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Chapter 1: World Opinion on General Principles of World Order
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WORLD OPINION ON GLOBAL ISSUES

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International Law

Most people around the world support an international order based on international law and treaties. Majorities in most countries believe that international laws create normative obligations like domestic law, and believe that nations should feel obliged to abide by international law even when doing so is at odds with their national interest. However, people tend to underestimate how much their fellow citizens feel such an obligation. Europeans and Americans express readiness to contribute military force to uphold international law. Limited international data reveal strong support for participation in a variety of international treaties.

Most people around the world believe that their nation is obliged to abide by international law. A 2009 WorldPublicOpinion.org (WPO) poll across twenty countries introduced the subject of international law, saying: “As you may know there are a number of international laws based on agreements between most nations, including our own. These govern a wide set of issues ranging from fishing rights to the use of military force.” They were then asked to choose between two positions on international law. Publics in sixteen nations chose the one that said: “Our nation should consistently follow international laws. It is wrong to violate international laws, just as it is wrong to violate laws within a country.” Publics in only two nations chose the position, “If our government thinks it is not in our nation’s interest, it should not feel obliged to abide by international laws,” while one was divided. On average, 57 percent believed that their nation should be bound by international laws, as opposed to 36 percent who believe that their country should not necessarily have to follow such laws.¹

The countries with the largest majorities in favor of adhering to international law were in China (74 percent), Germany (70 percent), and the United States (69 percent). The only two countries to take the contrary position were Pakistan (56 percent) and Mexico (53 percent). Turkey was divided.

People tend to underestimate how much their fellow citizens feel obliged to abide by international law. The same poll asked a follow-on question in seventeen publics on whether, as compared to the average citizen of their country, the individual polled considered him or herself “more supportive or less supportive of consistently abiding by international laws.” In each case, if the public as a whole perceived itself correctly, there would be a balance between those saying more and those saying less. But this did not prove to be the case. On average, by a nearly two-to-one ratio (48 percent to 28 percent) those saying that they were more supportive outweighed those saying that they were less supportive. This indicates a skew in the public’s perception, whereby individuals underestimate societal support for abiding by international law.

This skew obtained to varying extents in fifteen of the seventeen publics surveyed. The two exceptions were Iraq and the Palestinian Territories, where more respondents thought that they were less supportive than the public average. Interestingly, one of the countries with the greatest skew in respondents saying that they were more supportive than average was Mexico (71 percent more supportive, 14 percent less), which was also one of the only two countries where a majority did not feel obliged to abide by international law.²

Forcibly Upholding International Law

Majorities in Europe and the United States have expressed a general readiness to use military force to uphold international law. A 2002 Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA)/German Marshall Fund (GMF) survey asked publics in six European countries and the United States whether they would approve the use of their country’s military troops “to uphold international law.” Large majorities in all six European countries and the United States approved of using force for this purpose. Among Europeans, an average of 80 percent favored sending troops to uphold international law, and 16 percent were opposed. The Dutch (at 86 percent) were the most supportive,

followed by the British, French, and Polish. Only the Germans, at 68 percent, offered below 80-percent support. Seventy-six percent of Americans also approved of using force for the same purpose.³

The results of this poll are striking because the question did not seek to elicit support for intervention based on any other value, such as defending a victim from an aggressor country or advancing some humanitarian goal. Respondents saw upholding international law alone as sufficient cause for putting their country's troops at risk.

International Treaties

While the polling is limited to a relatively small number of countries, the data reveal strong world public support for participation in a variety of international treaties.

One such treaty is the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In 2006, CCGA asked publics in the United States, China, India, and South Korea whether they favored their country participating in the treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide. Large majorities were supportive in every case, including 86 percent of Americans, 86 percent of South Koreans, 73 percent of Chinese, and 57 percent Indians.⁴

CCGA also asked the same countries if respondents believed their country should participate in an agreement under the Biological Weapons Convention that would allow for international inspections. Eighty-nine percent of Americans, 86 percent of South Koreans, 65 percent of Chinese, and 50 percent of Indians said their country should participate in such an agreement.⁵

The same poll surveyed people in the United States and South Korea on their feelings on becoming parties to the International Criminal Court. Eighty-seven percent of South Koreans and 71 percent of Americans said their country should take part.⁶

Americans and South Koreans were also asked if their country should participate in the Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming. Eighty-eight percent of South Koreans and 70 percent of Americans favored participation.⁷

Multilateralism and the International Order

International polling reveals a strong consensus that world order should be based on a multilateral system led by the United Nations or a group of regional powers, rather than a system based on hegemony or bipolarity. Large majorities in countries around the world reject a hegemonic role for the United States, but do want the United States to participate in multilateral efforts to address international issues.

People around the world strongly prefer a system of world order based on a multilateral approach over one based on hegemony or bipolarity. The Bertelsmann Foundation asked nine countries worldwide in 2005 to identify the best framework for ensuring peace and stability and offered four options. In each country, only a small minority chose "a system led by a single world power" (average 7 percent) or "a system led by two world powers" (average 5 percent). In five countries, the most popular model was "a system led by the United Nations" (Germany 68 percent, China 51 percent, Great Britain 47 percent, France 46 percent, and Japan 33 percent), with an overall average of 42 percent choosing this system. The second most popular was "a system led by a balance of regional powers," which was endorsed on average by 36 percent and was the most popular system in three countries (the United States 52 percent, Brazil 45 percent, India 37 percent, and Russia 33 percent).⁸

Large majorities in all countries reject a hegemonic role for the United States. In 2006, WPO and CCGA asked respondents in fifteen countries to choose the ideal role for the United States in world affairs. Presented three options, the least popular was, "As the sole remaining superpower, the United States should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems." On average, just 11 percent chose this option. Only in India did more than a quarter favor this idea (34 percent).

The position that “the United States should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems” also received low levels of support. On average, just 24 percent favored it, though in two nations it was a majority position: Argentina and the Palestinian Territories (both 55 percent).

By far the preferred option was a multilateral approach that said “the United States should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries.” On average, 56 percent endorsed this position, which was the preferred position in thirteen of the fifteen nations, including the United States itself.⁹

The same poll asked nine countries whether the “United States has the responsibility to play the role of ‘world policeman,’ that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur.” Majorities in eight of the nine countries said the United States does not have this responsibility, while a majority in one country (India, 53 percent) said it does. In the average of all nine countries, 65 percent of respondents said the United States does not have the responsibility to fight violations of international law, while 28 percent said it does.¹⁰

A 2003 GMF poll of seven European countries and the United States, at a time of great international controversy over the Iraq war, also found concern about the potential for U.S. unilateralism. Majorities or pluralities in all eight countries saw the United States going it alone as an “important threat.” Among European countries on average, 47 percent of respondents said it was an important threat, 31 percent said it was an extremely important threat, and 17 percent said it was not an important threat.¹¹

Strengthening the United Nations

Large majorities around the world have endorsed having a stronger United Nations. Large majorities also support giving the UN a variety of expanded powers, including having a standing peacekeeping force, the power to investigate human rights violations, and the power to regulate the international arms trade. National publics are more divided when it comes to giving the United Nations the capacity to impose a tax. Support for working through the United Nations is somewhat tempered, especially among smaller countries, when poll questions highlight the prospect of subordinating national policies to collective decision-making processes.

A number of international polls have found robust support for a stronger United Nations. A 2004 British Broadcasting Company (BBC)/GlobeScan/Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) poll asked people in twenty-three countries about the possibility of “the United Nations becoming significantly more powerful in world affairs.” Majorities or pluralities in all twenty-three countries replied that this development would be mainly positive. In the global average, 64 percent said the United Nations becoming more powerful would be mainly positive, and 19 percent said it would be mainly negative.¹² Publics were especially enthusiastic in Germany (87 percent), Spain (78 percent), Indonesia (77 percent), and the Philippines (77 percent). Six in ten Americans (59 percent) favored it, while 37 percent were opposed. The only two countries with a mere plurality in favor of a stronger United Nations were Turkey (40 percent to 24 percent) and Argentina (44 percent to 22 percent).

WPO asked this same question in January 2007 to Iranians and Americans. Seventy percent of Iranians and 66 percent of Americans expressed support for a stronger UN.¹³

Strengthening the UN is also rated as important. A 2006–2007 WPO/CCGA poll of eight countries asked respondents to rate the importance of a number of foreign policy goals. At least 79 percent in every country considered the goal of “strengthening the United Nations” important, with majorities in Australia (64 percent), Mexico (56 percent), and China (51 percent) considering it very important. Across the eight countries, only small numbers of respondents said strengthening the United Nations was “not important,” ranging from 4 percent in Thailand to 19 percent in the United States.¹⁴

Support for a stronger United Nations was bit lower—though remained a majority view—when respondents were presented the argument that strengthening the United Nations “would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies,” as well as with the argument that “because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen

international institutions to deal with shared problems.” After hearing these arguments in a 2003 GMF poll, 70 percent of Americans and 74 percent of Europeans across seven countries said the United Nations “needs to be strengthened.” European support ranged from 61 percent in Poland to 81 percent in Portugal.¹⁵

Giving the United Nations Expanded Powers

Polling reveals strong support for giving the United Nations new powers. Between 2006 and 2008, WPO and CCGA polled twenty-two countries on four proposals for new powers for the United Nations. Three out of four received strong support and one received modest support.

