

These are some of the findings from a survey conducted by The Chicago Council on Global Affairs and WorldPublicOpinion.org, in cooperation with polling organizations around the world. Respondents were interviewed in countries that represent 56 percent of the world's population: China, India, the United States, Russia, France, Thailand, Ukraine, Poland, Iran, Mexico, South Korea, the Philippines, Australia, Argentina, Peru, Armenia and Israel, plus the Palestinian territories. Not all questions were asked in all countries.

“Despite well-publicized disagreements over the role of the United Nations in world affairs, this survey clearly shows that international public opinion has coalesced around the notion that the UN should be the



vehicle for conflict resolution and international cooperation on a wide variety of pressing problems,” said Christopher Whitney, executive director for studies at The Chicago Council on Global Affairs.

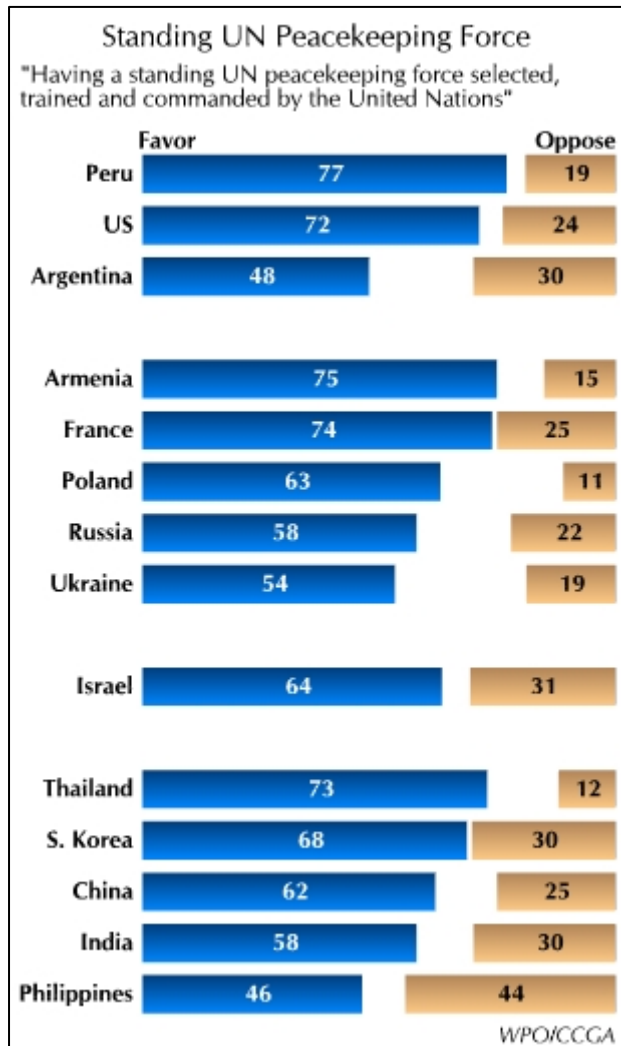
Steven Kull, editor of WorldPublicOpinion.org, says the survey suggests that people around the world are more open to multilateral action than their governments.

“While leaders of nation states may be wary of giving the United Nations more power it is clear that publics around the world are comfortable with the idea of a stronger UN,” Kull said.

The idea of “having a standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained and commanded by the United Nations” gets support from majorities in 12 of the 14 countries asked (64% on average). Peru is the most enthusiastic (77%), followed by Armenia (75%), France (74%), Thailand (73%), and the United States (72%). Argentines support such a force by margin of 48 percent to 30 percent. In none of the countries polled do most respondents oppose this idea, though views are divided in the Philippines.

Support for “giving the UN the power to regulate the international arms trade” is also supported by majorities or pluralities in 12 of the 14 countries (55% on average). France shows the greatest support (77%), followed by South Korea (75%), Israel (60%) and the United States (60%). Only two publics tend to reject the idea: Filipinos (58% say no) and Argentines (42% negative, 36% positive).

Giving the UN authority “to investigate violations of human rights” receives very high levels of support (64% overall). Overwhelming majorities favor this idea in France (92%), the United States (75%), Peru (75%), and South Korea (74%). The only exceptions are Argentina, where a plurality supports such investigations (46% to 29%) and the Philippines where the public is divided.

