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

Concerns about Nuclear Proliferation

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

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

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

Goal of Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

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

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

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

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

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

UN Use of Force to Prevent Nuclear Proliferation

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

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

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

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

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

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

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

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

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

Multilateral Control of Nuclear Fuel Production

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

The NPT puts limits on nations developing nuclear weapons, but does not limit the production of nuclear fuel, provided that nations do so exclusively for the purpose of producing nuclear energy under the monitoring of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). With the controversy surrounding Iran's production of nuclear fuel,

and its possible diversion into a nuclear weapons program, there have been calls for greater regulation of the production of nuclear fuel.

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

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

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

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

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

OR

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

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

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

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

Dealing with Iran's Nuclear Program

International polls reveal a widespread global perception that Iran is pursuing nuclear weapons, rather than limiting itself to energy production, and there is substantial concern over this. While most publics want to put international pressure on Iran to stop it from producing nuclear fuel, publics to date have roundly rejected the option of military force, and respondents in most countries have also opposed

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

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

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

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

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

At the same time, and somewhat contradictorily, 50 percent of Europeans thought that it was "likely" or "somewhat" likely that Iran would only use nuclear weapons for defensive purposes—whereas Americans tended to be more skeptical (with 43 percent thinking this outcome unlikely). 11

What Action to Take

While there is support for international pressure on Iran to stop producing nuclear fuel, in no country has there been significant support for military action against Iran—and most countries have not even favored employing economic sanctions. A December 2007 BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA poll asked twenty-six countries about actions the UN Security Council should take if Iran continues to develop nuclear fuel. In only one country (Egypt) was the most common response that the Council should not pressure Iran. On average across twenty-six countries, just 14 percent took this position. On the other hand, only small percentages around the world favored military action—on average 7 percent. Only in Israel did a significant number (34 percent) favor such an approach.

By far the most favored positions were to use only diplomatic efforts (on average 42 percent in favor) or to impose economic sanctions (on average 26 percent). The only countries where economic sanctions were the most popular position were the United States (45 percent), Israel (37 percent), and South Korea (48 percent). Globally, an average of 57 percent supported "softer measures" (42 percent use only diplomatic efforts, 14 percent not pressure Iran) and 33 percent supported "tougher measures" (26 percent impose economic sanctions, 7 percent authorize military strikes).¹²

A 2008 GMF poll of twelve European countries and the United States found similar results. Most respondents in eleven European countries favored increasing diplomatic pressure but ruling out the use of military force. U.S. poll respondents were divided between those favoring increased pressure while maintaining the option of using military force, on the one hand, and those supporting milder approaches, on the other. Most Turks favored accepting that Iran may develop nuclear weapons. In Europe, an average of 47 percent supported increasing diplomatic pressure but ruling out military force; 21 percent supported increasing pressure while keeping force as an option; 16 percent supported maintaining the present level of diplomatic pressure; and 6 percent supported accepting that Iran may develop nuclear weapons. 13

Making a Deal

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

In sixteen of the twenty-six countries polled, more people favored than oppose this idea, while seven publics were opposed and three were divided. Support for this position was fairly strong in some countries at the forefront of the drive to stop Iran's nuclear program, including the United States (55 percent), Great Britain (71 percent), and France (56 percent). On average, 47 percent of respondents in the poll were in favor while 36 percent were opposed.¹⁴

Who Best to Handle Iran?

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

¹ WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

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

The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers

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

² WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

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

Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons

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

³ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008

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

	Somewhat						
	Strongly favor	Somewhat favor	oppose	Strongly oppose	DK / NS		
Argentina	85	8	2	2	3		
Mexico	70	17	7	3	3		
United States	39	38	13	7	2		
France	58	28	7	5	3		
Britain	55	26	9	8	2		

Russia	38	31	8	6	16
Ukraine	53	27	5	2	14
Azerbaijan	48	22	8	14	8
Egypt	39	44	7	10	0
Iran	50	18	8	5	19
Israel	42	25	13	12	8
Pakistan	20	26	21	20	13
Palestinian					
Territories	33	37	14	8	9
Turkey	55	10	5	5	24
Kenya	68	28	2	1	1
Nigeria	55	31	8	4	2
China	60	23	9	5	3
India	31	31	11	9	18
Indonesia	60	21	6	5	9
South Korea	53	33	11	4	1
Thailand	45	22	4	4	25
Average	50	26	9	7	9