On having a **standing UN peacekeeping force**, twenty-one countries favored the proposal, and one country was divided on it. Twenty countries had a majority of favorable views, and one had a plurality. In the average across all countries, 66 percent were in favor and 23 percent were opposed. Kenya (85 percent) had the highest level of support, closely followed by Nigeria (84 percent) and Great Britain (79 percent), and with the United States registering 72-percent support. Egypt had the highest level of negative views, with 47 percent opposed.¹⁶

On giving the United Nations the authority to **go into countries to investigate violations of human rights**, eighteen countries had majorities supporting the proposal, two had pluralities, and two were divided on the idea. On average, 65 percent were in favor and 22 percent were opposed. France had the highest support, with 92 percent positive views, followed by Great Britain (86 percent) and Nigeria (83 percent). Egypt had the highest number of negative viewpoints (49 percent) along with the Philippines (46 percent) and Israel (31 percent).¹⁷

On giving the United Nations **the power to regulate the international arms trade**, majorities or pluralities in nineteen countries expressed support and three expressed opposition. On average, 58 percent favored UN regulation and 30 percent opposed it. The highest support was found in Kenya (85 percent) and Nigeria (84 percent), followed by France (77 percent), South Korea (75 percent), and Britain (69 percent). Support was also high in Israel (60 percent) and the United States (60 percent). Only three publics tended to reject the idea: Filipinos (58 percent negative, 32 percent positive), Argentines (42 percent negative, 36 percent positive) and Turks (39 percent negative, 34 percent positive).¹⁸

On giving the UN the power to **impose a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil**, fifteen countries were in favor, five were opposed, and two were divided. On average, 48 percent favored the proposal and 36 percent were opposed. Kenya had the highest level of support (74 percent), followed by France (70 percent) and Great Britain (61 percent). Egypt had the highest level of disapproval (61 percent), followed by the Philippines (56 percent), Peru (55 percent), and the United States (50 percent).¹⁹

Subordination to Collective Decision-Making

If the United Nations is going to play a stronger role in the world, nations may at times need to subordinate their preferences for the sake of collective decision-making. When poll questions highlight the prospect of subordinating national preferences, support for collective decision-making remains fairly strong, but becomes significantly lower than for the broad principle of having a stronger United Nations.

WPO asked respondents in twenty-three countries between 2006 and 2008 whether they agreed with the statement, “When dealing with international problems, [survey country] should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that [survey country] will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.” Majorities or pluralities in fifteen of the twenty-three nations agreed they should work through the United Nations more. These were led by China (78 percent), France (68 percent), Kenya (66 percent), the United States and Nigeria (both 60 percent), and Britain (58 percent). Interestingly, a majority of Israelis also agreed (54 percent). A majority or plurality disagreed in six states or territories, led by the Palestinian Territories (81 percent) and including Indonesia (50 percent), the Philippines (46 percent), and Russia (44 percent). South

Korea and Ukraine were divided. In the global average, 46 percent favored making more decisions within the UN and 38 percent were opposed.²⁰

Notably, four out of five countries most supportive of greater collective decision-making are also permanent members of the UN Security Council with the power to veto actions. The exception was Russia. Those most resistant tended to be smaller countries.

Multilateralism and the Use of Military Force

In international polling, large majorities around the world favor the United Nations having the right to authorize the use of military force for a wide range of contingencies. The approval of the UN Security Council plays a powerful—and in many cases a necessary—role in conferring legitimacy on the use of military force. Among Europeans and Americans, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) does provide some legitimacy, but by much smaller margins than does the United Nations.

The UN Security Council’s Right to Authorize Military Force

The UN Charter’s Chapter 7 grants the UN Security Council the right to authorize military force in response to what it believes is a threat to international security. Consistent with this provision, publics around the world generally believe that the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize military force in response to a wide range of contingencies. Between 2006 and 2008, WPO and CCGA polled eighteen nations on whether the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize military force for a variety of purposes. Support was quite robust in nearly all cases.

The largest majorities said that the UN Security Council “should” have the right to authorize military force “**to defend a country that has been attacked.**” Overall, 76 percent of all respondents felt the UNSC should have this right, and only 16 percent felt it should not. Majorities ranged from 66 percent in India to 89 percent in Nigeria. Opposition nowhere exceeded 23 percent.²¹

Majorities in all nations polled favored giving the UN Security Council 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 agreed that the UN Security Council should have this right, while only 16 percent disagreed. The largest majorities were in Kenya (90 percent), Nigeria (88 percent), and France (85 percent). In no country was support below 62 percent.²²

Majorities in all nations favored the UN having the right “**to stop a country from supporting terrorist groups.**” On average, 73 percent said the UN Security Council should have the right to intervene, and just 19 percent said it should not. Support 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).²³

Two options that did elicit some variance involved the UN Security Council authorizing force to prevent nuclear proliferation, a topic clearly relevant to ongoing concerns about Iran’s and North Korea’s nuclear programs. Asked whether the UN Security Council should have the right to authorize military force “**to prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them,**” majorities or pluralities in fourteen nations agreed that it should. Support was highest in Kenya (84 percent) and Nigeria (81 percent). Interestingly, Egyptians were among the strongest supporters, with 74 percent agreeing. Support was also strong in Russia (55 percent) and a plurality was in favor in China (47 percent to 40 percent), while the French were divided (50 percent to 48 percent). Americans were robustly in favor (62 percent). However, a majority of respondents in the Palestinian territories disagreed (59 percent), as in South Korea (55 percent). In the average of all nations polled, 59 percent favored the UN Security Council having such a right, while 31 percent were opposed. Majority support was solid in all Muslim nations except the Palestinian Territories.²⁴

Raising the bar even higher, respondents were asked about using force **“to stop a country that does not have nuclear weapons from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons.”** Globally, support was only a bit lower—56 percent on average, 32 percent opposed. Responses followed the same pattern as described above, though support was a bit more subdued. Permanent members of the UN Security Council were largely supportive (United States 57 percent, Russia 53 percent, China 47 percent to 34 percent, France divided 50 percent to 48 percent). The Palestinian Territories and South Korea were the only dissenters (by 57 percent and 56 percent, respectively). Egyptian support, though, dropped to a divided position.²⁵

The lowest level of support was for the United Nations having the right to authorize military action **“to restore by force a democratic government that has been overthrown.”** On average, 53 percent thought the UN Security Council should have this right; 35 percent did not. Out of sixteen nations polled, majorities in ten and pluralities in three publics believed the UN Security Council 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 in Kenya and Nigeria (both 76 percent), the Palestinian Territories (67 percent), and Egypt (64 percent). Interestingly, no public in any Islamic country 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).²⁶

United Nations Approval as Legitimizing Military Force

A variety of polls have found that UN Security Council approval provides powerful legitimacy for the use of military force. A 2005 GMF poll asked in Europe and the United States if respondents agreed that “the use of military force is more legitimate when the United Nations approves it.” Majorities in the United States and all ten European countries agreed. In the average of ten European countries, 64 percent agreed and 30 percent disagreed. Interestingly, an even larger percentage of Americans (69 percent) also agreed. In Europe, agreement was especially strong in Portugal (78 percent), the United Kingdom (76 percent), and France (74 percent). Turkey was the only country to not have a robust majority agreeing (49 percent agreed, 37 percent disagreed).²⁷ A 2006 WPO poll asked the same question in Iran and the United States. Roughly seven in ten Iranians (69 percent) and Americans (72 percent) agreed.²⁸

In 2003, the GMF’s transatlantic poll conducted an experiment in the United States and seven European countries to test the importance of multilateralism in decisions to use military force. In each of the eight countries polled, the sample was divided into small subgroups. All were asked a hypothetical question about contributing troops to attacking Iran or North Korea to get these countries to give up their weapons of mass destruction. The scenarios varied according to the actor authorizing and leading the response, ranging from unilateral action by the United States to a coalition of the United States and its allies, a NATO intervention, and a UN Security Council-authorized intervention. International support was the lowest when the United States was acting alone (31 percent against North Korea, 38 percent against Iran). Support rose by 4 – 6 points when the actor was “the United States and its allies,” by 10 points when it was NATO, and by 12 points when it was the UN Security Council.²⁹

Whether United Nations Approval is Necessary

A variety of polls reveal that not only does the United Nations provide greater legitimacy for military action, but in many instances UN approval is regarded as essential. A strikingly large number even say that UN approval is necessary to use military force to deal with international threats in general—something that goes well beyond the strictures of Article 51 of the UN Charter, which does allow for unilateral or collective self-defense without Security Council approval.

In 2004, Pew asked nine countries from around the world whether their country “should have UN approval before it uses military force to deal with an international threat,” or whether “that would make it too difficult for our country to deal with international threats.” Views were mixed. Majorities endorsed the view that UN approval was necessary in Germany (80 percent), Britain (64 percent), and France (63 percent), and pluralities did so in Jordan (47 percent to 38 percent) and Pakistan (38 percent to 34 percent). Pluralities said UN approval was unnecessary

in both the United States (48 percent to 41 percent) and Russia (41 percent to 37 percent). Views were divided in Morocco and Turkey.³⁰

In 2004 the GMF asked a series of questions in Europe and the United States that explored this issue in some depth. The poll asked, “If a situation like Iraq arose in the future, do you think it is essential to secure the approval of the UN before using military force, or don’t you think it is essential?” Large majorities in all ten European nations (on average 78 percent) said that it was essential. Fifty-eight percent of Americans agreed.³¹

The pollsters then developed a small experiment. First they asked, “If there was UN approval, would you be willing to use the [country’s] armed forces to intervene in a foreign country in order to eliminate the threat of a terrorist attack?” Majorities in nine of the ten European countries said that they would (Turkey was the exception). On average, 65 percent said they would, as did 78 percent of Americans.³² They also asked, “If there was UN approval, would you be willing to use the [country’s] armed forces to establish peace in a civil war in an African country?” Majorities in six of the ten European countries said they would favor it. On average, 55 percent said they would, as did 66 percent of Americans.³³

The pollsters then asked those who said they would favor use of troops under either of these circumstances if they would still support the use of their country’s armed forces if the UN did not approve it. Support dropped precipitously among this subsample, with majorities in all ten European countries now disapproving of the use of force. In the United States, the subsample became divided on this question, but here too only a small number of the whole sample were ready to act without UN approval.³⁴

NATO Approval as Legitimizing Military Force

Polls of Europeans and Americans indicate that NATO approval also provides some legitimacy for the use of military force, but the percentages holding this view are substantially smaller than for UN approval.