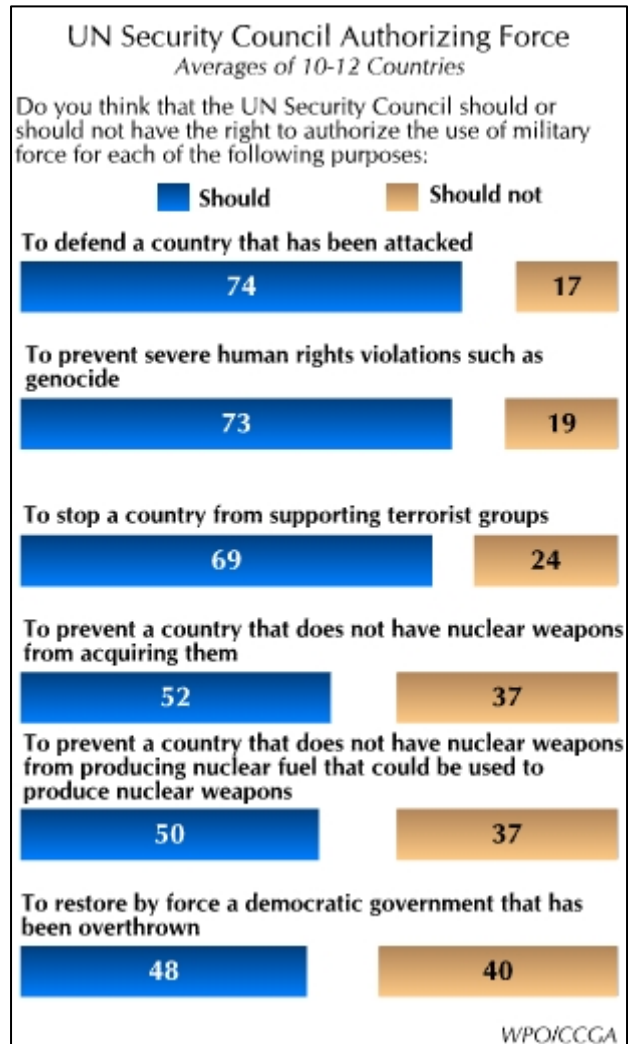


Publics show lower, but still substantial, support for “giving the UN the authority to fund its activities by imposing a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil” (on average 46% in favor and 37% opposed). Nine countries favor this idea, led by France (70%), China (55%), South Korea (53%), and Israel (52%). Four countries oppose it, including majorities in the Philippines (56%), and Peru (55%), and pluralities in the United States (50% to 45%) and Argentina (42% to 32%). Russians are divided.

Use of Military Force

The poll also finds support for giving the UN Security Council the right to authorize the use of military force to address a wide range of problems. Support is strongest for collective military action to defend countries from outside aggression, to prevent governments from supporting terrorist groups and to protect people from genocide. There is also support, though more modest, for such action to prevent nuclear proliferation and reverse the overthrow of a democratic government.

Not surprisingly, using military force to “defend a country that has been attacked” is the most popular. This is consistent with the original conception of the United Nations as a collective security organization. In all 10 countries polled, large majorities, ranging from 84 percent in France to 66 percent in India, believe the Security Council should have this right. Three out of four respondents (74%) on average support this right across all countries polled.



Also popular is giving the Security Council the right to authorize the use of military force “to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups.” In all 10 publics polled, clear majorities favor this. Palestinians and South Koreans are the least supportive (61%) while the most supportive are the Israelis (85%) and the French (84%). Average support for this idea is 71 percent.

There is also modest support for using collective force to achieve the more controversial objective of stopping nuclear proliferation. These results are particularly relevant to a

conflict unfolding on the world stage today: Iran's decision to continue enriching uranium in defiance of the UN Security Council.

When asked whether the Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of military force in order "to prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them," the most common view in eight out of 11 publics is that it "should" have this right, including majorities in Mexico (70%), Israel (62%), the United States (62%) and Russia (55%). Only in the Palestinian territories (59%) and South Korea (55%) do majorities say the Security Council "should not" have the right to prevent a country from acquiring nuclear weapons. The French are divided. Average support is 53 percent.

More specifically, respondents were asked whether the Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force to "prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons." Once again the most common answer in seven of the 10 publics polled is that the Security Council "should" have this right. Support is highest in Thailand (59%), United States (57%), and Israel (54%). Again, the exceptions are those polled in the Palestinian territories (57% say no) and South Korea (56% say no). The French, again, are divided. On average, half of the respondents polled across all countries (50%) support this right and 37 percent are opposed.

The poll finds relatively modest levels of support for giving the Security Council the right to authorize the use of force "to restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown." Out of 10 publics polled, majorities in six and pluralities in one favor the idea. Support is highest in the Palestinian territories (67%), while more modest majorities favor it in Israel (58%), the United States (57%) and Mexico (54%). A majority of South Koreans (65%) and a plurality of the Chinese (45%) say the Security Council "should not" have this right. Russian respondents are divided (35% favor, 37% oppose). On average, 49 percent of those polled support giving the UN this right and 40 percent are opposed

Genocide

Publics show very strong support for allowing the UN Security Council to use military force to "prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide." Very large majorities in all 12 countries polled on this issue agree that the Security Council should have the right to use force in such cases. The lowest levels of support are in Thailand (62%) and India (63%), and the highest are in France (85%), Israel (83%) and the United States (83%). Average support across the publics polled is 74 percent.