⁴ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2006-2008

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

To prevent 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

⁵ Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

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

	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

⁶ WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

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

		Not sure/
Good Idea	Bad Idea	Decline
66	31	3
48	29	23
61	22	18
57	23	20
56	40	4
49	36	15
69	27	3
40	57	3
56	42	2
61	19	20
59	23	19
41	33	26
60	17	24
	66 48 61 57 56 49 69 40 56 61 59	66 31 48 29 61 22 57 23 56 40 49 36 69 27 40 57 56 42 61 19 59 23 41 33

⁷ BBC July 2006

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

razil 28 60 8 5 anada 31 59 6 3 nile 26 55 9 11		All countries should be free to produce nuclear fuel under United Nations oversight, because they have the right to have nuclear energy and should not have to depend on other countries	Because nuclear fuel can be developed for use in nuclear weapons, the United Nations should try to stop new countries from producing nuclear fuel but should provide them with the fuel they need	Neither/ Depends	DK / NA
anada 31 59 6 3 nile 26 55 9 11	Australia	32	60	6	2
nile 26 55 9 11	Brazil	28	60	8	5
	Canada	31	59	6	3
·	Chile	26	55	9	11
iina 44 42 8 5	China	44	42	8	5
gypt 49 39 6 5	Egypt	49	39	6	5
rance 44 46 6 4	France	44	46	6	4

Germany	28	63	6	2
India	25	29	22	24
Indonesia	46	45	3	5
Iraq	42	51	-	3
Israel	30	59	3	8
Italy	29	57	12	2
Kenya	35	51	5	9
Mexico	33	60	8	-
Nigeria	38	48	4	10
Philippines	32	56	8	4
Poland	32	49	6	14
South Korea	22	76	1	1
Russia	26	46	14	13
Spain	14	61	13	12
Turkey	51	29	8	12
Ukraine	26	50	11	13
Great Britain	36	55	6	3
United States	29	56	7	7
Average	33	52	7	7

⁸ 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

	GL 1.1	a	Not sure/
	Should	Should not	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

⁹ BBC July 2006

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

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

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

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

Mexico	34	21	15	8	5	17	
Nigeria	31	24	16	16	2	11	
Philippines	36	30	18	10	2	4	
Poland	53	27	10	3	2	7	
South Korea	30	52	14	2	0	0	
Russia	25	33	21	7	4	10	
Spain	42	33	9	7	2	6	
Turkey	28	29	24	7	8	4	
Ukraine	21	36	16	7	8	12	
Great Britain	67	23	5	4	0	0	
United States	72	20	5	2	0	0	
Average	43	29	13	7	2	5	

¹⁰ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2006

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

Iran acquiring nuclear weapons

	Extremely important threat	Important threat	Not an important threat at all	DK/ Refused
United States	75	19	5	1
France	53	37	9	1
Germany	67	26	7	1
United Kingdom	56	30	10	4
Italy	62	29	7	1
Netherlands	62	27	9	1
Poland	64	31	3	3
Portugal	69	17	10	4
Spain	68	25	7	-
Slovakia	5	11	24	60
Turkey	35	30	21	13
Bulgaria	43	36	9	12
Romania	57	28	8	8
European Average	53	27	10	10

¹¹ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008

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

Iran will attack other countries in the region

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not very likely	Not likely at all	DK/ Refused	Likely	Not Likely
United States	44	31	16	7	3	75	22
France	20	35	31	10	4	55	41

	22	o=	22	_			20
Germany	33	35	23	7	3	68	29
United Kingdom	28	34	23	9	5	62	33
Italy	10	46	26	6	3	65	32
Netherlands	20	34	32	12	3	53	44
Poland	16	47	19	3	14	64	22
Portugal	39	36	17	7	11	65	24
Spain	30	38	21	9	3	68	30
Slovakia	10	35	31	7	18	44	38
Turkey	17	32	18	15	18	49	33
Bulgaria	16	34	20	9	21	50	29
Romania	23	29	21	9	18	52	30
European Average	24	37	23	9	7	61	32