In 2005, GMF asked publics in ten European countries and the United States if NATO approval makes military action legitimate. Americans leaned to the view that it does (53 percent to 39 percent). On average, 51 percent of the Europeans said that it did, while 41 percent said it did not. Countries varied widely, with majorities saying that it did in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Holland, Portugal, and Serbia; a majority of Italians disagreed. The Spanish were divided.³⁵

When asked about contributing troops to a NATO-approved operation, publics expressed fairly strong support, a bit lower than for UN-approved operations. The 2004 GMF poll found substantial readiness to contribute to a NATO-approved military action to prevent a terrorist attack (Europeans 61 percent, Americans 79 percent), or to establish peace in a civil war in Africa (Europeans 50 percent, Americans 60 percent). Support was generally about five points lower than when UN approval was specified.³⁶

Intervention in Internal Affairs

Robust majorities approve of the United Nations intervening in the internal affairs of states to investigate human rights abuses and to promote human rights in member states. Perhaps most dramatic, equally large majorities approve of the United Nations using military force to forcibly deliver urgent humanitarian aid if the government tries to block the aid, and to protect people from severe human rights abuses even against the will of the government.

While governments regularly invoke the principle of national sovereignty and resist UN intervention in their internal affairs, publics appear ready to give the United Nations such powers. This is a strong indication that people around the world believe that international norms should be applied in a global—not just national—context.

As discussed above, large majorities in nearly all nations polled approve of giving the United Nations the authority to go into countries to investigate violations of human rights. In a 2006–2008 WPO/CCGA poll, twenty out of

twenty-two publics polled supported the idea, while two were divided on it. In the average of all twenty-two countries, 65 percent were in favor and 22 percent were opposed.³⁷

More generally, there is strong support for the United Nations taking an active role in promoting human rights in member states. Most people (on average 70 percent) in twenty-one countries polled by WPO in 2008 said that the United Nations should “actively promote human rights in member states,” rejecting the argument that “this is improper interference in a country’s internal affairs and human rights should be left to each country.”³⁸ Sixty-five percent on average favored the United Nations doing more than it does to “promote human rights principles.”³⁹ Likewise, sixty-seven percent said “the UN should make efforts to further the rights of women,” rejecting the argument that “this is improper interference in a country’s internal affairs.”⁴⁰

Forcible Humanitarian Intervention

Perhaps most dramatic, robust majorities approve of the United Nations using military force against the will of governments when their populations are at risk.

A 2008 WPO poll posed the question of whether the United Nations should forcibly deliver urgent humanitarian aid if a government refused to allow entry. The question was posed in terms of the recent events in Myanmar, as follows:

“In May 2008, Burma, [also known as Myanmar] had a major cyclone that left over a million people without food and water. Though the Burmese government was not effectively delivering aid, it refused to let in relief organizations. As a general rule, in such circumstances, should the UN bring in shipments of 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 a country’s sovereignty?”

Publics in nineteen out of twenty-one nations and territories polled said that, as a general rule, the United Nations should bring in shipments of aid even against the will of the government, escorted by military protection if necessary. Support was especially high in Argentina (86 percent), Kenya (81 percent), Germany (74 percent), and France (70 percent). Two countries were divided: Russia and Egypt. And in two countries support was just a plurality: Jordan (46 percent to 37 percent), and Ukraine (42 percent to 29 percent). On average, 60 percent of respondents were in favor, while 28 percent said that this would be too much of a violation of the country’s sovereignty. Interestingly, support for forcible intervention was also quite strong in China (59 percent). Support was even higher in Taiwan (78 percent).⁴¹

In 2009, a WPO poll of seven majority-Muslim nations and territories also found strong support for intervening in Sudan for humanitarian purposes against the will of the Sudanese government. Respondents were told that in response to charges made by the International Criminal Court, Sudanese President Omar al-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 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?” 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 publics, 59 percent approved.⁴²

Large majorities in most countries polled endorse the principle that the United Nations not only has the right but the responsibility to authorize military intervention “to protect people from severe human rights violations such as genocide, even against the will of their own government.” In a 2006–2008 WPO poll of twenty nations, an average of 61 percent said that the UN has such a responsibility.⁴³

UN Monitoring of Elections

Publics in most nations say that when there are concerns about the fairness of elections, countries should be willing to have UN observers monitor the elections. Most countries polled, including developed democracies, say that their own country would benefit from such monitoring.

There is strong support for the idea of the United Nations monitoring elections. In 2009, WPO asked respondents in eighteen countries, “Do you think that when there are concerns about the fairness of elections, countries should or should not be willing to have international observers from the United Nations monitor their elections?” Publics in fifteen nations said countries should be willing to have international observers from the UN monitor elections in these cases, while a majority in only one nation said countries should not be willing to have international observers come in to monitor (two nations were divided). On average, 63 percent of respondents across all seventeen countries said countries should be willing to have UN international observers monitor their elections when there are concerns, as opposed to 31 percent who opposed this step.⁴⁴

Publics in Azerbaijan (83 percent), Kenya (82 percent), and Great Britain (81 percent) were the most supportive of international observers monitoring when there are election concerns. Indonesia was the one country with a majority (74 percent) unresponsive. Views were divided in Turkey and India.

Interestingly, respondents expressed surprisingly high levels of support for having such monitoring in their own countries. Asked whether they thought their own country would “benefit from having international observers monitor elections,” publics in eleven of the eighteen nations said that their country would benefit. A majority in five nations said that their country would not benefit, and two nations were divided. On average, 55 percent of respondents said that their countries would benefit from having international observers monitor their elections, as opposed to 36 percent who said that their countries would not.

Majorities in Kenya (85 percent), Nigeria (74 percent), and Azerbaijan (71 percent) were the most supportive of having international observers monitor their own country’s elections. The four nations with majorities unresponsive were Indonesia (62 percent), India (51 percent), Great Britain (51 percent), and the United States (51 percent). Interestingly, substantial numbers in advanced democracies were supportive of such monitoring, including in the United States (46 percent), France (45 percent), Germany (49 percent), and Britain (46 percent). Large majorities also liked the idea in Iraq (67 percent), Egypt (63 percent), Macau (66 percent), Chile (59 percent), and Taiwan (59 percent).⁴⁵

When the United Nations Should Take the Lead

Asked whether the United Nations, national governments, or regional organizations should take the lead in dealing with various issues, responses vary according to the issue. The most common view is that the United Nations should take the leading role in addressing aid for economic development, dealing with refugees, and international peacekeeping. The most common view is that national governments should take the leading role on protection of the environment. Views are more mixed on human rights, but most say either the United Nations or a regional organization should take the lead.

From 2005 to 2008, the World Values Survey asked a series of questions in forty-six countries on which entity would be best to make decisions on a variety of international issues. The options presented were: national governments, a regional organization, or the United Nations.

On **aid to developing countries**, an average of 48 percent identified the United Nations as best placed to lead, with 22 percent saying national governments, and 19 percent a regional organization. The United Nations was the most common response in forty countries while two nations were divided between the United Nations and a regional organization and another between the United Nations and national governments. In only two countries did respondents identify a regional organization as their predominant choice for leading on development aid, and only one public preferred national governments. Ethiopia (68 percent), Andorra (62 percent), Vietnam (61 percent), and Poland (61 percent) had the largest percent of respondents naming the United Nations, while Slovenia (45

percent), Malaysia (43 percent), and Bulgaria (40 percent) were the top supporters of a regional organization. Public support for national governments taking the lead on aid to developing countries was strongest in Thailand (65 percent), Canada (34 percent), South Korea (32 percent), and Australia (32 percent).⁴⁶

On **refugees**, an average of 43 percent of respondents across the forty-six countries identified the United Nations as the natural lead, with 29 percent identifying national governments, and another 17 percent a regional organization. The United Nations was the top choice of publics in thirty-one countries, while five countries were divided between the United Nations and national governments. Respondents in another nine countries preferred to look first to national governments, with opinion in one country favoring a regional organization. Rwanda (72 percent), Ghana (64 percent), and Zambia (62 percent) had the largest percentage of respondents choosing the United Nations, while Georgia (67 percent), Canada (46 percent), Poland (45 percent), and Thailand (45 percent) most frequently said national governments.⁴⁷

On **international peacekeeping**, an average of 45 percent of poll respondents identified the United Nations as the natural lead, 34 percent said national governments, and 11 percent said a regional organization. The United Nations was the leading choice in twenty-seven countries and national governments in another fourteen. In four countries, opinion was divided on whether the United Nations and national governments offered the more natural lead, and in one country, opinion was divided between the UN and regional organizations. Support for the United Nations carrying out this mission was most common in Indonesia (74 percent), Japan (72 percent), and Sweden (70 percent) while national governments received the largest support from Georgia (79 percent), Thailand (77 percent), and Malaysia (51 percent). While no national public identified a regional organization as its preferred leader, support for this option was strongest in Rwanda (41 percent).⁴⁸

On **protection of the environment**, 47 percent of poll respondents said that national governments should take the lead; 25 percent said regional organization; and 18 percent said the United Nations. In thirty-nine countries, the highest number of respondents preferred to look at national governments first, while in two countries respondents preferred the United Nations, and in another one, regional organizations. Respondents in the remaining four countries were divided. Support for a lead role for national governments was strongest in Indonesia (79 percent), Georgia (72 percent), and Ghana (62 percent). Spain (40 percent), Ethiopia (36 percent), and Mexico (32 percent) showed the highest public support for a lead UN role in this arena, while Malaysia (43 percent), Rwanda (43 percent), and Turkey (41 percent) showed highest support for a regional organization.⁴⁹

The area of **human rights** produced the most mixed responses. On average, 40 percent of respondents across all countries said national governments should have the lead, but a clear majority—on average 50 percent—chose a more multilateral approach, with 38 percent identifying the United Nations and 12 percent a regional organization as the preferred lead. Georgia (79 percent), Ghana (67 percent), and South Africa (60 percent) had the largest percentage of respondents select national governments, whereas the United Nations received its highest levels of support from Iran (75 percent), Sweden (72 percent), and Switzerland (63 percent). At 37 percent, a regional organization was preferred most frequently by respondents in Rwanda, followed by Cyprus (36 percent) and Slovenia (30 percent).⁵⁰

National and International Identity

Large majorities in publics around the world perceive themselves as citizens of the world as well as of their nation, but in all nations national identity is still stronger than global identity.