This poll probed further about whether the Security Council has not just the right but the *responsibility* to intervene militarily to protect people from severe human rights abuses. "Some people say that the Security Council has the responsibility to authorize the use of military force to protect people from severe human rights violations such as genocide,

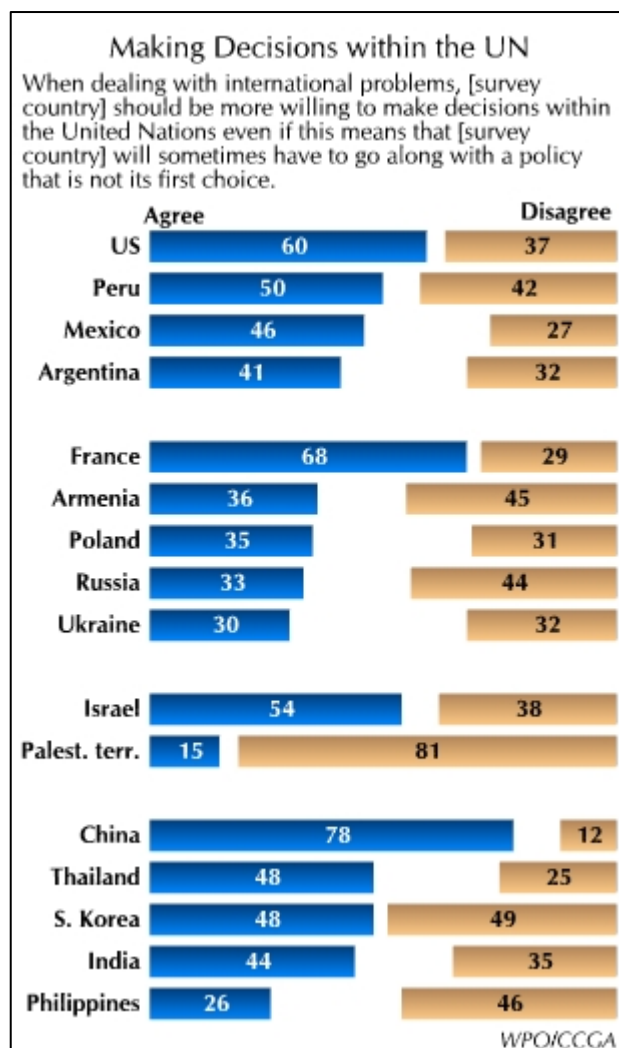
even against the will of their own government,” respondents were told. “Others say that the Security Council does not have such a responsibility.”

The idea that the Security Council has this responsibility is the most common view in all 12 of the publics polled and the majority view in eight of them. Interestingly the Chinese (76%) show the strongest support for this idea, followed by Americans (74%) and Palestinians (69%). In four countries, only pluralities agree: Ukrainians (40%), Thais (44%), Russians (48%), and Argentines (48%). In no country, do more than four in 10 say that the UN does not have a responsibility to act against genocide. On average 57 percent said the UN has this responsibility.

Accepting UN Decisions

While most respondents support strengthening the United Nations, there is less enthusiasm about submitting to possibly adverse UN decisions. Respondents were asked whether their country should be “more willing to make decisions within the United Nations” when dealing with international problems, even if this means that their country “will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.” Ten of the 16 publics asked say that their country should do so, but only four of these are a clear majority, while six are pluralities. Four are opposed and two are divided. On average 45 percent said their country should do so, while 38 percent said it should not and 17 percent did not answer.

Not surprisingly the three countries most ready to accept UN decisions are also permanent members of the UN Security Council: China (78%), France (68%), and the United States (60%). The public in Russia, also a member, tend to be opposed to abiding by such decisions by 44 percent to 33 percent, however.



Israel, surprisingly, is another country where there is strong support for making decisions within the United Nations. Fifty-four percent of Israelis agree that their leaders should

abide by such decisions even if they disagree. This is striking given the extent to which opponents of Israel have used the United Nations as a platform for criticism of the Jewish state.

In sharp contrast, the Palestinians are the only public polled with a majority opposed to accepting such collective decisions. A large 81 percent majority of Palestinians say their government should not go along with policies they oppose. This is also striking given that Palestinian leaders have used UN resolutions as a basis for legitimating their demands for statehood.

Pluralities favor accepting UN decisions in Peru (50% to 42%), Thailand (48% to 25%), Mexico (46% to 27%), India (44% to 35%), Argentina (41% to 32%), and Poland (35% to 31%). In two countries, pluralities are opposed: Armenia (45% to 36%), Philippines (46% to 26%). Views are divided in South Korea (48% agree, 49% disagree) and Ukraine (30% agree, 32% disagree and 38 percent do not answer).

General Attitudes toward the UN

The survey also explored more general attitudes toward the United Nations and other international institutions. The UN and its affiliated agencies tend to be viewed favorably, though these questions were asked in only seven or eight publics.