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

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not very likely	Not likely at all	DK/ Refused	Likely	Not Likely
United States	50	33	8	6	3	83	13
France	28	39	20	10	3	67	30
Germany	37	34	16	10	3	71	20
United Kingdom	37	41	13	7	3	77	20
Italy	21	50	21	5	3	71	27
Netherlands	32	39	19	9	1	71	28
Poland	20	47	15	4	15	67	18
Portugal	35	36	13	7	9	71	20
Spain	32	40	15	11	2	72	26
Slovakia	15	43	20	6	16	58	26
Turkey	18	40	12	7	23	58	19
Bulgaria	20	44	11	4	21	64	16
Romania	25	33	16	6	21	58	22
European Average	28	40	16	8	8	68	24

Iran will supply nuclear weapons to terrorists

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

European Average	30	37	17	8	8	68	24

Iran will threaten Europe with nuclear weapons

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

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

Not Not

	Very	Somewhat	Not very	Not likely at	DK/	**1 1	Not
	likely	likely	likely	all	Refused	Likely	Likely
United States	19	24	25	27	5	43	52
France	23	35	28	11	4	58	38
Germany	29	22	27	20	2	52	47
United Kingdom	24	33	25	12	6	57	37
Italy	10	36	36	15	3	45	52
Netherlands	22	30	29	16	3	52	45
Poland	13	37	26	7	18	50	32
Portugal	21	27	27	16	10	47	43
Spain	21	34	25	17	3	55	42
Slovakia	10	27	29	13	22	37	42
Turkey	30	26	12	11	21	56	22
Bulgaria	13	29	21	11	27	42	32
Romania	18	27	20	14	22	45	33
European Average	22	31	26	14	8	52	39

¹² BBC December 2007

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

	Not pressure Iran	Use only diplomatic efforts	Impose economic sanctions	Authorize military strike
Canada	6	42	35	10
United States	4	31	45	15

Central America	26	30	17	3
Argentina	16	31	12	1
Mexico	15	65	10	6
Chile	13	39	23	4
Germany	17	44	34	3
Russia	12	38	24	3
Portugal	10	46	32	4
Spain	9	45	28	8
France	8	46	24	7
Great Britain	7	50	29	5
Italy	4	52	29	7
Egypt	56	29	13	3
Turkey	21	33	28	5
Israel	6	15	37	34
Nigeria	25	41	17	12
Ghana	18	43	17	8
Kenya	16	56	16	9
Indonesia	19	53	16	2
India	17	26	20	6
Philippines	13	63	16	3
China	13	42	27	13
Australia	7	47	35	7
South Korea	7	37	48	5
Japan	4	53	37	2
Average	14	42	26	7

¹³ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008

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

Increase

	Accept that Iran may develop nuclear weapons	Maintain the present level of diplomatic pressure on Iran	Increase diplomatic pressure on Iran but rule out the use of military force	diplomatic pressure on Iran and maintain the option of using military force	DK/ Refused
United States	6	13	27	49	6
France	2	19	54	22	2
Germany	4	11	56	27	2
United Kingdom	8	20	38	28	5
Italy	3	14	59	23	2
Netherlands	7	14	45	31	4
Poland	5	19	47	14	15

Portugal	3	13	62	15	8	
Spain	4	18	53	20	5	
Slovakia	4	18	56	8	14	
Turkey	23	17	12	12	35	
Bulgaria	4	20	47	12	17	
Romania	3	17	46	8	26	
European Average	6	16	47	21	9	

¹⁴ BBC December 2007

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

	Should be allowed	Should not be allowed
Canada	58	36
United States	55	38
Mexico	79	6
Chile	36	36
Central America	30	38
Argentina	26	24
Great Britain	71	22
Portugal	59	26
Italy	58	30
France	56	24
Spain	49	36
Germany	38	50
Russia	33	24
Egypt	86	14
Turkey	30	54
Israel	28	62
Kenya	56	39
Nigeria	46	40
Ghana	45	39
Australia	64	31
Indonesia	56	31
China	51	40
South Korea	38	51
Philippines	27	60
India	24	25
Japan	23	54
Average	47	36

¹⁵ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2006

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

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

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