World Values Survey asked respondents in forty-six countries from 2005 to 2008 if they saw themselves as world citizens. Majorities in forty-three of the countries said they did. On average, 72 percent said they saw themselves as world citizens, compared to 21 percent who did not. The three exceptions—where less than a majority saw themselves as world citizens—were Bulgaria (42 percent), Georgia (44 percent), and Morocco (40 percent). The countries with the largest numbers saying they felt *strongly* that they were world citizens were Rwanda (98 percent), Colombia (94 percent), and Mali (91 percent).⁵¹

However, when publics are asked which identity is stronger, the pull of national identity proves more powerful. A September 2008 WPO poll surveyed twenty-one nations on whether respondents consider themselves more of a citizen of their country, more a citizen of the world, or both equally. Majorities in seventeen nations considered themselves mostly a citizen of their own country. On average, 66 percent said they see themselves as mostly a citizen of their country, 10 percent said mostly a citizen of the world, and 20 percent said both equally. The most nationally identified were in Azerbaijan (89 percent), Kenya (88 percent), South Korea (83 percent), Ukraine (81 percent), Turkey (80 percent), and Jordan (80 percent).

There were, however, four exceptions. China had the lowest number who identified themselves nationally (35 percent), while half either said they were a citizen of the world (6 percent) or both equally (44 percent). France had a slight majority (51 percent) saying they were either a citizen of the world (14 percent) or both equally (37 percent). India had more saying they were citizens of the world (14 percent) or both equally (32 percent) than said they were primarily national citizens (40 percent), and Italy had nearly as many respondents (48 percent) identifying themselves as “world citizens” (21 percent) or both equally (27 percent). Fewer than half of respondents in Thailand described themselves foremost as “national citizens” (48 percent). Overall, the Taiwanese had the highest number (62 percent) saying they were citizens of the world (8 percent) or both equally (54 percent).⁵²

International Cooperation

Large majorities of Europeans and Americans alike believe that they have enough common values for transatlantic cooperation on international problems and that it is critical for their own nation to act together with its closest allies on national security issues. Europeans strongly favor cooperation over competition between the European Union and the United States. Internationally, more publics think their government should be more cooperative than it is than think that their government tends to be too ready to compromise.

The GMF in 2008 presented respondents in twelve European countries and the United States with two competing statements on cooperation between the United States and Europe. Eleven European countries and the United States agreed that there were enough common values for cooperation on international problems, while one country said the United States and European Union have such different values that cooperation was impossible. In the average of twelve European countries, 55 percent said cooperation was possible and 35 percent said it was not possible.⁵³

A 2007 GMF survey asked twelve European countries and the United States if they agreed with the following statement: “When our country acts on a national security issue, it is critical we do so together with our closest allies.” All twelve European countries and the United States agreed with the statement. In the European average, 80 percent were in agreement and 15 percent were in disagreement.⁵⁴

In 2005, GMF asked ten European countries if a more powerful European Union should compete or cooperate with the United States. Nine countries said the European Union should cooperate and not compete with the United States, while Turkey was divided. In the European average, 74 percent thought the European Union should cooperate and 17 percent thought it should compete.⁵⁵

Internationally, publics tend to think that their governments should be more cooperative than they are. A poll across twenty-one countries (WPO 2009) asked respondents whether their government “should be more ready to act cooperatively to achieve mutual gains when their country negotiates with other countries” or their government “tends to be too willing to compromise and is often taken advantage of.” Publics in fourteen nations said that their government should be more ready to act cooperatively, while publics in six nations said that their government tends to be too willing to compromise (one nation was divided). On average, 55 percent of respondents said their country’s government should be more ready to act cooperatively, as opposed to 39 percent who said their government tends to be too willing to compromise already.

Majorities in Turkey (81 percent), Egypt (76 percent), and Nigeria (73 percent) were the most supportive of their government acting cooperatively when negotiating with other countries. Fifty-four percent of Americans also thought their government should be more cooperative. Majorities in South Korea (71 percent), Great Britain (65 percent), and Mexico (63 percent) were the most adamant that their government tends to be too willing to compromise.⁵⁶

¹ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009

As you may know there are a number of international laws based on agreements between most nations, including our own. These govern a wide set of issues ranging from fishing rights to the use of military force. Which of these two views is closer to yours?

	A. Our nation should consistently follow international laws. It is wrong to violate international laws, just as it is wrong to violate laws within a country.	B. If our government thinks it is not in our nation's interest, it should not feel obliged to abide by international laws.	DK/NR
Chile	58	27	15
Mexico	44	53	3
United States	69	29	2
France	61	35	4
Germany	70	26	4
Great Britain	54	43	3
Poland	62	29	10
Russia	54	34	13
Ukraine	67	19	14
Azerbaijan	60	31	10
Egypt	63	37	0
Iraq	46	31	24
Pakistan	38	56	6
Palestinian Territories	50	46	4
Turkey	46	46	8
Kenya	65	34	1
Nigeria	65	34	2
China	74	18	8
Hong Kong*	47	38	15
Macao	51	37	12
India	49	42	9
Indonesia	53	34	13
South Korea	56	44	1
Taiwan*	68	24	8
Average	57	36	7

*Not included in the Global average

² WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009

As compared to the average [Country citizen] would you say you are more supportive or less supportive of consistently abiding by international laws?

	More supportive	Less supportive	About the same (vol.)	Depends (vol.)	DK/NR
Chile	45	21	11	5	18
Mexico	71	14	5	5	5
United States	66	30	-	-	4
France	64	21	4	5	6

Great Britain	57	29	5	1	8
Poland	55	17	17	3	7
Russia	28	15	29	11	18
Ukraine	47	12	16	8	17
Egypt	49	38	7	6	
Iraq	21	41	19	9	11
Palestinian Territories	18	62	11	7	1
Turkey	43	27	14	6	11
Kenya	62	26	8	3	1
Nigeria	57	38	1	4	
Hong Kong*	70	5	10	7	8
Macao*	73	5	1	2	18
India	35	27	14	14	10
Indonesia	54	29	6	5	6
Taiwan*	83	8	0	4	5
	49	28	11	6	8

*Not included in Global Average

³ Chicago Council on Global Affairs/German Marshall Fund Worldviews 2002

For each of the following reasons, would you approve or disapprove the use of (own country) military troops?

To uphold international law

	Approve	Disapprove	DK/Other
Great Britain	84	12	4
France	84	13	3
Germany	68	26	7
The Netherlands	86	12	2
Italy	83	14	2
Poland	84	11	6
European Average	80	16	4
United States	76	21	3

⁴ Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

Based on what you know, do you think [survey country] should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

The treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

	Should participate	Should not participate	Not sure/Decline
United States	86	10	4
China	73	17	10
India	57	31	12
South Korea	86	13	2

⁵ Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

Based on what you know, do you think [survey country] should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

An agreement under the treaty banning biological weapons that would allow international inspectors to examine biological research laboratories to ensure that countries are not producing biological weapons

	Should participate	Should not participate	Not sure/Decline
United States	89	8	3
China	65	19	16
India	50	32	19
South Korea	86	12	2

6 Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

Based on what you know, do you think [survey country] should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

The agreement on the International Criminal Court that can try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them

	Should participate	Should not participate	Not sure/Decline
United States	71	25	5
South Korea	87	11	2

7 Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

Based on what you know, do you think [survey country] should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

The Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming

	Should participate	Should not participate	Not sure/Decline
United States	70	23	7
South Korea	88	11	2

8 Bertelsmann Foundation of Germany 2005

What is the best framework for ensuring peace and stability?

	A System Led by the United Nations	A System Led by a Balance of Regional Powers	A System Led by a Single World Power	A System Led by Two World Powers	DK/NR
Brazil	36	45	9	6	4
China	51	36	6	3	4
France	46	34	5	4	11
Germany	68	21	4	3	4
Great Britain	47	40	3	2	8

India	33	37	16	12	2
Japan	33	29	1	1	36
Russia	28	33	15	10	14
United States	33	52	6	4	5
Average	42	36	7	5	10

⁹ WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2007

Which statement comes closest to your position?

	As the sole remaining superpower, the United States should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems.	The United States should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries.	The United States should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems.	Not sure/Decline
United States	10	75	12	3
Argentina	1	34	55	10
Armenia	7	58	27	8
China	9	68	14	9
France	3	75	21	1
India	34	42	10	13
Israel	24	62	10	5
Mexico	12	59	22	8
Palestine	5	36	55	4
Peru	10	61	22	7
Philippines	20	55	16	9
Russia	8	42	38	12
South Korea	14	79	6	0
Thailand	8	47	18	27
Ukraine	3	52	34	11
Average	11	56	24	8

¹⁰ WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2007

Do you think that the United States has the responsibility to play the role of 'world policeman,' that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur?