Respondents in eight countries were asked whether a series of objectives should be considered important foreign policy goals for their governments. Majorities in all eight consider “strengthening the United Nations” to be either a “very” or “somewhat” important foreign policy goal (ranging from 79% in the United States and Thailand to 91% in Australia). Majorities in Australia (64%), Mexico (56%) and China (51%) consider this “very important.” Only marginal numbers say making the United Nations stronger is “not important.” This opinion is strongest in the United States, though still expressed by less than one in five (19%), while 40 percent of Americans say it is a very important goal and 39 percent a somewhat important goal.

Respondents in eight countries rated their sentiments toward the United Nations on a 100-degree “feeling thermometer,” where one hundred means very warm or favorable, zero means very cold or unfavorable, and fifty means neither warm nor cold or neutral.

Mexicans express on average the warmest feelings toward the United Nations (mean temperature 80 degrees) followed by the Chinese (75 degrees), Armenians (72 degrees), Thais (71 degrees), South Koreans (70 degrees), Indians (63 degrees) and Palestinians (58 degrees). American sentiments toward the UN are the coolest among the eight publics surveyed: their mean thermometer reading is 55 degrees.

The World Health Organization (WHO), the UN agency that addresses global health issues, tends to receive even warmer ratings. Three Asian countries show the most favorable feelings toward the WHO: Thailand (81 degrees), China (80 degrees) and South Korea (74 degrees). The warm feelings expressed in Asia may reflect the WHO’s work there in preventing the spread of avian flu. Armenians also tend to feel warmly

toward this agency (75 degrees) as do Palestinians (65 degrees). Americans (59 degrees) and Indians (58 degrees) are relatively lukewarm.

Attitudes toward the World Court, the United Nation's judicial organ, are a bit cooler. Chinese sentiments are warmest (70 degrees) followed by Thais (66 degrees), South Koreans (63 degrees), Armenians (61 degrees) and Indians (54 degrees). Americans are relatively cooler (46 degrees). But the least enthusiastic about this international court are the Palestinians: their mean thermometer reading is a chilly 32 degrees.

The Future of the United Nations: Results by Country

Americas

ARGENTINA

Graciela Romer y Asociados, December 2006

While Argentines tend to support the expansion of UN power but this support is expressed by pluralities not majorities. In several cases, a plurality is opposed. About half favor a standing UN peacekeeping force (48% favor, 30% oppose) and giving the UN the authority to go into countries to investigate human rights violations (46% favor, 29% oppose). Forty-eight percent of Argentines also believe that the UN Security Council has the “responsibility to authorize the use of force to protect people from severe human rights violations such as genocide, even against the will of their own country” (27% say it does not). Argentines oppose giving the UN the power to regulate the international arms trade (42% oppose, 36% favor) or to impose a small tax on the international sale of arms or oil in order to fund UN activities (42% oppose, 32% favor), however. A significant portion of the Argentine public (about 20 percent) is uncertain about these measures and does not offer an opinion. Asked whether Argentina should be “more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that Argentina will have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice,” 41 percent agree that it should be willing to do so, while just 32 percent disagree. However, more than one quarter (27%) decline to answer.

MEXICO

Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE)/Mexican Council of Foreign Relations (COMEXI), July 2006

The Mexican public favors a stronger United Nations, including a UN Security Council with the authority to use military force in a variety of circumstances, and expresses unusually warm feelings toward the United Nations. But only a plurality of Mexicans are willing to accept adverse UN decisions. A large majority (82%) feels that “strengthening the United Nations” should be a very (56%) or somewhat (26%) important foreign policy goal. Large majorities also believe the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize military force to “prevent human rights violations such as genocide” (73%) and to “stop a country from supporting terrorist groups” (71%). Seven in 10 Mexicans (70%)—the highest percentage of any country polled—say the Security Council should have the right to “prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them.” While nearly two-thirds (65%) believe that the Security Council should be able to authorize force to defend a country that has been attacked, a much smaller majority (54%) believes it should have the right “to restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown.” Asked to rate their feelings towards the United Nations on a thermometer scale of 0-100, with 100 being warmest, on average Mexicans give the UN a very warm rating of 80 degrees—the highest of all countries polled. Nonetheless, only a

plurality of Mexicans (46%) believes that Mexico should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations, even if it has to compromise on its preferred policy.

PERU

Grupo de Opinion Publica, November 2006

Peruvians are exceptionally supportive of giving the United Nations new powers in some areas but relatively less supportive in others. Only half are willing to accept adverse UN decisions. Peruvians show the strongest support of all countries polled (77%) for a “standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained, and commanded by the United Nations,” and nearly as many (75%) also believe the UN should have the right to go into countries in order to investigate human rights violations. A more modest majority (52%) favors “giving the UN the power to regulate the international arms trade,” while an unusually high 43 percent oppose this step. A majority (55%) rejects allowing the UN to fund its activities by a small tax on international arms or oil sales, while only 38 percent favor this option. Asked whether Peru should be “more willing to make decisions within the United Nations,” even if this means going along with a policy that is not its first choice, only half (50%) of respondents agree while 42 percent disagree.