	Yes	No	Not sure/Decline
United States	22	75	3
Armenia	21	70	9
Australia	27	70	3
China	30	61	9

India	53	35	13
Indonesia	20	69	11
Palestine	20	76	4
South Korea	39	60	1
Ukraine	17	69	14
Average	28	65	8

¹¹ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2003

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

U.S. unilateralism (If needed: The tendency of the United States to “go it alone”)

	Extremely important threat	Important threat	Not important threat	DK/NR
Great Britain	25	43	26	6
France	34	54	11	1
Germany	40	48	11	1
The Netherlands	24	53	19	4
Italy	29	46	21	4
Poland	24	43	18	15
Portugal	28	44	17	11
European Average	31	47	17	5
United States	21	46	24	9

¹² BBC December 2004

For each of the following possible future trends, please tell me if you would see it as mainly positive or mainly negative...The United Nations becomes significantly more powerful in world affairs.

	Mainly positive	Mainly negative	Depends (vol)	DK/NA (vol)
Argentina	44	22	4	30
Australia	74	17	4	5
Brazil	61	22	6	12
Canada	72	22	1	5
China	54	17	5	23
Chile	69	18	5	8
France	54	37	1	8
Germany	87	7	3	3
Great Britain	75	20	1	4
India	55	23	9	13
Indonesia	77	9	8	6
Italy	58	33	3	7
Japan	65	3	0	32

Lebanon	58	18	10	13
Mexico	71	5	12	12
Russia	57	11	10	22
Philippines	77	18	3	3
Poland	61	11	3	25
South Africa	64	26	2	8
South Korea	56	38	4	3
Spain	78	10	2	10
Turkey	40	24	17	19
United States	59	37	1	3
Average	64	19	5	12

¹³ **WorldPublicOpinion.org January 2007**

For each of the following possible future trends, please tell me if you would see it as mainly positive or mainly negative...

The United Nations becomes significantly more powerful in world affairs

	Mainly positive	Mainly negative	Refused/DK
Iran	70	14	16
United States	66	32	3

¹⁴ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2007**

Strengthening the United Nations

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important	Not sure/Decline	Total
United States	40	39	19	2	100
Armenia	41	39	12	8	100
Australia	64	27	9	1	101
China	51	35	8	6	100
India	49	35	10	7	101
Mexico	56	26	14	4	100
South Korea	32	58	9	1	100
Thailand	45	34	4	17	100

¹⁵ **German Marshall Fund TransatlanticTrends-Jun2003**

Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies.

For the United Nations, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

	Yes, needs to be strengthened	No, does not need to be strengthened	DK/Refusal
Great Britain	78	18	4

France	71	25	4
Germany	80	18	2
The Netherlands	69	26	5
Italy	72	22	6
Poland	61	23	16
Portugal	81	14	5
European Average	74	21	5
United States	70	26	4

¹⁶ WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 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	Not sure/ Decline
Argentina	48	30	22
Peru	77	19	4
United States	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

¹⁷ WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 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.

Giving the UN the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline
Argentina	46	29	24

Peru	75	23	3
United States	75	22	3
Armenia	67	16	18
France	92	8	1
Great Britain	86	11	3
Poland	58	14	28
Russia	64	17	19
Ukraine	66	13	21
Azerbaijan	77	11	12
Egypt	51	49	0
Iran	54	22	25
Israel	64	31	5
Turkey	47	25	28
Kenya	81	17	2
Nigeria	83	15	3
China	57	28	16
India	54	29	17
Indonesia	71	14	15
Philippines	46	46	9
South Korea	74	25	2
Thailand	52	26	22
Average	65	22	13

¹⁸ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 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.

Giving the UN the power to regulate the international arms trade

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline
Argentina	36	42	22
Peru	52	43	5
United States	60	34	6
Armenia	58	27	15
France	77	22	1
Great Britain	69	26	5
Poland	44	28	28
Russia	55	28	17
Ukraine	57	22	21
Azerbaijan	63	27	10
Egypt	53	47	0
Iran	59	16	26
Israel	60	34	6
Turkey	34	39	27
Kenya	85	13	2
Nigeria	84	15	2
China	59	28	13
India	57	31	12
Indonesia	64	22	15
Philippines	32	58	10
South Korea	75	23	2

Thailand	44	37	19
Average	58	30	12

¹⁹ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 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.

Giving the UN the power to fund its activities by imposing a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline
Argentina	32	42	27
Peru	38	55	7
United States	45	50	5
Armenia	46	28	26
France	70	30	1
Great Britain	61	33	6
Poland	40	27	33
Russia	39	36	25
Ukraine	44	20	36
Azerbaijan	47	30	24
Egypt	39	61	0
Iran	39	31	30
Israel	52	39	9
Turkey	33	36	31
Kenya	74	23	3
Nigeria	65	31	5
China	55	27	17
India	47	37	17
Indonesia	50	33	17
Philippines	33	56	11
South Korea	53	44	3
Thailand	48	29	23
Average	48	36	16

²⁰ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Please select whether you agree or disagree with the following statement. When dealing with international problems, [survey country] should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that [survey country] will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.

	Agree	Disagree	Not sure/ Decline
Argentina	41	32	27
Mexico	46	27	27
Peru	50	42	8
United States	60	37	4
Armenia	36	45	19
France	68	29	3
Great Britain	58	32	10
Poland	35	31	34

Russia	33	44	23
Ukraine	30	32	38
Azerbaijan	36	44	20
Egypt	57	43	0
Indonesia	33	50	17
Israel	54	38	8
Palestinian Territories	15	81	4
Turkey	39	29	32
Kenya	66	31	4
Nigeria	60	37	3
China	78	12	10
India	44	35	21
Philippines	26	46	28
South Korea	48	49	3
Thailand	48	25	27
Average	46	38	16

²¹ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

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

	Should	Should not	Not sure/ Decline
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

²² **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

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

	Should	Should not	Not sure/ Decline
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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

²³ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

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

	Should	Should not	Not sure/ Decline
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

²⁴ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force for each of the following purposes: preventing a country that does not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them.

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

²⁵ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

Do you think that the UN Security Council should or should not have the right to authorize the use of military force for each of the following purposes: To prevent a country that does not have nuclear weapons from producing nuclear fuel that could be used to produce nuclear weapons

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

²⁶ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008**

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

	Should	Should not	Not sure/ Decline
Mexico	54	30	15
United States	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

²⁷ **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005**

And, do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following:
The use of military force is more legitimate when the United Nations (UN) approves it

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	DK/Refusal
European Average	28	36	17	13	6
United States	35	34	34	15	2
France	34	40	40	11	1
Germany	23	37	37	15	2
United Kingdom	41	35	35	7	5
Italy	23	38	38	15	3
Netherlands	31	43	43	8	1
Poland	18	39	39	9	16
Portugal	45	33	8	8	7
Spain	24	43	15	11	7
Slovakia	31	36	13	10	10
Turkey	24	25	18	19	14

²⁸ **WorldPublicOpinion.org December 2006**

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following: The use of military force is more legitimate when the United Nations (UN) approves it.

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	DK/Refusal
Iran	31	38	16	6	9
United States	26	46	16	11	2

²⁹ **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2003**

Imagine North Korea has acquired weapons of mass destruction. The United States government has decided to attack North Korea to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not?

	Support	Not support	Don't know/Refused
United Kingdom	37	57	6
France	41	53	6
Germany	20	76	4
The Netherlands	33	61	6
Italy	24	70	6
Poland	37	52	11
Portugal	25	72	3
EU Average	31	63	6
United States	58	31	11

Imagine North Korea has acquired weapons of mass destruction. NATO has decided to attack North Korea to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not?

	Support	Not support	Don't know/Refused
United Kingdom	55	41	4
France	47	48	5
Germany	34	64	2
The Netherlands	44	51	5
Italy	32	63	5
Poland	38	55	7
Portugal	39	56	5
EU Average	41	54	5
United States	68	24	8

Imagine North Korea has acquired weapons of mass destruction. The United Nations Security Council has decided to attack North Korea to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not?

	Support	Not support	Don't know/Refused
United Kingdom	56	37	7
France	45	50	5
Germany	33	66	1
The Netherlands	52	46	2
Italy	37	59	4
Poland	31	58	11
Portugal	44	54	2
EU Average	43	53	5
United States	72	24	4

Imagine North Korea has acquired weapons of mass destruction. The United States and its allies have decided to attack North Korea to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not?

	Support	Not support	Don't know/Refused
United Kingdom	49	48	3
France	43	49	8
Germany	30	63	7
The Netherlands	40	56	4
Italy	24	71	5
Poland	41	47	12
Portugal	34	61	5
EU Average	37	56	6
United States	53	38	9

Imagine Iran has acquired weapons of mass destruction. NATO has decided to attack North Korea to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not?

	Support	Not support	Don't know/Refused
United Kingdom	66	31	3
France	54	44	2
Germany	29	67	4
The Netherlands	54	43	3
Italy	34	62	4
Poland	51	40	9
Portugal	47	49	4
EU Average	48	48	4
United States	78	17	5

Imagine Iran has acquired weapons of mass destruction. The United States has decided to attack Iran to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not?

	Support	Not support	DK / Refused
United Kingdom	51	43	6
France	44	52	4
Germany	32	66	2
The Netherlands	45	49	6
Italy	26	68	6
Poland	38	49	13
Portugal	28	66	6
EU Average	38	56	6
United States	67	23	10

Imagine Iran has acquired weapons of mass destruction. The United Nations Security Council has decided to attack Iran to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not?

	Support	Not support	Don't know/Refused
United Kingdom	70	27	3

France	56	39	5
Germany	46	51	3
The Netherlands	48	46	6
Italy	44	52	4
Poland	38	45	17
Portugal	48	50	2
EU Average	50	44	6
United States	75	16	9

Imagine Iran has acquired weapons of mass destruction. The United States and its allies have decided to attack Iran to force that country to give up these weapons. Would you support [country] government decision to take part in this military action or not?

	Support	Not support	Don't know/Refused
United Kingdom	58	40	2
France	47	49	4
Germany	33	63	4
The Netherlands	40	55	5
Italy	38	60	2
Poland	40	47	13
Portugal	38	54	8
EU Average	42	53	5
United States	73	20	7

³⁰ Pew Global Attitudes Project 2004

Now a question about using military force, do you think (survey country) should have U.N. approval before it uses military force to deal with an international threat or do you think that would make it too difficult for our country to deal with international threats?

	U.N. approval	Too difficult	Don't know/Refused
United States	41	48	10
Great Britain	64	30	6
France	63	35	2
Germany	80	15	6
Russia	37	41	21
Turkey	45	44	11
Pakistan	38	34	28
Jordan	47	38	15
Morocco	42	42	16

³¹ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004

If a situation like Iraq arose in the future, do you think it is essential to secure the approval of the UN before using military force, or don't you think it is essential?

	Essential	Not essential	DK/Refusal
European Average	78	15	7
United States	58	38	4
France	86	10	5

Germany	78	18	5
United Kingdom	83	15	3
Italy	87	10	3
Netherlands	85	13	1
Poland	73	12	15
Portugal	69	16	15
Spain	86	9	5
Slovakia	78	11	11
Turkey	59	26	15

³² German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004

If there was UN approval, would you be willing to use the [COUNTRY'S] armed forces to intervene in a foreign country in order to eliminate the threat of a terrorist attack?

	Yes	No	DK/Refusal
European Average	65	29	6
United States	78	15	7
France	82	16	2
Germany	56	42	2
United Kingdom	77	18	6
Italy	77	20	3
Netherlands	76	21	2
Poland	53	36	11
Portugal	57	30	14
Spain	77	18	5
Slovakia	61	24	15
Turkey	30	52	18

³³ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004

If there was UN approval, would you be willing to use the [COUNTRY'S] armed forces to establish peace in a civil war in an African country?

	Yes	No	DK/Refusal
European Average	55	38	7
United States	66	27	6
France	70	25	5
Germany	40	55	5
United Kingdom	65	25	9
Italy	68	27	4
Netherlands	67	29	5
Poland	27	64	9
Portugal	52	28	20
Spain	68	24	8
Slovakia	26	57	17
Turkey	4	48	8

34 German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004

Would you still support the use of the [COUNTRY'S] armed forces if the UN does not approve it?

	Yes	No	DK/Refusal
European Average	27	68	5
United States	49	46	5
France	29	67	4
Germany	16	83	1
United Kingdom	31	66	3
Italy	25	69	6
Netherlands	26	71	3
Poland	24	63	13
Portugal	37	56	7
Spain	28	67	6
Slovakia	24	66	10
Turkey	41	53	6

35 German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005

Here is a list of statements about NATO. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them:
NATO approval makes military action legitimate

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	DK/Refusal
European Average	15	36	25	16	7
United States	18	35	22	17	9
France	15	41	25	14	5
Germany	15	40	29	15	2
United Kingdom	20	39	21	11	9
Italy	8	32	30	26	4
Netherlands	14	48	23	12	3
Poland	11	36	23	10	20
Portugal	26	37	14	9	14
Spain	13	31	27	19	10
Slovakia	21	38	14	16	11
Turkey	23	25	20	18	13

36 GMF Transatlantic Trends 2004

If there was NATO approval, would you be willing to use the [COUNTRY'S] armed forces to intervene in a foreign country in order to eliminate the threat of a terrorist attack?

	Yes	No	DK/Refusal
European Average	61	32	7
United States	79	16	5

France	76	21	3
Germany	51	47	2
United Kingdom	74	20	7
Italy	65	29	6
Netherlands	78	21	1
Poland	56	29	15
Portugal	58	30	12
Spain	76	20	4
Slovakia	50	31	19
Turkey	34	52	14

GMF Transatlantic Trends 2004

If there was NATO approval, would you be willing to use the [COUNTRY'S] armed forces to establish peace in a civil war in an African country?

	Yes	No	DK/Refusal
European Average	50	42	8
United States	60	34	6
France	58	35	7
Germany	34	63	4
United Kingdom	64	28	7
Italy	64	29	7
Netherlands	63	34	3
Poland	26	64	10
Portugal	54	29	17
Spain	61	29	10
Slovakia	19	59	23
Turkey	42	45	13

³⁷ WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006-2008

Giving the UN the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline
Argentina	46	29	24
Peru	75	23	3
United States	75	22	3
Armenia	67	16	18
France	92	8	1
Great Britain	86	11	3
Poland	58	14	28
Russia	64	17	19
Ukraine	66	13	21
Azerbaijan	77	11	12
Egypt	51	49	0
Iran	54	22	25

Israel	64	31	5
Turkey	47	25	28
Kenya	81	17	2
Nigeria	83	15	3
China	57	28	16
India	54	29	17
Indonesia	71	14	15
Philippines	46	46	9
South Korea	74	25	2
Thailand	52	26	22
Average	65	22	13

³⁸ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008

As you may know, the members of the UN General Assembly have agreed on a set of principles called the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Some people say the United Nations should actively promote such human rights principles in member states. Others say this is improper interference in a country's internal affairs and human rights should be left to each country. Do you think the UN SHOULD or SHOULD NOT actively promote human rights in member states?

	Should	Should not	DK / NS
Argentina	91	4	5
Mexico	85	12	3
United States	70	25	5
France	76	20	4
Germany	91	8	2
Britain	68	24	8
Italy	81	14	5
Russia	55	29	16
Ukraine	73	9	18
Azerbaijan	89	8	4
Egypt	64	33	3
Jordan	50	33	17
Palestinian Territories	54	41	5
Turkey	60	19	20
Kenya	94	4	2
Nigeria	87	12	1
China	62	16	22
Hong Kong*	73	16	12
Macau*	68	15	17
India	55	26	19
Indonesia	70	13	17
South Korea	62	35	4
Taiwan*	78	12	10
Thailand	44	25	31
Average	70	19	10

³⁹ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008

Would you like to see the UN do more, do less, or do about the same as it has been doing to promote human rights principles?

	Do more	Do less	Do about the same as it has been doing	DK / NS
Argentina	85	2	8	5
Mexico	88	2	8	2
United States	59	7	28	5
France	64	6	26	4
Germany	58	7	34	2
Britain	64	6	22	8
Italy	83	6	8	3
Russia	45	8	23	24
Ukraine	57	4	18	22
Azerbaijan	58	9	29	4
Egypt	55	22	22	1
Jordan	62	17	8	13
Palestinian Territories	48	23	26	3
Turkey	69	7	8	16
Kenya	91	5	3	1
Nigeria	88	7	4	1
China	51	5	15	29
Hong Kong*	65	2	26	7
Macau*	65	1	22	12
India	54	14	16	17
Indonesia	66	6	12	17
South Korea	69	3	25	3
Taiwan*	62	2	25	11
Thailand	60	7	13	20
Average	65	8	17	10

⁴⁰ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008

Do you think the UN should make efforts to further the rights of women or do you think this is improper interference in a country's internal affairs?

	Make efforts to further the rights of women	Improper interference in a country's internal affairs	DK / NS
Argentina	78	18	4
Mexico	88	9	3
United States	59	38	2
France	74	19	7
Britain	70	26	5
Russia	52	30	18

Ukraine	69	16	16
Azerbaijan	66	23	11
Egypt	30	70	
Iran	52	36	12
Palestinian Territories	49	48	3
Turkey	70	20	11
Kenya	91	8	1
Nigeria	66	32	2
China	86	10	4
Hong Kong*	67	23	10
India	48	28	24
Indonesia	74	16	10
South Korea	78	21	1
Thailand	64	21	15
Average	67	26	8

⁴¹ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008

In May 2008, Burma, [if you feel it is necessary, Add: “also known as Myanmar”] had a major cyclone that left over a million people without food and water. Though the Burmese government was not effectively delivering aid, it refused to let in relief organizations. As a general rule, in such circumstances, should the UN bring in shipments of 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 a country’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 / NS
Argentina	86	8	7
Mexico	69	27	4
United States	53	43	5
France	70	26	4
Germany	74	23	3
Great Britain	68	26	7
Italy	66	24	10
Russia	40	40	20
Ukraine	42	29	29
Azerbaijan	55	38	7
Egypt	48	48	4
Jordan	46	37	17
Palestinian Territories	65	31	4
Turkey	61	19	20
Kenya	81	14	5
Nigeria	57	32	10
China	59	28	12
Hong Kong	63	28	9
Macau	63	26	11
India	51	24	26
Indonesia	55	17	28

South Korea	58	37	4
Taiwan	78	15	6
Thailand	52	14	33
Average	60	28	12

⁴² **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

⁴³ **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	Not sure/ Decline
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

⁴⁴ **World PublicOpinion.org 2009**

Do you think that when there are concerns about the fairness of elections countries should or should not be willing to have international observers from the United Nations monitor their elections?

	Should	Should not	DK/NR
Chile	63	14	23
Mexico	68	30	3
United States	67	31	2
France	71	25	4
Germany	78	18	4
Great Britain	81	15	4
Russia	45	40	15
Ukraine	63	25	12
Azerbaijan	83	8	9
Egypt	61	39	0
Iraq	65	23	12
Pakistan	55	38	7
Palestinian Territories	57	41	2
Turkey	46	45	9
Kenya	82	17	1
Nigeria	78	22	1
China - Hong Kong*	55	36	9
China - Macau*	63	23	14
India	45	48	7
Indonesia	20	74	6
Taiwan*	61	33	6
Average	63	31	7

* Not included in Global Average

⁴⁵ **WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009**

Do you think that [Country] would or would not benefit from having international observers monitor elections here?