UNITED STATES

Chicago Council on Global Affairs, July 2006

Americans show strong support for giving more power to the United Nations. Of the countries polled, they are among the most willing to allow the UN Security Council to authorize the use of military force, and to accept UN decisions that go against them. Significant majorities favor giving the UN the authority to establish a standing UN-managed peacekeeping force (72%), investigate human rights violations within countries (75%) and regulate the international arms trade (60%). Although half (50%) oppose allowing the UN to fund its activities by “imposing a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil,” 45 percent favor it. More than four out of five (83%) Americans believe that the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force to prevent violations of human rights, and 74 percent say that the Security Council has the “responsibility to authorize the use of force in such cases. Large majorities also believe that the UN Security Council should be able to authorize the use of force “to defend a country that has been attacked” (83%) and “to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups” (76%). Americans show slightly less support for Security Council authority to use force on nuclear issues: 62 percent believe it should have the right to prevent new countries from acquiring nuclear weapons (33% should not), while 57 percent believe it should have the right to use force to prevent countries from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons (39% should not). Fifty-seven percent also believe that the Security Council should be able to authorize force to restore “a democratic government that has been overthrown,” although 38 percent oppose this. Most Americans (60%) agree that the United States should be “more willing to make decisions within the United Nations” even if it means agreeing to a policy that is not their country’s first choice. Thirty-seven percent disagree. Overall, a

large majority of Americans (79%) believe “strengthening the United Nations” should be a very (40%) or somewhat (39%) important foreign policy goal. But, interestingly, when asked to rate their feelings towards the United Nations on a thermometer scale of 0-100, Americans give the United Nations only a lukewarm 55 degrees on average, the coolest rating among the countries asked. Americans have slightly warmer feelings towards the World Health Organization (59 degrees) but cooler feelings towards the World Court (46 degrees).

Asia

AUSTRALIA

Lowy Institute, July 2006

Australians overwhelmingly believe that strengthening the United Nations is a top foreign policy priority. More than nine in 10 (91%) see strengthening the UN as a very (64%) or somewhat (27%) important foreign policy goal, the largest number out of all countries asked. Just 9 percent believe it is not important.

CHINA

Chicago Council on Global Affairs, July 2006

The Chinese widely support steps that would grant the United Nations greater power, as well as authority for the UN Security Council to authorize force in various situations. Significant majorities of respondents favor giving the UN the ability to establish a standing peacekeeping force (62%) and regulate the international arms trade (59%). A majority of the Chinese (57%) also supports “giving the UN the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights” (28 percent oppose). A majority (55%) also favors allowing the UN to impose a small tax on things such as international arms or oil sales in order to fund its activities, (27% opposed). Overall, an overwhelming majority (86%) believes that “strengthening the United Nations” should be a very (51%) or somewhat (35%) important foreign policy goal. Given a number of situations where the Security Council might have the right to authorize the use of force, large majorities believe it should have this right in order to prevent genocide and human rights violations (72%), to defend a country that has been attacked (70%), and to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups (67%). Seventy-six percent of Chinese respondents—more than any other public polled—also believe that the Security Council has the “responsibility” to authorize the use of force in cases of severe human rights violations. Support is more lukewarm for allowing the Security Council to use force to stop countries that do not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them (47% should, 40% should not) or from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce weapons (47% should, 34% should not). A plurality (45%) rejects allowing the Security Council to authorize force to restore a democratic government that has been overthrown, one of only two countries (along with South Korea) where this is the most common view. However, China is the country polled with the largest majority (78%) believing their country should “be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations,” even if this means China

will have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice. Only 12 percent oppose this idea. The Chinese also feel quite warmly about the United Nations. Asked to rate their feelings toward the UN on a thermometer scale of 0-100, with 100 being the most favorable, the Chinese express sentiments that register on average a warm 75 degrees, the second highest among the eight countries asked. Chinese respondents also feel quite warmly toward the World Health Organization (80 degrees) and the World Court (70 degrees).