	Would	Would not	DK/NR
Chile	59	16	25
Mexico	66	30	4
United States	46	51	3
France	45	50	6
Germany	49	36	14
Great Britain	46	51	3
Russia	43	42	15
Ukraine	63	25	12
Azerbaijan	71	16	14
Egypt	63	37	0
Iraq	67	21	12
Pakistan	49	43	8

Palestinian Territories	57	40	3
Turkey	46	45	9
Kenya	85	14	1
Nigeria	74	24	3
China – Hong Kong*	55	36	10
China – Macau*	66	23	11
India	38	51	11
Indonesia	25	62	14
Taiwan*	59	32	10
Average	55	36	9

*Not included in the Global Average

⁴⁶ World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. 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 regional organizations, or by the United Nations? Aid to developing countries

	National govts	Regional orgs	UN	National govts, w/ UN coordinatio n	Non profit / NGO	DK	No answer	N/A	Margin of Error
Italy	19	19	56	0	0	5	1	0	
Spain	15	18	54	0	0	13	1	0	
United States	31	22	41	0	0	3	3	0	
Canada	34	9	51	0	0	6	0	0	
Japan	14	14	42	0	17	0	8	0	
Mexico	23	11	58	6	0	1	0	0	
South Africa	29	17	47	0	0	0	8	0	
Australia	32	14	49	0	0	0	5	0	
Sweden	14	31	51	0	0	4	0	0	
Argentina	18	7	50	0	0	23	1	0	
Finland	26	15	55	0	0	2	1	0	
South Korea	32	11	56	0	0	0	0	0	
Poland	21	16	61	0	0	3	0	0	
Switzerland	28	16	52	0	0	3	1	0	
Brazil	26	15	50	0	0	6	3	0	2.6
Chile	23	12	54	0	0	9	1	0	2.2
India	23	12	24	0	0	40	0	0	
Slovenia	10	45	33	0	0	10	2	0	3.1
Bulgaria	7	40	40	0	0	12	0	0	3.2
Romania	19	26	36	0	0	17	2	0	2.2
China	17	6	29	0	0	47	1	0	
Taiwan	22	31	44	0	0	3	0	0	
Turkey	31	16	44	0	0	8	1	0	
Ukraine	19	17	50	0	0	11	3	0	
Ghana	24	16	55	0	0	4	2	0	
Moldova	20	36	39	0	0	4	0	0	

Georgia	22	12	58	0	0	8	0	0	
Thailand	65	25	9	0	0	0	1	0	
Indonesia	13	25	51	0	0	8	2	1	3.2
Vietnam	13	15	61	0	0	9	1	0	
Serbia	20	18	52	0	0	8	2	0	
New Zealand	17	0	23	48	0	7	5	0	
Egypt	26	21	50	0	0	4	0	0	
Morocco	19	13	42	0	0	0	26	0	
Iran	19	20	56	0	0	4	1	0	1.9
Jordan	16	17	54	0	0	12	0	0	
Cyprus	24	39	37	0	0	0	0	0	3.1
Trinidad and Tobago	20	20	57	0	0	3	1	0	
Andorra	25	11	62	0	0	2	1	0	
Malaysia	18	43	38	0	0	0	0	0	
Burkina Faso	12	11	59	0	0	13	3	2	
Ethiopia	11	11	68	0	0	5	4	1	
Mali	21	12	55	0	0	7	5	1	
Rwanda	17	19	61	0	0	3	0	0	
Zambia	15	29	48	0	0	4	3	0	
Germany	23	26	46	0	0	4	1	0	
Average	22	19	48	1	0	7	2	0	--

47 World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. 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 regional organizations, or by the United Nations? Refugees

	National govts	Regional orgs	UN	National govts, w/ UN coordination	Non profit / NGO	DK	No answer	N/A
Italy	32	22	37	0	0	8	1	0
Spain	13	20	54	0	0	14	0	0
United States	34	27	32	0	0	3	3	0
Canada	46	11	33	0	0	9	1	0
Japan	17	15	46	0	15	0	7	0
Mexico	36	14	42	8	0	2	0	0
South Africa	31	15	45	0	0	0	10	0
Australia	38	14	43	0	0	0	5	0
Sweden	33	23	41	0	0	3	0	0
Argentina	22	5	48	0	0	24	2	0
Finland	42	17	37	0	0	3	1	0
South Korea	31	9	60	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	45	15	36	0	0	4	0	0
Switzerland	32	16	48	0	0	4	1	0
Brazil	30	15	45	0	0	7	3	0
Chile	29	9	51	0	0	10	1	0
India	30	16	12	0	0	43	0	0

Slovenia	20	44	24	0	0	11	1	0
Bulgaria	15	27	44	0	0	14	0	0
Romania	31	19	28	0	0	19	2	0
China	22	6	27	0	0	45	1	0
Taiwan	24	23	50	0	0	3	0	0
Turkey	37	19	35	0	0	9	1	0
Ukraine	29	18	39	0	0	11	3	0
Ghana	18	13	64	0	0	3	2	0
Moldova	39	29	26	0	0	6	0	0
Georgia	67	8	21	0	0	4	0	0
Thailand	45	25	29	0	0	0	1	0
Indonesia	42	9	40	0	0	7	2	0
Vietnam	22	15	52	0	0	10	1	0
Serbia	36	16	38	0	0	8	2	0
New Zealand	25	0	20	41	0	9	5	0
Egypt	30	23	43	0	0	4	0	0
Morocco	14	17	44	0	0	0	26	0
Iran	22	15	58	0	0	4	1	0
Jordan	15	16	57	0	0	13	0	0
Cyprus	42	20	38	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	31	16	48	0	0	5	1	0
Andorra	30	12	55	0	0	2	1	0
Malaysia	25	36	39	0	0	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	15	13	51	0	0	15	3	3
Ethiopia	13	13	61	0	0	7	6	2
Mali	27	13	41	0	0	11	7	2
Rwanda	10	17	72	0	0	2	0	0
Zambia	13	20	62	0	0	3	2	0
Germany	25	25	45	0	0	5	1	0
Average	29	17	43	1	0	8	2	0

⁴⁸ World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. 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 regional organizations, or by the United Nations? International peacekeeping

	National govts	Regiona l orgs	UN	National govts, w/ UN coordinatio n	Non profit/ NGO	DK	No answe r	N/A
Italy	22	12	60	0	0	6	1	0
Spain	15	13	59	0	0	12	0	0
United States	28	16	50	0	0	4	3	0
Canada	22	7	66	0	0	5	0	0
Japan	11	8	72	0	2	0	6	0
Mexico	22	5	65	0	0	6	1	0

South Africa	47	14	32	0	0	0	7	0
Australia	21	9	66	0	0	0	4	0
Sweden	19	8	70	0	0	3	0	0
Argentina	22	5	52	0	0	21	1	0
Finland	29	10	58	0	0	2	1	0
South Korea	47	6	47	0	0	0	1	0
Poland	28	6	64	0	0	2	0	0
Switzerland	27	9	60	0	0	3	1	0
Brazil	22	5	66	0	0	6	2	0
Chile	40	6	44	0	0	9	1	0
India	44	10	14	0	0	32	0	0
Slovenia	26	30	33	0	0	10	1	0
Bulgaria	22	17	50	0	0	11	0	0
Romania	38	11	34	0	0	14	2	0
China	18	2	36	0	0	44	1	0
Taiwan	25	16	55	0	0	3	0	0
Turkey	46	9	37	0	0	8	1	0
Ukraine	52	8	29	0	0	8	3	0
Ghana	23	9	64	0	0	3	1	0
Moldova	37	19	39	0	0	5	0	0
Georgia	79	2	15	0	0	3	0	0
Thailand	77	21	2	0	0	0	0	0
Indonesia	14	4	74	0	0	7	1	0
Vietnam	50	7	35	0	0	8	1	0
Serbia	51	9	32	0	0	7	2	0
New Zealand	6	0	33	49	0	8	5	0
Egypt	36	17	44	0	0	3	*	0
Morocco	50	4	29	0	0	0	18	0
Iran	41	12	42	0	0	4	1	0
Jordan	24	19	44	0	0	13	0	0
Cyprus	30	22	47	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	32	12	53	0	0	2	1	0
Andorra	26	8	64	0	0	2	1	0
Malaysia	51	21	28	0	0	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	47	6	34	0	0	9	2	2
Ethiopia	41	10	40	0	0	5	3	1
Mali	46	5	38	0	0	6	3	1
Rwanda	50	41	8	0	0	1	0	0
Zambia	29	19	47	0	0	4	1	0
Germany	20	20	54	0	0	6	1	0
Average	34	11	45	1	0	7	2	0

⁴⁹ World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. 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 regional organizations, or by the United Nations? Protection of the environment

	National govts	Regional orgs	UN	National govts, w/ UN coordination	Non profit / NGO	DK	No answer	N/A
Italy	45	29	19	0	0	6	1	0
Spain	28	20	40	0	0	13	0	0
United States	42	33	18	0	0	3	3	0
Canada	52	23	20	0	0	4	0	0
Japan	17	26	31	0	16	0	7	0
Mexico	41	19	32	6	0	1	0	0
South Africa	48	32	15	0	0	0	6	0
Australia	46	29	20	0	0	0	6	0
Sweden	39	34	25	0	0	2	0	0
Argentina	40	11	30	0	0	18	1	0
Finland	40	40	18	0	0	2	1	0
South Korea	54	27	20	0	0	0	*	0
Poland	59	21	18	0	0	2	0	0
Switzerland	46	19	32	0	0	3	1	0
Brazil	51	25	18	0	0	5	2	0
Chile	51	21	19	0	0	7	1	0
India	37	21	8	0	0	33	0	0
Slovenia	39	36	13	0	0	10	2	0
Bulgaria	48	28	14	0	0	10	0	0
Romania	51	24	8	0	0	15	2	0
China	34	9	16	0	0	40	1	0
Taiwan	66	17	15	0	0	2	0	0
Turkey	33	41	18	0	0	8	1	0
Ukraine	49	30	9	0	0	8	3	0
Ghana	62	28	7	0	0	2	1	0
Moldova	51	37	7	0	0	4	0	0
Georgia	72	15	9	0	0	4	0	0
Thailand	61	33	6	0	0	0	0	0
Indonesia	79	4	5	0	0	5	2	6
Vietnam	48	20	24	0	0	7	1	0
Serbia	41	34	16	0	0	7	2	0
New Zealand	43	0	8	37	0	7	5	0
Egypt	57	17	24	0	0	2	0	0
Morocco	36	22	22	0	0	0	20	0
Iran	39	35	22	0	0	4	1	0
Jordan	44	19	26	0	0	12	0	0
Cyprus	46	40	15	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	62	19	18	0	0	2	1	0
Andorra	54	22	22	0	0	2	1	0
Malaysia	45	43	12	0	0	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	50	16	19	0	0	10	3	2
Ethiopia	36	18	36	0	0	6	3	1
Mali	49	28	12	0	0	6	4	1