INDIA

Chicago Council on Global Affairs, July 2006

Indians favor a more powerful United Nations, including a UN Security Council with the authority to authorize force to address a variety of problems. Less than half of Indian respondents, however, are ready to accept UN decisions that do not go their country's way. Majorities favor proposals to establish "a standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained and commanded by the United Nations" (58%), "giving the UN the power to regulate the international arms trade" (57%), and "giving the UN the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights" (54%). A plurality (47% to 37%) also favors allowing the UN to impose a small tax on the international sale of arms or oil in order to fund its activities. A very large majority of Indians (84%) also believes that "strengthening the United Nations" should be a very (49%) or somewhat (35%) important foreign policy goal. Indians feel the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force in defense of a country that has been attacked (66%) and to prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide (63%). Furthermore, a slight majority of Indians (51%) believes that the UN has the "responsibility" to authorize the use of force in cases of genocide, while just 25 percent believe it does not. Three in five (60%) also feel that the Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups. Interestingly, Indians—despite their own country's controversial nuclear program—show modest support for allowing the Security Council to use force to prevent nuclear proliferation: 53 percent say it should have the right to prevent new countries from acquiring nuclear weapons, and 50 percent believe it should also prevent countries from producing nuclear fuel that could be used for weapons. A slight majority (51%) supports allowing the UN to authorize the use of force to restore an overthrown democratic government to power, while one-third (34%) disagrees. Asked whether India should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means it will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice, 44 percent agree that it should, while 35 percent disagree and 21 percent decline to answer. Indians have moderately warm feelings about the United Nations. On a thermometer scale of 0-100, with 100 the most favorable, Indian sentiments toward the UN register 63 degrees on average. Indian feelings about other UN-related organizations are a bit cooler, including the World Health Organization (58 degrees) and the World Court (54 degrees).

PHILIPPINES

Social Weather Stations, November 2006

Filipinos are the most reluctant of all publics polled to give the United Nations new powers and are among the most resistant to accepting UN decisions. Filipinos are divided about allowing the UN to establish a standing peacekeeping force (46% favor, 44% oppose) as well as permitting the UN to investigate human rights violations within countries (46% favor, 46% oppose), ideals that are favored by the other countries polled. They are the only country where a majority rejects giving the UN the authority to regulate the international arms trade (58%). They also show the highest opposition (56%) to allowing the UN to impose a tax on the international sale of arms or oil. Asked whether the Philippines should be more willing to make decisions within the UN even if it means sometimes going against its preferred policy, a plurality of Filipinos (46%) believe their government should not, while just 26 percent believes it should and 28 percent decline to answer.

SOUTH KOREA

East Asia Institute, July 2006

South Koreans largely favor proposals to give the United Nations more power, but resist allowing the UN Security Council to authorize force to prevent nuclear proliferation. About three-quarters of South Korean respondents support steps to strengthen the United Nations, including allowing it to regulate the international arms trade (75%) and to investigate violations of human rights (74%). Nearly seven in 10 (68%) favor a standing “peacekeeping force selected, trained, and commanded by the United Nations.” A more modest majority (53%) feels that the UN should also be allowed to impose a small tax on international arms or oil sales in order to fund its activities, while 44 percent are opposed to this proposal. Nine in 10 South Koreans (90%) believe that “strengthening the UN” should be a very (32%) or somewhat (58%) important foreign policy goal, the second largest percentage among the countries polled. South Koreans widely believe the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force in situations where a country has been attacked (76%) or to prevent severe human rights violation such as genocide (74%). Sixty-one percent also believe that the Security Council should have the right to authorize force to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups. However, South Koreans reject Security Council authority to use force in cases involving nuclear proliferation, presumably because they think this might disrupt their delicate relations with North Korea. Majorities believe that the UN does not have the right to use force to prevent a country from acquiring nuclear weapons (55%) or from producing nuclear fuel that might be used as weapons (56%). Only Palestinians express similar views about this issue. South Korea is also the country with the largest majority (65%) that rejects allowing the Security Council to use force to restore a democratic government to power. Only one-third (32%) supports the use of force in this case. Despite their support for giving greater power to the UN, South Koreans are divided on whether or not their government should be more willing to make decisions within the UN, even if it means sometimes compromising on their preferred policies (48% agree, 49% disagree).

Nonetheless, South Korean feelings about the UN are quite warm, with an average rating of 70 degrees on a thermometer scale of 0-100. South Koreans also have warm feelings towards the World Health Organization (74 degrees) and the World Court (63 degrees).

THAILAND

ABAC Poll Research Center, September 2006

Thais favor a UN standing peacekeeping force but their support for other UN powers, including its right to authorize force, is more modest. Nearly three-quarters of Thais (73%) support a standing UN peacekeeping force, one of the largest majorities out of all countries polled. A majority (52%) also leans towards allowing the UN to go into countries to investigate human rights violations. Pluralities support measures that would permit the UN to impose a small tax on international arms and oil sales to provide funding for its activities (48% to 29%) and regulate the international arms trade (44% to 37%). A very large majority of Thais see “strengthening the UN” as a very (45%) or somewhat (34%) important foreign policy goal. Thais also feel the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force to stop countries from supporting terrorist groups (71%) or to defend a country that has been attacked (67%). Sixty-two percent believe the Security Council has the right to use force in order to prevent human rights violations such as genocide, while 44 percent go further and say it has the “responsibility” to do so (22% does not, 33% no answer). Interestingly, Thais lean toward the view that the Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force to restore a democratic government that has been overthrown: 46 percent agree with this position, while 29 percent disagree and 25 percent decline to answer. (The poll was fielded in Thailand Sept. 4-20, just before and during the Sept. 19 military coup that ousted Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra). A slight majority of Thais (52%) believe the Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force to prevent new countries from acquiring nuclear weapons, while even more (59%) believe it has the right to do so to prevent a country from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce weapons. A plurality of Thais indicate they would be ready to work within the United Nations even if this means compromising on preferred policy options: 48 percent favor this approach, while 25 percent disagree and 27 percent do not answer. Overall, Thais show warm feelings towards the United Nations, with an average of 71 degrees on a thermometer scale of 0-100. Thais also have exceptionally warm feelings towards the World Health Organization (81 degrees) as well as warm feelings towards the World Court (66 degrees).

Middle East

IRAN

WorldPublicOpinion.org, December 2006

Iranians are in favor of the UN Security Council having the right to authorize the use of force in order to prevent human rights violations such as genocide. Nearly seven in 10

(69%) Iranians believe the Security Council should have this right, while just 20 percent feel it should not. Seventy percent of Iranians have a favorable view of the United Nations becoming significantly more powerful in world affairs, according to A WPO poll also fielded in December 2006.

ISRAEL

Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research / Evens Program for Conflict Resolution and Mediation, November 2006

Israelis show some of the highest levels of support for a strengthened United Nations, particularly in regard to allowing Security Council to authorize military force. They also express willingness to accept adverse UN decisions. This support is especially striking given Israel's often testy relations with the United Nations. Significant majorities support establishing a standing UN peacekeeping force (64%), allowing the UN to go into countries to investigate human rights violations (64%) and having the UN regulate the international arms trade (60%). Israelis are also one of the publics that show the strongest support for allowing the UN to impose a small tax on the international sale of arms or oil to fund its activities, favoring it by a margin of 52 percent to 39 percent. Very large majorities of Israelis believe the UN Security Council has the right to use force to stop countries from supporting terrorist groups (85%) and to defend a country that has been attacked (77%). More than four out of five (83%) say the Security Council has the right to authorize the use of force to stop severe human rights violations, while 64 percent believes it also has the "responsibility" to do so. Israelis are among the publics showing strongest support for UN action against nuclear proliferation. Sixty-two percent of Israelis believe the Security Council should have the right to authorize force to prevent new countries from acquiring nuclear weapons, while 54 percent say it should be able to prevent countries from producing fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons. Israelis are also among those most enthusiastic about allowing the Security Council to use force to restore a democratic government to power (58%). Moreover, a majority of Israelis (54%) believe their government should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations, even if this means sometimes going along with a policy that is not Israel's first choice. Thirty-eight percent disagree.

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

Palestinian Center for Public Opinion, October 2006

Palestinian attitudes toward the United Nations are unique: they express strong support for allowing the Security Council to authorize the use of military force in general, but strongly oppose such a right in the case of nuclear proliferation. They also express warm feelings toward the UN, but overwhelmingly oppose abiding by adverse UN decisions. Palestinians are among the publics most convinced that the UN Security Council has the right to authorize the use of force to defend a country that has been attacked (81%) and to restore a democratic government to power (67%). They also believe the Security Council should be able to use force to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups (61%). They are also among the strongest supporters of not only the United Nation's right to act

to “prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide” (78%), but also its responsibility to act such cases (69%). Palestinians are quite opposed, however, to allowing the Security Council to authorize the use of force to prevent countries from acquiring nuclear weapons (59%) or to stop them from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons (57%). Palestinians express warm feelings toward the UN: on a thermometer scale of 0-100, the UN registers 58 degrees on average. Nonetheless, Palestinians are the only public polled to reject overwhelmingly the proposal that their government should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations: 81 percent disagree with that approach, while just 15 percent agree.

Europe

ARMENIA

Armenian Center for National and International Studies, December 2006

Large majorities of Armenians favor most proposals for expanding the power of the United Nations, but a plurality says their government should not accept adverse UN decisions. Three-quarters of Armenians (75%) favor “having a standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained, and commanded by the United Nations” while two-thirds (67%) favor “giving the UN the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights.” A significant majority also supports allowing the UN to regulate the international arms trade (58%), while a smaller number supports the UN having the power to impose a small tax on the international sale of arms or oil in order to provide funding for its activities (46%, with 28% opposed). Furthermore, two-thirds (66%) believe that the UN Security Council has the “responsibility” to authorize the use of force to prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide. Overall, four in five Armenians (80%) believe that “strengthening the United Nations” is a very (41%) or somewhat (39%) important foreign policy goal. However, Armenians tend to disagree that Armenia should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations: 45 percent believe it should not be willing to make more compromises, while 36 percent agree that it should and 19 percent decline to answer. Armenians have warm feelings about the United Nations in general, registering an average of 72 degrees on a 0-100 thermometer scale. Armenians feel slightly more favorably toward the World Health Organization (75 degrees) and slightly less so about the World Court (61 degrees).