Rwanda	48	43	7	0	0	1	0	0
Zambia	55	26	13	0	0	5	2	0
Germany	36	29	31	0	0	4	1	0
Average	47	25	18	1	0	6	2	0

50 World Values Survey 2005-2008

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. 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 regional organizations, or by the United Nations? Human Rights

	National govts	Regional orgs	UN	National govts, w/ UN coordination	Non profit / NGO	DK	No answer	N/A
Italy	27	15	51	0	0	6	2	0
Spain	16	14	56	0	0	13	1	0
United States	42	18	33	0	0	3	3	0
Canada	45	10	40	0	0	4	1	0
Japan	27	11	47	0	9	0	7	0
Mexico	41	9	41	0	0	7	2	0
South Africa	60	16	20	0	0	0	5	0
Australia	30	9	56	0	0	0	5	0
Sweden	17	9	72	0	0	2	0	0
Argentina	39	4	38	0	0	19	1	0
Finland	33	8	56	0	0	2	1	0
South Korea	49	9	41	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	49	7	41	0	0	3	0	0
Switzerland	26	8	63	0	0	3	1	0
Brazil	44	11	39	0	0	5	2	0
Chile	51	7	32	0	0	9	1	0
India	36	10	13	0	0	41	0	0
Slovenia	39	30	20	0	0	9	1	0
Bulgaria	34	26	30	0	0	10	0	0
Romania	43	10	30	0	0	15	2	0
China	32	4	17	0	0	48	1	0
Taiwan	56	10	31	0	0	3	0	0
Turkey	40	12	39	0	0	8	1	0
Ukraine	57	13	20	0	0	8	3	0
Ghana	67	9	22	0	0	1	1	0
Moldova	55	17	24	0	0	4	0	0
Georgia	79	7	11	0	0	4	0	0
Thailand	50	24	26	0	0	0	0	0
Indonesia	55	3	34	0	0	6	2	1
Vietnam	59	5	27	0	0	7	1	0
Serbia	50	8	34	0	0	6	2	0
New Zealand	25	0	19	43	0	8	5	0
Egypt	45	15	37	0	0	2	*	0

Morocco	34	6	42	0	0	0	18	0
Iran	16	5	75	0	0	4	1	0
Jordan	21	16	50	0	0	13	0	0
Cyprus	29	36	35	0	0	0	1	0
Trinidad and Tobago	45	11	41	0	0	2	1	0
Andorra	28	8	61	0	0	2	1	0
Malaysia	38	29	34	0	0	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	32	6	45	0	0	12	3	3
Ethiopia	20	12	54	0	0	7	6	2
Mali	35	7	44	0	0	7	5	2
Rwanda	29	37	32	0	0	2	1	0
Zambia	54	13	26	0	0	3	3	0
Germany	20	19	55	0	0	4	1	0
Average	40	12	38	1	0	7	2	0

⁵¹ World Values Survey 2005-2008

People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself? ((Read out and code one answer for each) statement): I see myself as a world citizen

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	No answer
Italy	20	40	29	8	2	1
Spain	20	48	14	4	13	1
United States	20	45	24	5	2	4
Canada	29	55	12	2	2	1
Japan	11	61	4	1	22	-
Mexico	35	55	7	2	1	0
South Africa	42	41	10	3	4	-
Australia	21	56	18	1	-	3
Sweden	18	65	15	1	2	-
Argentina	15	48	24	5	7	1
Finland	18	45	28	7	2	0
South Korea	14	66	16	3	-	-
Poland	21	48	20	4	7	0
Switzerland	32	46	18	5	0	-
Brazil	27	51	19	2	1	0
Chile	26	41	19	9	5	0
India	27	31	13	3	25	0
Slovenia	17	52	17	7	6	1
Bulgaria	17	25	30	20	8	-
Romania	15	33	26	14	11	2

China	10	51	10	1	27	1
Turkey	37	43	11	3	5	1
Ukraine	25	29	23	13	8	2
Ghana	45	39	12	1	1	1
Moldova	26	36	28	6	3	0
Georgia	22	22	32	16	9	1
Thailand	33	63	4	0	-	0
Indonesia	29	58	7	1	3	1
Vietnam	31	52	6	-	8	3
Colombia	40	54	3	1	2	-
Serbia	30	44	17	4	3	2
Egypt	28	28	24	19	1	0
Morocco	14	26	26	20	-	14
Iran	30	51	16	2	0	0
Jordan	34	33	14	13	6	-
Cyprus	28	45	23	3	-	1
Trinidad and Tobago	25	47	24	3	1	1
Andorra	25	62	11	2	0	0
Malaysia	41	49	9	1	-	0
Burkina Faso	42	37	10	3	6	2
Ethiopia	41	49	7	1	2	1
Mali	59	32	4	1	2	2
Rwanda	43	55	1	1	1	0
Zambia	32	37	21	5	4	1
Germany	16	32	28	15	7	1
Average	27	45	16	5	6	1

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Do you consider yourself more a citizen of [country], more a citizen of the world, or both equally?

	Citizen of [country]	Citizen of the world	Both equally	Neither/None of the above	DK/NS
Argentina	64	10	24	0	1
Mexico	56	9	35	1	0
United States	72	5	22		1
France	48	14	37	2	0
Germany	59	19	18	3	1
Great Britain	59	9	29	2	1
Italy	51	21	27		1
Russia	79	5	13	2	1
Ukraine	81	6	10	2	1
Azerbaijan	89	4	5	1	1
Egypt	73	13	13	1	0

Jordan	80	8	7	2	3
Palestinian Territories	70	14	13	2	1
Turkey	80	9	10	1	0
Kenya	88	9	3		0
Nigeria	69	11	19	0	1
China - Mainland	35	6	44		15
China - Hong Kong	62	5	29	2	2
China - Macao	61	6	27	2	4
India	40	14	32	6	9
Indonesia	68	2	27	0	4
South Korea	83	5	11	1	0
Taiwan	36	8	54	1	2
Thailand	48	15	23	3	11
Average	66	10	20	1	3

53 German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008

Some people say that the United States and the European Union have enough common values to be able to cooperate on international problems. Other say that the United States and the European Union have such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

	Enough common values to cooperate on international problems	Such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible	DK/Refusal
European Average	55	35	10
United States	67	23	10
France	60	38	2
Germany	54	43	3
United Kingdom	52	41	7
Italy	63	35	3
Netherlands	59	37	4
Poland	56	28	16
Portugal	57	36	8
Spain	59	36	4
Slovakia	59	25	16
Turkey	27	33	39
Bulgaria	57	24	19
Romania	72	12	15

54 German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following.

When our country acts on a national security issue, it is critical that we do so together with our closest allies

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	DK/Refusal	Agree	Disagree
European Average	42	38	8	7	4	80	15
United States	61	28	5	5	2	89	9

France	52	38	5	4	1	90	9
Germany	48	37	8	6	1	86	14
United Kingdom	50	35	8	4	3	85	12
Italy	35	46	12	7	1	81	19
Netherlands	60	31	4	4	1	91	8
Poland	40	45	7	3	6	85	9
Portugal	45	31	9	9	7	76	17
Spain	41	47	7	4	2	88	11
Slovakia	32	39	12	5	12	71	17
Turkey	21	26	12	23	18	47	35
Bulgaria	35	43	7	4	10	78	11
Romania	37	39	7	5	12	76	12

⁵⁵ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005

[Europe] Do you think a more powerful European Union *should* compete or cooperate with the United States?

[United States] Do you think a more powerful European Union *would* compete or cooperate with the United States?

	Compete with the United States	Cooperate with the United States	Both - Spontaneous	Neither - Spontaneous	DK/Refusal
European Average	17	74	4	3	3
United States	41	45	7	1	6
France	16	81	1	1	1
Germany	13	84	2	1	1
United Kingdom	17	72	2	5	5
Italy	12	80	6	1	1
Netherlands	9	87	2	1	1
Poland	7	85	3	2	3
Portugal	27	62	4	2	5
Spain	12	80	3	4	2
Slovakia	17	67	8	4	4
Turkey	37	35	10	8	10

⁵⁶ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009

In general, when [Country] government negotiates with other countries do you think that the government:

	A. Should be more ready to act cooperatively to achieve mutual gains	B. Tends to be too willing to compromise and is often taken advantage of.	DK/NR
Chile	60	26	15
Mexico	35	63	2
United States	54	44	2
France	43	48	9
Germany	47	46	8

Great Britain	31	65	4
Poland	34	53	14
Russia	54	34	12
Ukraine	49	35	16
Azerbaijan	67	29	4
Egypt	76	23	1
Iraq	60	24	16
Pakistan	42	54	5
Palestinian Territories	69	29	2
Turkey	81	14	5
Kenya	71	28	1
Nigeria	73	26	1
China	63	30	7
China - Hong Kong	72	18	10
China - Macao	60	29	11
India	59	34	7
Indonesia	52	40	8
South Korea	28	71	1
Taiwan	42	49	9
Average	55	39	7

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