FRANCE

Effience 3, March 2007

The French show the strongest support among the publics polled for many of the proposals for strengthening the United Nations. France is also one of the few countries where a large majority is ready to accept adverse UN decisions. France has the largest majorities in favor of allowing the UN to go into countries to investigate human rights violations (92%), to regulate the international arms trade (77%), and to impose a tax (70%). They are also among the strongest supporters of a standing UN peacekeeping

force (74%). Support for allowing the UN Security Council to authorize the use of force is also extremely high in France, with 85 percent saying it should have the right to “prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide.” However, only 54 percent of the French believe the Security Council has the “responsibility” to authorize the use of force in these cases, while 39 percent say it does not. More than four out of five French respondents believe that the Security Council has the right to authorize the use of force to defend a country that has been attacked (84%) or to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups (84%). Support is considerably more lukewarm for allowing the Security Council to use force to restore a democratic government to power (52% should, 45% should not). The French are also divided about whether the UN should have the right to use force to stop nuclear proliferation, including preventing countries from acquiring nuclear weapons (50% should, 48% should not) or from producing nuclear fuel that may be used to produce nuclear weapons (50% should, 48% should not). Nearly seven in 10 (68%) believe that France should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations, even if this means going along with a policy that is not the French government’s first choice.

POLAND

CBOS, September 2006

Poles strongly favor some measures to increase the power of the United Nations, but are more lukewarm about others and have mixed views about whether to accept UN decisions. A significant majority in Poland (63%) supports establishing a standing peacekeeping force “selected, trained, and commanded by the United Nations.” Fifty-eight percent favor giving the UN “the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights.” Poles are somewhat lukewarm about allowing the UN to regulate the international arms trade (44% favor, 28% oppose) or to impose a tax on the international sale of arms or oil (40% favor, 27% oppose), but in both cases many decline to offer an opinion. Fifty-four percent of Poles also believe that the UN Security Council has “the responsibility to authorize the use of force to protect people from severe human rights such as genocide, even against the will of their own government.” However Poles have mixed views about whether their government should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations: 35 percent believe that Poland should be more willing to make decisions with the UN, while 31 percent say it should not and 34 percent do not answer.

RUSSIA

Levada Center, September 2006

Russians express support for most measures that increase the power of the United Nations and tend to believe that the UN Security Council has the right to authorize the use of force in most of the situations mentioned. However, unlike other permanent members of the UN Security Council, Russians are not willing to make more decisions through the UN if this means accepting policies they consider less than ideal. Sixty-four percent favor giving the UN “the authority to go into countries in order to investigate

violations of human rights,” 58 percent favor establishing a standing UN peacekeeping force, and 55 percent favor giving the UN the authority to regulate the international arms trade. However, Russians are divided on whether the UN should be given the power to impose a tax on the international sale of arms or oil (39% favor, 36% oppose) with many undecided. Russians favor allowing the UN Security Council to authorize the use of force to defend a country that has been attacked (70%) or to stop countries from supporting terrorist groups (65%). Sixty-four percent believe the UN Security Council has the right to authorize the use of force to prevent severe human rights such as genocide and 48 percent believe that it has the “responsibility” to do so (31% believe it does not have this responsibility). Russians also support UN action to prevent nuclear proliferation, though majorities are more modest. Fifty-five percent of Russians believe the Security Council has the right to authorize force to prevent countries from acquiring nuclear weapons or to stop them from getting fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons (53%). Russians are divided on whether the Security Council has the right to authorize force to restore a democratic government that has been overthrown (35% should, 37% should not), with a large number (28%) declining to answer. When asked whether Russia should be more willing to make decisions within the UN even if this means going along with a policy that is not its first choice, 44 percent say that Russia should not do so, while just 33 percent say it should and 23 percent do not answer.

UKRAINE

Kiev International Institute of Sociology, September 2006

Ukrainians generally support granting new powers to the United Nations, particularly in the area of human rights, but views are divided on whether their government should abide by less than optimal UN decisions. Two-thirds of Ukrainians (66%) support giving the UN the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights, while smaller majorities support giving the UN the power to regulate the international arms trade (57%) and establishing a standing UN peacekeeping force (54%). Ukrainians lean towards favoring a proposal that would allow the UN to impose a small tax on the international sale of arms or oil with a plurality of 44 percent in favor. Opposition to all of these proposals opposition is quite low, ranging from 13 to 22 percent, though large numbers decline to answer. Ukrainians also believe the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize the use of force to prevent severe human rights violations such as genocide (69%). to stop countries from acquiring nuclear weapons (51%), and to stop them from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to make nuclear weapons (52%). Here again opposition was low, ranging between 11 and 22 percent. Forty percent also believe that the Security Council has the “responsibility” to authorize force in the case of severe human rights violations, while just 16 percent say it does not (44 percent decline to answer). Ukrainians are divided about whether their country should be more willing to work within the United Nations, even if this means accepting adverse decisions: 30 percent agree that it should, 32 percent say that it should not, and 38 percent decline to answer.